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THE  
NEW WORLD HEROES  
OF  
DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORSEMEN, COLUMBUS, VESPUCIUS,  
BALBOA, THE CABOTS, MAGELLAN, CABRAL, CORTEZ,  
PIZARRO, DE SOTO, CARTIER, FROBISHER,  
DRAKE, DAVIS, HUDSON, BAFFIN, TASMAN,  
BEHRING, COOK AND MANY OTHER  
FAMOUS EXPLORERS.

DARING PIONEER NAVIGATORS

DESCRIBING THEIR BOLD VENTURES INTO UNKNOWN SEAS, ENCOUNTERS WITH TERRIBLE STORMS AND SHIPWRECKS, DISCOVERIES OF STRANGE LANDS, CURIOUS PEOPLE AND RICH MINES;  
THEIR DESPERATE COMBATS WITH SAVAGES AND  
WILD BEASTS, STRUGGLES WITH MUTINIES, TERRIBLE HARDSHIPS,  
REMARKABLE ESCAPES; WANDERINGS IN SWAMPS AND FORESTS;  
UNVEILING THE GLORIES OF THE NEW WORLDS TO  
THE ASTONISHED GAZE OF ALL NATIONS, ETC.

By D. M. KELSEY, The well known Historian  
Author of "Pioneer Heroes," "Stanley and the White Heroes in Africa," Etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

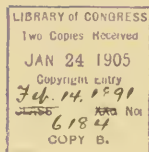
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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.



## PREFACE.

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IN the following pages it has been the aim of the writer to give a history of the discovery and earliest explorations of the New World, by means of a chain of biographies of the principal discoverers, reaching from the time of the Norsemen and Columbus to the latter part of the eighteenth century. Not only does this chain extend through this long period of time, but it compasses the American continent, from the coast of Greenland to Cape Horn, and thence to Behring Strait, and even reaches to Australia and the Archipelagoes of the South Pacific. All belong to the era of New World discovery.

In these biographies, as found in the original form, there is much that is of little interest to the general reader; and much of scientific importance, that is difficult to understand by those who have not a close acquaintance with the mysteries of seamanship and astronomical observation. All these points have been condensed and written in such familiar language that no difficulty will be experienced, even by boys and girls who might otherwise be repelled by the appearance of difficulty.

The original authorities have been consulted wherever practicable; the collection of travels published by the Hakluyt Society being included in that term. A constant effort has been made to retain as much individual interest as possible; and reference to the authorities from which this work has been gathered would only encumber the book without adding to its value; for in many cases the materials for a single chapter have been collected from many and various sources, and woven laboriously into a single whole.

In conclusion, the author has to thank many readers for their appreciation of his previously published volumes, and ask that the present work may share their favor.

D. M. KELSEY.

1871



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## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE first chapter of this volume is a charming compilation, of the legends of the discoveries of North America before the famous voyage of Columbus, in which the trade winds wafted his ships to the West Indies. The testimony seems so clear that it would be eccentric to declare strenuously against the conclusion upon circumstantial evidence, that the Northmen repeatedly visited Greenland and were acquainted with Newfoundland, Nantucket, Long Island, and perhaps Rhode Island.

There are traditions in Iceland that corroborate the legendary stories of the adventurous Northmen, and they add that Columbus visited Iceland fourteen years before he immortalized himself as the discoverer of the "new world." It is a part of the story of Columbus in Iceland that he became intimately acquainted with the antique lore of that American island. It is worth while to remember that the westward capes of Iceland are less than three hundred miles from Greenland, while the eastern capes are between nine hundred and a thousand miles from Norway.

It is a plain proposition that in the course of the centuries the capital of Iceland was settled in 874. The writer visited that island one thousand years later, with Cyrus Field, Dr. I. I. Hayes, Bayard Taylor, Professors Magnusson and Kneeland and Mr. Henry Gladstone, who imported a pony to Hawarden. The founding of the city was five hundred and eighteen years before the Columbus discovery. If it be true that Columbus visited Iceland fourteen years before he found the West Indies—the year of his visit was 1478 and Reykjavæek had then been founded more than five hundred years, within easy sail in three or four days of Greenland. The people were largely competent navigators with sea-going craft, and the land westward could not have been unfamiliar to them.

There was nothing strange or doubtful in using a fact made known freely that there was land in the West. It does not reduce the splendor of the achievement of Columbus that he heard the story. He made use of it. He found in the presence of land in the West a corroboration of his dreams, that gave a footing to his fancy.

The Icelandic tradition is that a Bishop was maintained for a long time in Iceland, and that a gorge of ice massed on the coast that lasted forty years, and then there was only desolate silence.

After the "Decline and Fall" of the Roman Empire, Northern Italy was celebrated for commercial supremacy, glories in art and cities of special splendors and power; and for immortal authors, artists in literature, sculpture, architecture and painting. Rome remained when the Empire crumbled into mighty fragments, "The Eternal City;" and though there was an Eastern Empire and a rival capital—Constantinople—to divide the immense inheritance, the swarms of Asiatic conquerors came after the capture of the Oriental metropolis and converted the magnificent dominant church, St. Sophia, into a veritable and memorable mosque—a citadel of Mohammed in Christendom; and the myriads of Mohammedans seeking Paradise swept over Southern Spain, first baffled at Vienna and at last beaten on the central plains of France, at Chalons.

Unlike Alexander, when his legions marched to India and he grew weary of conquest and carousal, Rome encountered other unconquered worlds, and found material occupation in crusades and cathedrals and the marvelous organizations of the then new, now old Church of Rome.

Naples survived the eruptions of Vesuvius, and the irruption of the barbarians from the heart of Europe, remained the Queen City of the Italian South, when Carthage, like Tyre, was buried in her own ruins. Rome and Greece, however, taught the new nations rising on the wings of stately ships, over the antiquities of Egypt, to open the road to India; and opulent tradesmen, guided by those who lived in the shadows of the Alps, the lagoons of the Adriatic, the pleasant river Arno and the shores of the bright central waters of the Mediterranean, gave the sunny historic lands a larger life.

When Rome was no longer the imperial throne of the world, the

camels, called cleverly the "ships of the deserts" in Africa, gave way to the fleets that represented world-wide sea powers, and gathered the golden harvest between the ends of the earth.

The representative and commanding cities of the revival of civilization, when the sword of old Rome ceased to devour, and the later and fairer forms of progress became manifest, were four—Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence. Venice, the bride of the sea, was first in the illustrious capitals that became nations. Florence lacked the embrace of the sea to inspire her to be the home of wide dominion, and became the glorious city of the Beautiful, the star of the Appenines.

Pisa was the rival of Genoa, as Genoa of Venice; but was long lived and strong enough to be of the leaders of the Crusaders, and carried home from Palestine forty ship loads of the precious hills around Jerusalem, to heap her Campo Santo with sacred soil, and to this end disfigured, with the scars of excavation the landscapes overlooking Solomon's temple, the scene of the Cross of Christ; and the sepulchre from the door of which the stone rolled away.

When we remember the fleet of Pisa, laden with soil touched by the Saviour's feet to make holy a graveyard in Italy, we meet the thought that after all a higher intelligence could declare that skepticism of the "relics" ridiculed by unbelievers in mysteries, might reasonably be relaxed, in view of the stranger things we know have happened; and that, as we see in these days, miracles of science we need not deny the existence of memorials of Christianity though obscured in detail by savagery in the gloom of the desolation that overtook the conquests, won in the sign of the cross, when the sword and torch of Mohammed prevailed and gave the memorials of Christians to graves and dust heaps. The Crusaders, the Greek Emperors, and the stately Italian cities, gathered a harvest with their armies of historical relics in the Holy Lands.

Christopher Columbus is not believed by the people of Genoa to have been born in that city. The testimony, so far as we may use the word, where enlightenment compels the existence of uncertainty, is that the great navigator was born in a village on the shores of the Gulf of Genoa, north of the city and near the sea, in the midst of quarries that yielded red stone.

The exact location of the house that is loosely called the birthplace of Columbus, is not known, but there is interesting truth. There is evidence that a house identified with the Columbus family was the property of his father, and the home of the child who gave the name distinction. The house bears marks, not recent, that it has been changed since the boy Christopher was of the humble home household. It has been duly photographed, after the examination of records, proving it the habitation of the Columbus family. It is on the south side of a steep and narrow street, running from the harbor to the hills. On one side, when the writer found it, was a wine shop, and on the other a tobacco shop.

The present appearances are that the original house has been reconstructed, so far as the front is concerned, into two houses. The one the father of Columbus, the discoverer, lived in, is that on the left of the building as presented in engravings. The form of the windows, and the narrowness of each of the structures as they stand invite this theory. Legal documents exist proving the Columbus folk lived in this place for several generations, including the time of the birth of the man child of high destiny.

There is a photograph of the house taken by an American consul, who investigated the neighborhood and also the official pigeon holes that seemed to speak of the receptacles of many secrets; but the only fact discovered was that the "house of Columbus" was the property and home of the people of which, in that place, Christopher Columbus was one of the children, and that it was for several generations the dwelling place of those who derived title from the navigator's father. There was not, in or near the grim place, a good play ground for the youngsters, and it has the appearance of a promise that it will remain unchanged for the centuries to come, as during like periods in the past.

When Columbus made the discovery identified with his name, the spirit of adventure was abroad in the world, and the art of navigation improving so rapidly that evidently the appointed time was close at hand, for the revelation of the gigantic continents connected by a narrow but rugged isthmus, awaiting explorers to be announced as the new world.



Clearly, Columbus was a man of extraordinary breadth of information and strength of character. He had deep convictions that there was land in the West. He knew substantially the shape of the world, the fact that it sloped off toward the poles, and that the farther North one sailed, the narrower were the seas measured East and West, and the longer and colder the winters grew. He knew the Atlantic ocean broadened southward, and had read of the far East of Asia. Cipango and Cathay were Japan and China.

The travels and writings of them by Mareo Polo, kindled the imagination of the hardy Genoese sailor, destined to the delivery of the stroke of an enchanter's wand, that prepared the way for other and broader discoveries, among them the realization of the magnitude of the globe.

Dreamer that he was, Columbus never dreamed that the earth was great as appeared when the impulse given by his voyages led in a few years comparatively to the completion of circumnavigation of the globe. The first ship that sailed around the earth was that carrying the flag of Magellan's squadron. The ship returned, the last of the fleet, with its captain, but the commander in chief of the squadron was slain in attempting to conquer a beautiful island of the subsequently named Phillippine archipelago. He fought to force the inhabitants to become the subjects of a Christian king, and was killed in the fight.

When the flag ship arrived on the return to Africa, through the straits of Magellan, a day had been lost in the reckoning, but the demonstration was made that the world was round.

Columbus had letters for the Mikado of the age, the Great Kahn imperial house of Japan had then been in power more than two thousand years. The enormous error had been made by the Genoese navigator that the island of Cuba was Cipango. He sent forth messengers with letters of introduction to the sovereign of Japan, and they discovered a people of nakedness and innocence, smoking a strange herb they called "tabac."

The discoverer followed the coast of Cuba in two of his voyages, until convinced he had struck the mainland of Asia. On his last voyage, he saw the coast of South America, but did not land. In

his calculations, believing the globe was round like an egg, he had omitted the Americas and the Pacific ocean. If he had lived to ascertain the bulk of the world, he would have been amazed at the prodigality of nature, in manufacturing worlds made of meteors.

The West Indies, as the islands were named, Columbus actually discovered, turned out richer in natural resources than those of the East. It was the fortune of the navigator to have a spell of fair weather assigned him in the discovery of a far greater land than India, an island surpassing Cipango, in extent, fruitfulness and beauty, if we may count the unlimited ages, to find a bigger and more bountiful Cathay in Asia.

The letters of the discoverer in describing his islands are poems in fact, and glow with the rapture of a wonderful achievement. They are beautiful in poetry and piety, penetrated with a deep sense of duty to Christianity, with devotion to his Church, and he was radiant in his writings about the incomparable loveliness that environed him—the colors of the fish in the rivers rivaling the bloom of the wilderness that was a majestic and opulent orchard of fruit trees. There was waiting for him, as he beheld the dazzling landscapes disclosed, an awful enemy native to the voluptuous airs, destined to destroy navies, compared with which his caravels were as fishing boats, built to keep within view of hospitable shores.

Columbus arrived in the West Indies in the cyclone season. The month of October in that clime especially experiences the terrible tempests that wreck the forests and rend the cities. It is the month of "the hurricane's eclipse of the sun." The discoverer lingered in the enchanted air, hurricane haunted, hoping to find Cipango, until he reluctantly departed from his own Paradise. There was peace while he waited. Everywhere he found surpassing beauties of sea and sky and shore.

All the blandishments of the tropics were spread to banquet his senses to indulge the fascination of suspense and the fancies he painted of the coming time. The mighty whirlwinds that begin as bubbles of the languid atmosphere of the American Mediterranean and send forth their tornadoes like thunderbolts northward and north-westward, were stilled that sober October; but storms overtook and

nearly overwhelmed the Conquering Hero, when, on the waters the trade winds had beguiled him westward. Despairing at last of escaping from the aroused Atlantic, he wrote a brief story of his "find" in the West, placed the parchment in a cake of wax, and the wax in a keg, and so fixed the scroll to float when his ship went down.

There was a change from stormy to fair, and he returned to Spain to receive great honors, and slights, jealousies and treacheries, through which he endured labor and sorrow to the end of his life, and died to be four times buried—in San Domingo once, Cuba once, and Spain first and last. Counting his crossing the Atlantic living and dead, his voyages over that stormy sea, from side to side, were ten. His longest repose was in the cathedral of Havana, where he had an unfinished monument, like "an empty glass turned down," as Spain lost her last island that Colon found for Isabella and Ferdinand.

The new world in the West was not monopolized by the Spaniards, for Portugal was the finder of South America, the Cape of Good Hope doubled, and the waterway to India opened by the Dutch, and the ships of the desert were superseded by the ships that sailed the seas. Then the Italian cities slowly faded as the fleets on the Indian and Atlantic oceans succeeded the caravans in the golden trade in the treasures of India. The Dutch and the Portuguese were the only peoples who contested the universal commercial dominion that suddenly appeared in the strong hands of the Spaniards, as the grandest field known for the propaganda of religion and the expansion of commerce.

Three great peoples, also three great nations, had geographical advantages in the early occupancy of the opportunities of the added hemisphere. We refer to the Spaniards, French and British, then in the highest form of their strength, spirit and enterprise, and more than all, their almost exhaustless vitalities. They were especially obeying the benign injunction to multiply and replenish the earth, and the colonial systems of Spain and her rivals became the passions of powers.

The competing nations for the possessions across the Atlantic, of the North Temperate zone, and the Arctic slope and Tropic belt of the globe, were of the western shore of Europe, and the great islands and peninsulas, the discoverer himself a native of Italy under the

patronage of Spain ; and the English and French, heedless of claims to incomparable continents, warred against the monopoly of the new world by the first of the sightseers.

The second decline of Italy, from the foremost and most lofty of the progressive people of the Middle Ages, and the days of the higher destiny of the four superb history making cities had departed. The great powers—England, France and Spain—that wrought for and fought for the American acquisition were combating among themselves through generations. There were no people within range of contention with this mighty trimvirate of states growing colonies, and for a time the developments of their vast ambition were rather pacific and commercial than belligerent. They had no idea that the statesmanship of arbitration existed.

The fateful happening in locating the colonial pretensions of the respective enterprises undertaken for the foundations of New Spain, New France and New England, gave each great nation its choice almost without conscious volition, but there was no peace. The Americas involved Europe in tedious wars. There was naturalness in the Spanish liking for the sub-tropics, and so we trace them all around the American Mediterranean ; and as Portugal had the east side of South America conceded to her, the Spaniards sailed southward after they found the Pacific unoccupied ; and as Cortez dealt with Montezuma and Gantomazen, Pizarro proceeded to the conquest of Peru and the spoil of the Incas.

The greed for gold was the direct cause for the destruction of the child-like people of the islands discovered by Columbus. The Caribs were the fighting Indians of the Indies, and they were desperadoes hard to overcome, but rapidly slaughtered as the Spaniards flocked to the scenes of riches and enchantment. The Caribs ate human flesh, and in war devoured the slain of their enemies.

A wonderful devotion and enthusiasm was characteristic of many of the Spanish priests, but they could not protect the peaceable and credulous people they sought to convert. The natives perished rapidly from the tasks imposed and the hardships the genteel idlers had forced upon them. The introduction of negroes, that became so dire a problem, was because the blacks could undergo more privation

than the primitive and tender natives, but the negroes fared no better as to longevity.

It was said that for many years there was a fancy impressed upon the aborigines that the blacks were immortal creatures, "because all the dead ones they ever seen had been hanged." If a black man failed to work satisfactorily under the lash, he was turned over to the hangman.

Arthur Help's "Spanish Conquest" is the standard history of the Spanish occupation of America, and gives this surprising but authentic account of the introduction of the Africans, because they were better laborers than the native Americans.

The authority of Las Casas stands for the shocking story of Trinidad. We quote:

"There was a certain man named Juan Bono, and he was employed by the members of the *audiencia* of St. Domingo to go and obtain Indians. He and his men, to the number of fifty or sixty, landed on the island of Trinidad. Now the Indians of Trinidad were a mild, credulous race, the enemies of the Caribs, who ate human flesh.

"On Juan Bono's landing, the Indians, armed with bows and arrows, went to meet the Spaniards, and to ask them who they were and what they wanted. Juan Bono replied that his crew were good and peaceable people, who had come to live with the Indians; upon which, as the commencement of good fellowship, the natives offered to build houses for the Spaniards.

"The Spanish captain expressed a wish to have one large house built. The accommodating Indians set about building it. It was to be in the form of a bell, and to be large enough for a hundred persons to live in. On any great occasions it would hold many more. Every day, while this house was being built, the Spaniards were fed with fish, bread and fruit by their good-natured hosts. Juan Bono was very anxious to see the roof on, and the Indians continued to work at the building with alacrity. At last it was completed, being two stories high, and so constructed that those within could not see those without.

"Upon a certain day Juan Bono collected the Indians together, men, women and children, in the building, to see, as he told them,

'what was to be done.' Whether they thought they were coming to some festival, or that they were to do something more for the great house, does not appear. However, they were all there four hundred of them, looking with much delight on their own handiwork.

"Meanwhile, Juan Bono brought his men round the building with drawn swords in their hands; then, having thoroughly entrapped his Indian friends, he entered with a party of armed men and bade the Indians keep still or he would kill them. They did not listen to him, but rushed against the door. A horrible massacre ensued. Some of the Indians forced their way out; but many of them, stupefied at what they saw, and losing heart, were captured and bound. A hundred, however, escaped, and snatching up their arms, assembled in one of their own houses and prepared to defend themselves.

"Juan Bono summoned them to surrender; they would not hear of it; and then, as Las Casas says, 'He resolved to pay them completely for their hospitality and kind treatment he had received,' and so, setting fire to the house, the whole hundred men, together with some women and children, were burned alive."

This is an example of the horrors of the Conquest, one of hundreds of chapters.

Cortes entered the city of Tenochtitlan on the 8th of November, 1519, and was received by Montezuma, who was very hospitable toward the Spaniards, because he feared them. Cortes presently aroused the Mexicans, who rebelled against Montezuma and aided the Spaniards with swarms of warriors, who were with him when he seized the monarch and governed in his name. After many scenes of slaughter, the great city was taken and retaken.

Cortes was aided by Spaniards fascinated by the splendors of the opulent city, who hastened to reinforce him, and the fighting became desperate. He was very haughty after putting down a rebellion by the Spaniards, and his enemies pressed him to desperation. He had reserved Montezuma as a last resource, and caused the captive king to be presented to the mob. They turned on him and gave him wounds from which he soon expired in the arms of his attendants.

The Mexicans were not like the islanders. They lived in good houses, many of them stone. They were a mighty people, surrounded

by tributary states, easily induced to revolt, and eager for plunder. Cortes was a rude but very capable soldier, a marvel in deception. composed in battle and yet frantic in the midst of slaughter. He spared the monarch he made his slave no humiliation, using him against his own people until they killed him, though they adored him.

Gautomazen, when put on coals to be tortured that he might discover gold to reward murderers, and taunted in his torments, cried that he was "not on a bed of roses."

The Pizarros in Peru pursued a masterful policy of treachery in the pursuit of treasury, and in all the Spanish colonies were like scenes of tragedy, and the native savages victims of more savage men—white men—who came across the ocean and inflicted upon the black and red slaves horrible tasks in working in deep mines carrying ore on their heads up dizzy ladders, sparing no horror in their bloody raids for riches.

Pizarro played with the Inca of Peru a game quite like that of Cortes in Mexico. Atahualpa, the Inca, was captured by stratagem and seized, used, abused, driven to despair and murdered when he gave a room full of gold, piled as high as he could reach, to be set free. This prince of Peru was held by his people to be a god; and when he threw upon the ground the Spaniards' Bible, that was charged as one of his moral crimes. The Peruvian god, as he was worshipped, was enough converted to be spared burning to death. In his simplicity, he preferred glass to gold, because he could see himself in mirrors. He was, at the end, much honored. The story of the murder of the Inca is this:

"When the sentence was communicated to the Inca, loud were his protestations against the injustice, the tyranny, and the ill-faith of Pizarro; but all these complaints availed him nothing; and he prepared himself for death with that dignity which men who have long held high station, and have been accustomed to act before a large audience, are wont to show, as if they said to themselves, 'We play a great part in human life, and that part shall suffer no diminution of its dignity in our hands.' When brought to the place of execution he said that he would be a Christian, the threat of burning



being found, as it often has been, a great enlightenment upon difficult points of doctrine.

"Vincente de Valverde baptized the Inca under the name of Don Juan Atahualpa, and the new convert was then tied to a stake. Just before his death he recommended to the governor his little children, whom he desired to have near him, and with these last words he was suddenly strangled with a cross-bow string. That night his body was left in the great square, and in the morning he was buried with all pomp and honor in the church which the Spaniards had already built, all the principal lords and caciques who served him received much satisfaction, considering the great honor which had been done him, knowing that by reason of his having been made a Christian he was not burned alive, and that he was buried in the church as if he had been a Spaniard."

This martyr was avenged by the Spaniards themselves, because his riches were celebrated, and there were many adventurers from Spain who fought for their share of the spoil, and they massacred each other in a Spanish civil war, in which the Pizarros perished.

The heroism of the discoverers of the new world, in spite of all their deeds of glory, and the toil of good men to avert the doom for shedding the blood of the nations the incomparable land of promise was dishonored by robbery and murder, Spain declined in the midst of her conquests, and the blood of the innocent crying from the ground did not cry in vain. The sword devoured according to the doom that they who take the sword perish by it. Spain has lost her last colony in the American Hemisphere, and ceased to be one of the great nations.

It was the fate of France to be assigned by events that uncontrolled, drifted to the snowy rather than sunny lands, and her wonderful work in the colonies of Canada, by their hunters and missionaries of surpassing energy, faith and courage, made an impression that has endured more than a century, in the dominion of their conquerer, England.

The French in the first place appeared to steer from the northern ports due West, and the thoughtful purpose, or obstinate habit, carried them on this side the Atlantic far to the North. Even yet the people



of North America are troubled to realize that England is in the latitude of Labrador, and France and Spain on the lines that drawn westward would strike Canada and New England. The French steamers to this day have an inclination to go further North, on the way to New York or Boston, than the English care to go; and the maxim that governs much navigation is, that the nearer a European boat runs to Cape Race, the shorter the voyage.

The fact that the liners bound for Europe from New York, have to run six hundred miles North in order to reach the English channel, seems to those not educated to an accurate understanding, unaccountable. On this side the sign that speaks of the North is the run through the fogs of the banks of Newfoundland. The Gulf Stream saves the British Islands from the climate of Labrador, as the Pacific currents bearing Northeast, soften our winters in Oregon and Washington, and extend the influences of the vast tropic seas to the Pacific Coast.

It has turned out distinctly the better way for the people of the United States, that the English colonies did not clash with those of France in the North and Spain in the South, but were first placed on the bleak rocks of Massachusetts and the fertile banks of the broad tidal James river in Virginia.

There were great differences between New England regions and the Potomac country where was mingled a happy medium between Massachusetts and Virginia, while New York, New Jersey and Delaware were plainly of the temperate zone, with the immeasurable, in the olden time, the background of the continent, for new States.

The Carolinas and Georgia were the South land; and it was well that generous Virginia was endowed by royal grants with the Northwest. It was a shadowy kingly title she held, but she had in its shade the potentiality of a mighty nation. It reached the great lakes and Virginia was the first to fight the French and Indians for the Ohio country; and the Mississippi was bound to the domain of the South Atlantic colonies by the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. The movers west were directed by the sunsets of summer days.

When the Northwest passed from the colonial possession of Virginia into the responsibilities of self government, the Virginian

Presidential Dynasty added to the original States and Territories the Franco-Spanish possessions Napoleon had to sell. Then the future World Power gained her Pacific coast and Andrew Jackson's sword completed the conquest that Thomas Jefferson's pen prepared.

The English speaking colonial people, instinctively moved by the logic of the history of the race, avoided extremes of heat and cold, and the heart of the continent was hers, with the Mississippi Valley to perpetuate with its magnificent unity and magnetic attraction, that in harmony secured the Union of States forever.

It was fortunate that George Washington was the first President, and had in his Cabinet Jefferson and Hamilton, and that Adams should have been the successor of Washington, and Jefferson the successor of Adams. Then Virginian statesmanship and her military chieftainship also had great parts to play, and played them with the gifts the people gave. It ended with the expansion of the whole country, and Jackson and Polk, of Tennessee, established constitutional consolidation. There seemed to be wisdom for all in the American air, so great that the builders had an inspiration that gave them constructive art more than they knew, and they builded for their generation wiser than was known in their days or by themselves.

We, even now, have not fully realized the value of the land north and south of our boundary lines; and it is more and more true that the colder climes teem with surpassing treasures, in fruit and grain lands, and iron, copper and gold mines.

If the English had discovered and settled the American Indies, they would, according to the forces of the people, have established, with their inventive eagerness and the favors of soil and climate, an empire including all the shores of the gulf, and the islands great and small; and perhaps it would have been the seat of the greatest slave labor power that has been founded since the Tartars and Arabs subordinated Asia. The shores of our great central seas would not, if possessed all around by our people, have been a country dedicated to free labor.

The list of new world heroes is long, beginning with Columbus and closing with Captain Cook. The maps showing routes, followed by discoveries of the new world, giving plainly all the routes of

Columbus from the African to the American islands; also the routes of the Northmen and of Davis, Forbisher, Sebastian Cabot, Henry Hudson, Cartier and John Cabot.

The heroes whose names are recorded worthy a place among the illustrious adventurers and heroes who extended the borders of knowledge are: Americus Vesputius, who made four voyages, Sebastian Cabot, the discoverer of North America; Balboa, discoverer of the Pacific Ocean; Magellan, discoverer of the South Pacific; Cabral, discoverer of Brazil; Fernando Cortez, conqueror of Mexico; Francisco Pizarro, the discoverer of Peru; Ferdinand De Soto, discoverer of the Mississippi River; Jacques Cartier, discoverer of Canada; Juan Fernandez, discoverer of Robinson Crusoe's island; Sir Martin Forbisher, hero of the Northwest Passage; Sir Francis Drake, the Elizabethan navigator; John Davis, the second Arctic navigator; Henry Hudson, the great Dutch navigator; Tasman Vitus Behring, Russian navigator; Captain James Cook, the explorer of the South Sea.

The heroes were not the captains only, but the men of action and labor, who were faithful to the cause in which they enlisted, and dared to do their duty against odds; and the lesson is at the beginning of the Americanism that is a power that girdles the globe, that honor and fame belong to the brave and true, to the heroes in the ranks; and it is their due always to have fair play to win their way.

The Spaniards lost strength as a people in the excessive immigration of the men who fought in Mexico and Peru, along the Mississippi, and in the Floridas, and the wars with the brigands of the gulf. Spanish life was lavished from Arkansas to the Amazon, and in the mines from the Peruvian Andes to California. The thunder of the navies of England, Spain and France, fighting for the new Indies, in their combats that decided the ownership of the treasure ships of the Spaniards. It was not until the French appeared at Yorktown to cut off the retreat of Cornwallis, and Rodney beat the French off Martinique when they were on their way to Jamaica, and avenger. English defeat off the capes of Virginia.

The closing scene of West Indian warfare was when the fleet of England sailed away from New Orleans, baffled by Kentucky rifles.

The last Spanish squadron passed away in a battle storm, fighting for the last American island belonging to Spain, in sight of Santiago along Cuba's southern shore, and there was added to the list of the heroic men of Spain, fighting in vain, the name of Cervera, who fought to the finish the last battle for his country.

This book fills in better form and style, with greater evidence of deep research and steadfast labor, than can be found in the same space in the libraries that contain the records of the heroic men and the wondrous resources and scenery of the Americas; and it surpasses all that has been presented to the public, of the stories of the careers of Columbus and his followers. There has been no chapter in the world's History exceeding the story of the New World that Colon gave to Castile and Leon, in combining the fascination of romance with the assurance of history, richer in the strife of human endeavor, rarer in the dramatic incidents of true tragedies, more instructive in the deeds of brave men in strange countries and uncommon situations, than is harvested here, and recorded in attractive form.

It condenses the treasures of libraries, and sets forth with the excellence of simplicity the truthful tales of the ages of American discovery and adventure, that made possible the progress that is best described as American, gives the foremost of the heroic characters that which is due the glory of his deeds, and the pathos of his sufferings that all appear in the lines school children know so well, and recite so often that all men and women know and cherish and give with their love to the children:

Columbia, Columbia,  
To glory arise;  
The Queen of the World.  
The child of the skies.  
Thy genius commands me,  
With rapture behold,  
While ages on ages  
Thy splendors unfold.

*Murat Halsted*

# NEW WORLD HEROES

OF

## EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST.

### CHAPTER I.

#### AMERICA BEFORE COLUMBUS.

Plan of the Work—Divisions of History—Egyptian Knowledge of America—Other Legends—Carthaginian Discoveries—Records Found—A Grecian Tomb in America—Similarity of Picture Writing—Chinese Discoveries—Difficulties of Maritime Enterprises—Invention of the Compass—Welsh-Speaking Indians—The Norsemen—Erik the Red—Discovery of Greenland—Leif's Voyage—The Round Tower—The First Fight with the Indians.

IT is our purpose in this volume to trace the history of the great discoveries beginning in the memorable year 1492; to show how not only Columbus labored and waited until his great opportunity came, but the adventures and hardships through which his contemporaries and successors sought out the mysteries surrounding that New World.

Before entering upon this task, however, it will be well to consider the stories told of various seamen who had sought and found the far-off continent, before Columbus. We shall also see what dim knowledge of a land beyond the great western ocean was current among the peoples of antiquity.

History is usually divided into three parts. Ancient history ends with the fall of Rome, in 476 A.D.; the History of the Middle Ages then begins, and extends over a period of about ten centuries; since the end of which, the record is called Modern History. During the first period, there were certain traditions regarding a country which was probably America; during the second period there may have been some daring sailors who reached the New World; the third period begins with the story of exploration, discovery and settlement in America.

Solon, one of the seven wise men of Greece, who lived in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C., traveled into far countries, to learn all that the sages of other nations had to teach. When he reached Egypt, he thought to astonish the priests—the learned men of the country—by telling them of the history of Greece, and particularly of Athens, of which city he was a native.

"Solon, Solon!" exclaimed one of the oldest of them; "the Greeks are nothing but children, and an aged Greek there is none."

Much surprised at this, the traveler asked the priest what he meant; and received in reply such an account of the knowledge which the Egyptians possessed of other peoples, as to make him accept for truth what had seemed but an idle boast.

Among other things, the old priest told him of a vast island, or rather continent, which once lay in the great ocean, to the west of Europe, and which was reached by a short voyage after the sailor had passed the Pillars of Hercules, as the Strait of Gibraltar was then called. The people of this continent had often made war upon those of Europe, and had been much dreaded by them; but a series of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and similar calamities, had caused this great island to sink into the waters of the ocean, with all its vast hordes of inhabitants; and the peoples of Europe had thus been saved from these terrible enemies. The sinking of this island, the priest added, had so blocked up the ocean with mud as to make it forever afterward impassable. The date of its destruction he fixed at a point about nine thousand years before his own time.

Solon returned to Greece, bearing this information with him; but it does not seem to have been made public until the time of his descendant Plato, who lived about two hundred years later; and we have no means of knowing how much Plato added to the original story from the treasury of his own mind. It is from this source that we derive the classic fables of the Lost Atlantis.

There were legends, too, of the Gardens of the Hesperides, and of the Fortunate Islands, and, later, of St. Brandan's Island and other favored places, far in the west; but whether these had any connection with a belief in land beyond the Atlantic, or whether this was simply considered a convenient situation for the scene of such stories, since nobody knew enough of this region to say the islands were not there, we cannot pretend to say.

It is possible that America was reached by the Phœnician and Carthaginian sailors, the most adventurous of antiquity. But the Phœnicians were early reduced to insignificance among the nations of the world, while the Carthaginians, whose city they had founded, rose into importance. But Carthage engaged in wars with Rome, and was finally wholly destroyed by the armies of that great city; and all record of her colonies and discoveries was thus lost. It is certain that Carthaginian sailors discovered the Canary Islands, which were then uninhabited; and these islands were peopled from Carthage; yet, when they were re-discovered, the inhabitants had lost all tradition of their ancestors having come from another country, and thought themselves the only people in the world.

Traditions which have survived the destruction of Carthage tell us that a vessel on the Mediterranean, which was sailing towards the Straits of Gibraltar, the ancient Calpe, was driven by storms beyond it, and was heard of

no more. Did it reach America? At a meeting of the Mexican Geographical Society, some few years since, it was stated that some brass tablets had been discovered in the northern part of Brazil, covered with Phœnician inscriptions, which tell of the discovery of America five centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. These are now in the museum at Rio Janeiro. They state that a Sidonian fleet sailed from a harbor in the Red Sea, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, was driven by the south-east trade-winds, and then by the north-east, across the Atlantic. The number of the vessels, the number of seamen, and many other particulars are there given.



A PHœNICIAN VESSEL.

In 1827, a farmer near Montevideo, in Uruguay, South America, is said to have discovered a flat stone which bore an inscription in a language unknown to him. Beneath it was a vault of masonry, in which was deposited two ancient swords, a helmet, and a shield. The stone which had covered the vault was taken to Montevideo, where it was found that the inscription was in most parts sufficiently legible to be deciphered. According to those learned men who examined it, it was in Greek, and read as follows:—

“During the dominion of Alexander, the son of Philip, King of Macedon, in the sixty-third Olympiad, Ptolemais.”

On the handle of one of the swords was a man's portrait, supposed to be that of Alexander; the helmet was decorated with a fine sculpture representing Achilles dragging the body of Hector around the walls of Troy. If this is indeed a relic of times before Columbus, it would indicate that during the reign of Alexander the Great, about 330 B. C., a party of Greeks had crossed the Atlantic. Why the arms should have been deposited in this vault we do not know; it may have been that one of their number, Ptolemais, possibly their leader, died; it may be that they found it impossible to carry out the customs of their nation, and reduce the body to ashes; and hence entombed it



in this vault, with the arms which their leader had used during his lifetime. More than two thousand years had passed before it was opened; and in that time every trace of the body and its softer clothing had been destroyed, leaving only the imperishable metals.



A FLEET OF ROMAN GALLEYS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

These are the stories of ancient times in regard to America. It will be noticed that while there are accounts of men who reached the western shores of the Atlantic, it would seem that there are none of whom it is said that they returned. Yet the fables of Atlantis shows that at some time the people of the eastern continent must have known something of the western. It is a curious fact, in this connection, that recent investigations have shown that the monuments of Mexico and Central America are surprisingly similar to those of Egypt; and there is a still greater degree of similarity between the picture-writing of these two far-distant parts of the world. How much of the civilization of Mexico and Peru, which has long been the wonder of white men, came originally from Egypt, the mother of the arts and sciences known to Europe?

At the very beginning of the Middle Ages, we find a claim of another discovery of America; but this time from the other coast. In 1761, Deguignes,



a French scholar whose name is now almost unknown, announced to the world that the Chinese discovered America in the fifth century, A. D. He derived this information from the official annals of the Chinese Empire, to which, he claimed, he had gained access. He tells us that he found that in the year 499 A. D., a Chinese Buddhist priest returned to Singan, the capital of China, from Tahan, or Khamchatka, saying that he had been to a country twenty thousand *li*, or about seven thousand miles, beyond Tahan. It is supposed by Deguignes from this statement of the distance, that he had crossed Behring's Strait and journeyed southward to California, or perhaps as far as Mexico. The explorer called this country Fusang, from the fact that the maguey, or American aloe, so plentiful in that part of North America, resembles the plant which the Chinese call fusang.

Before considering at more length the stories of those navigators who are said to have preceded Columbus in the discovery of America, let us see what difficulties were in the way. In the first place, the vessels which served for coasting voyages were, in very many cases, small and ill-fitted for buffeting with the storms of the Atlantic. We shall see hereafter, however, that an experienced sailor did not consider certain ships as unfitted for his purpose because they were smaller than many of his day; and, perhaps, in comparing the ships of the two periods, we are apt to place too much stress on the fact that the vessels of to-day are large, and conclude that because of their size they are safer. Possibly the small craft in which the early navigators crossed the Atlantic were far safer and more manageable than larger vessels would have been, without the aid of steam to speed them on their way.

A far greater difficulty lay in the ignorance of the sailors. Do we realize what it means to have no newspapers, no books except costly manuscripts, no schools except for those of high rank or who intended to enter the priesthood? Can a modern sailor imagine what it would be to drift upon an unknown sea, without chart or compass? Yet that is what these early seamen did, when they ventured far to the west, in search of land of whose very existence they were not sure.

The mariner's compass was not known in Europe until about the twelfth century; although it had been in use much earlier than this in China. A learned Florentine, who visited England in 1258, wrote home a letter describing one wonderful thing which he had seen. He had been to the great University of Oxford, which had had a European renown for hundreds of years even then, and had been admitted to the study of Friar Roger Bacon, a man so wise that most persons thought he must have sold himself to the devil to learn all that he knew. One of the wonderful things which he saw was the power which a piece of magnetic iron ore possessed over iron and steel; and the great friar, putting a long, slender bit of such ore on a piece of light wood, and letting it float on some water, showed the astonished traveler how

constantly one end of the rude needle pointed to the North Star. It was too strange a power to be wholly right, thought the people of that time; it could only be by Satanic direction that such powers could be given to a bit of senseless iron; how could a piece of metal know more than a Christian? And good, devout Catholics, in stormy weather, were often puzzled to know in what direction to look for the North Star. So the sailors refused to go in any vessel whose master was known to carry this magical contrivance; and it was only when they found that exorcisms and blessings and signs of the cross did not take away this power of the magnet, that they began to believe it did not come from the devil after all. This foolish prejudice against the mariner's compass once removed, a great difficulty in the way of oceanic exploration was smoothed away.

If we may believe the claims of several nations, however, America was discovered more than once before the mariner's compass was in use among European sailors. There are some claims that the Irish, at a period which is not fixed, had sailed westward and reached the farther shores of the Atlantic; and the people of the northern part of Europe told of a country which they called Great Ireland, in very much the same way as the people of the southern part, at a little earlier day, told of Atlantis. It must be remembered in reading of this Irish voyage, that in very early times Ireland was a much more highly civilized country than England. The schools of Ireland were famous throughout Europe, before those of Oxford and Cambridge and Paris were dreamed of, and while the wolves yet howled around the sites of Heidelberg and Leipsic. Such a nation, then, would have many men who knew the story of Atlantis; it might be told to some adventurous sailors, who would employ all the arts of the then civilized world in fitting out a vessel to voyage thither; and who might possibly accomplish the journey and return in safety.

The next account which we shall notice is the story told by the Welsh bards, that in the twelfth century America was discovered by some of their countrymen. The bards, or poets, were the historians of Wales, before, in the fourteenth century, it was conquered by the king of England and made a part of his dominions; in their songs we find all that can be known of the history of Wales; and this is not contradicted by the written history of other nations, in those particular instances where they tell of the same event.

According to them, the death of a king named Owen brought about great dissensions among his sons, who each desired the kingdom for himself, excepting Madoc, who seems to have been a lover of peace. While the other brothers were fighting to decide this question, Madoc sailed away to the westward in search of a country where there was no war. Leaving Ireland to the north, he continued his course until he reached a beautiful and fertile country, supposed, by those who fully accept the account, to have been the coast

of the southern portion of the United States. But he was not content to enjoy this new-found paradise with the few who had come with him; he wished to share it with all who loved peace. He accordingly returned to Wales, and spread the story of his discovery far and wide. Three hundred answered his call, and with ten ships he sailed away again to the western land, but, sad to say, was never heard of more.

In 1740, there appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, an English periodical of high standing, a letter dated more than fifty years before, narrating how the writer, a Welsh clergyman and a graduate of the University of Oxford, had, in company with some other persons, been captured by some Indians of the Tuscarora tribe, near what is now called Cape Hatteras. This occurred about the beginning of the year 1661. The prisoners were in much danger from the Indians, but the reverend gentleman, much to his surprise, found that he could make them understand him by speaking in his native language, which was substantially the same as their own. By pleading with them in Welsh, he succeeded in making friends with them, and he and his companions were well treated during the four months that they remained with the Indians. He adds that he preached to the Indians in Welsh, three times a week during this period. To this communication the name of the Rev. Morgan Jones is signed.

This testimony alone would be of little weight; for it was written twenty-five years after the occurrence, and published fifty-five years after it was written. Others, however, have told of the Indians who speak Welsh; and more than one Welshman, who knew no language except that and English, is said to have been able to talk to the Indians, and understand them, although they knew no language but their own. Mr. Jones describes the Indians into whose hands he fell as being so light in color that he first took them for white men; and it is true that the Tuscaroras, who were the sixth of the famous Six Nations, were frequently called white Indians.

It is said, also, that the Conestogas showed especial hatred to such whites as were of a fair complexion; and a red-haired, blue-eyed person, would be more cruelly treated by them than one with dark hair and eyes. An enthusiastic Welshman declares that this was because their remote ancestors had had hard battles with Madoc and his followers, and they instinctively recognized persons of fair hair as bitter enemies.

How much of the story of Madoc is true, we do not know, but it seems to fit in with what the Mexicans told the Spaniards: that they had been taught many things by white strangers from the east, who had gone back across the Atlantic, promising to return. If this were Madoc and his companions, it seems that they never reached America after leaving Wales the second time, but were lost to both continents. If, on the other hand, the ancestors of the Tuscaroras were Welshmen, Madoc's ten ships reached their destination, but

those which tried to return were lost. One thing is certain: Madoc and his handful of men could not have civilized Mexico and settled North Carolina. One claim or the other must be given up.



DISCOVERY OF GREENLAND BY NORSE SHIPS.

We come now to the account of the discovery of America by navigators from another country, whose claims to having actually reached the shores of the western continent are clearer and better proved than any of those who went before them. The discoveries of the Norsemen are recorded in their sagas; and being written history, these accounts deserve more credit than

any mere traditions. The only question is, what land was actually reached; was it a portion of the New England coast, or was it nearer the coast of Greenland?

From the Saga of Erik the Red we condense and modernize the following account:—

Thorvald and his son Erik removed from the southwestern coast of Norway to Iceland, in consequence of murder, after several colonies had been established in that island. Thorvald died there, and Erik married. Moving northward from where he first settled, Erik's name of "The Red" seems to have been merited by new deeds of violence; for shortly after the birth of his son Leif he was compelled to remove again, this time to the westward. Disputes between him and his new neighbors arose, as a result of which he was declared an outlaw. Gunnbjorn, a countryman of Erik's, had sailed to the westward and brought back word that there was land there; it is supposed that this land was Gunnbjarnasker, now concealed, or rendered inaccessible, by the descent of Arctic ice. Erik said he would come back to his friend if he found the land, says the old chronicle; and it would appear from this that he was desperate: if he did not find land, he would perish in the waste of waters. He reached Greenland, seen then by European eyes for the first time, and touched at a point which he named Midjokul; the term *jokul* being applied to a mountain covered with snow.

Reaching Greenland in the spring or summer, he remained there for two winters. The third summer he went to Iceland, and anchored his ship near the point from which he had sailed. He called the land which he had found Greenland, because, said he, "People will be attracted thither, if the land has a good name."

Remaining in Iceland all winter, probably to get recruits for his new enterprise, he sailed back to Greenland the next summer, with a fleet of thirty-five vessels; but of these only fourteen reached their destination; some were lost, and the others driven back.

The saga places this settlement fifteen winters before Christianity was established by law in Iceland, or 985 A. D.; Iceland having been settled 874 A. D.

One of the settlers who accompanied Erik was named Herjulf. His son, Bjarni, was a bold and daring sailor, who possessed his own ship while still a very young man. It was his custom to spend every second winter with his father, the remainder of the time being given to the sea. Accordingly, he set sail from Norway in the summer time, and arrived in Iceland only to find that his father had moved to Greenland.

These tidings, the old chronicler says, appeared serious to Bjarni, and he was unwilling to unload his ship. Then his seamen asked him what he would do; he answered that he intended to continue his custom, and spend the

winter with his father; and asked them if they would accompany him to Greenland. They assented to this, though none of them had been in the "Greenland Ocean." Putting to sea, they had fair weather for three days; but after that, fogs arose, and continued many days. Finally, they saw land. They were doubtful, however, if this was Greenland; and sailed closer before they could determine. Seeing that it was without mountains, but covered with wood, they decided that it could not be the country which they were seeking, and leaving it on the larboard side, sailed two days before they again saw land. This, again, did not answer the description, being a flat land covered with wood.

The sailors, however, were tired of seeking a land the location of which they did not know, and wished to go ashore here; pretending, when Bjarni objected, that they were in need of wood and water. He stoutly refused to permit it, however, and at last they unwillingly turned the prow from the land. Sailing three days with a south-west wind, they saw another land, covered with mountains and ice-hills; but this did not appear inviting to Bjarni, and he forbade the sails to be lowered. As they kept on their course, they saw that this was an island.

Once more putting out to sea, they sailed four days, when they saw the fourth land. It seemed to Bjarni that this answered the description of Greenland, and putting about for shore, they chanced to land just at the point where Bjarni's father, Herjulf, had settled.

What were the three lands that he saw? If we carefully trace his course on the map, remembering that the Norsemen reckoned a day's sail at about thirty geographical miles, and keeping in mind what is said of the direction of the wind, we can but come to the conclusion that the first land seen was Connecticut or Long Island, while the great island was doubtless Newfoundland; the second land was some point between the two.

This is the first written record which we have of the discovery of the mainland of America. The voyage was made at some time in the late summer or autumn of 985; but, as we have seen, the Europeans did not attempt to land.

Bjarni went back to Norway, where he boasted of his discovery; but the fact that he had refused to land became somewhat a matter of reproach to him. His experiences, however, caused much talk about voyages of discovery, and Leif, the son of that quarrelsome Erik the Red, who had first settled Greenland, sailed away to the south-west with thirty-five men.

One of these is called in the saga a Southern; he was probably a German. But we will quote the simple old story itself:—

"Now prepared they their ship, and sailed out into the sea when they were ready, and then found that land first which Bjarni had found last. There sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off boats, and went



ashore, and found there no grass. \* \* \* \* Then said Leif: 'We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland.'

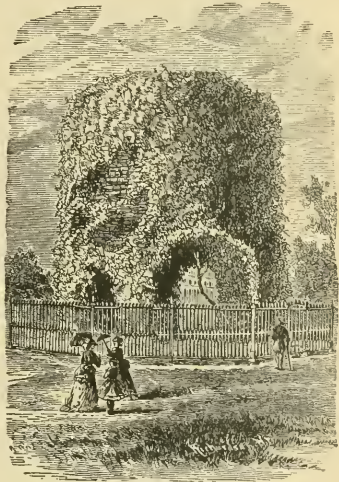
'Then went they on board, and after that sailed out to sea, and found another land; they sailed again to the land, and cast anchor, then put off boats and went on shore. This land was flat, and covered with wood, and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low.'

The country was accordingly named Markland, which means woodland in the Norse tongue. Returning to the ship, they sailed again into the open sea before a north-east wind. Two days later, they came to an island, supposed, from the distance and direction, to have been Nantucket; thence their course lay along the coast until they reached Mt. Hope Bay. They noted that on the shortest day in winter—for they remained here all winter—the day was nine hours long; the sun rising at half-past seven and setting at half-past four. This circumstance confirms the conclusion drawn from the direction and length of their course over the seas; for the time of sunrise and sunset varies with the latitude; and the times given by them correspond with the actual length of the day at this point.

Having determined to settle at this point, they "built there large houses." Was one of these buildings that Round Tower at Newport, the origin of which has been so much debated? Leif divided his party, sending half out upon journeys to explore the land, while the others remained at home.

They did not go far, it being understood that they were always to be back at night-fall. Leif himself sometimes accompanied these expeditions; sometimes stayed at home.

"It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and this was Tyrker the German. This took Leif much to heart, for Tyrker had been long with his father and him, and loved Lief much in his childhood. Lief now took his people severely to task, and prepared to seek for Tyrker, and took twelve men with him. But when they had gotten a short way from the house, then came Tyrker toward them, and was joyfully received. Leif soon



ROUND TOWER AT NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.

saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses. Tyrker had a high forehead, and unsteady eyes, was freckled in the face, small and mean in stature, but excellent in all kinds of artifice. Then said Leif to him:—

“ ‘Why wert thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?’



LEIF AND HIS MEN FIND TYRKER.

“Tyrker now spoke first, for a long time, in German, and rolled his eyes about to different sides, and twisted his mouth, but they did not understand what he said. After a time he spoke Norse:—

“ ‘I have not been much further off, but still I have something new to tell of; I found wine-wood and wine-berries.’



“ ‘But is that true, my fosterer?’ said Leif.

“ ‘Surely is it true,’ replied he, ‘for I was bred up in a land where there is no want either of wine-wood or wine-berries.’

“ They slept now for the night, but in the morning, Leif said to his sailors:

“ ‘We will now set about two things, in that the one day we gather grapes, and the other day cut vines and fell trees, so from thence will be a loading for my ship.’

“ And that was the counsel taken, and it is said their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was a cargo cut down for the ship, and when the spring came, they got ready and sailed away, and Lief gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it Vinland.”

The next voyage was made by Thorvald, the younger brother of Leif. These voyagers made for the point where Leif and his companions had spent the winter, but were less fortunate than they had been. Leaving these houses behind them, they started upon a further journey of discovery; and here we find the story of the first encounter between Indians and Europeans. Having landed, Thorvald and his men saw three skin-boats drawn up on the sand; they approached them, and found that there were three men under each. Dividing, they surrounded the natives, and attacked them. One escaped; eight were captured and put to death. Thus early did the wanton war upon the Indians begin.

But the red man who had escaped had carried the tidings to his tribe; and that night, while Thorvald and his men were sleeping as peacefully as if they had not murdered their prisoners, were alarmed by the war-cry of the savages. They were repulsed, but one of the white men being wounded. That one was Thorvald; and the wound was evidently with a poisoned arrow, for he died, and was buried at the cape where he thought it best to dwell.

The next voyage was made by a third brother, Thorstein, who took his wife Gudrid with him. He died shortly after they returned to Greenland, and Gudrid married Thorfinn, an able seaman and merchant. Thorfinn fitted out a vessel to explore Vinland, and again Gudrid went with her husband to the new country.

Here a son was born to them, whom they named Snorre—the first child of European parentage born on the western continent. Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor, and many other eminent Norwegians, claimed descent from Snorre Thorfinnson, born in America in 1007 A. D.

Thorfinn and his party met the natives several times, but did not fight them, as the early explorers had done. They traded peaceably with them for awhile—cheating the Indians, of course—and thought there was no danger from them. But the roaring of a bull which the strangers brought with them so frightened the natives that they fled at their utmost speed, and were not seen again for three weeks. Then they returned in force, attacking the

strangers, who were glad to withdraw to the houses which they had built.

The Indians were repulsed, but the whites judged it wisest to leave a land where there was such danger from the natives. It must be remembered that these early Norsemen did not have the advantage of firearms, as those who came in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had. The Indians had knives and axes of stone; the Norsemen had weapons of iron, and this was the sole advantage which they possessed. Hopelessly outnumbered, there was nothing for them to do but withdraw.

According to some authorities, one hundred of them refused to follow their leader back to Greenland, but remained in the new country, the land of corn and wine, as it truly seemed to these children of the frozen North. It is not certain, however, but what all of them went back to Greenland.

There were some minor voyages after this time; but during the century to which we have now come, a terrible plague swept over Norway, and so decreased the population that there was no need for the people to seek new homes beyond the sea. Perhaps the traditions of the terrible natives had something to do with this; or perhaps their energies were turned in other directions. Certainly, the voyages of the Norsemen to the coast of North America had ceased long before the time of Columbus; and the records were stored away, to be brought to light again nearly a thousand years after the first of such journeys was made.

We have already alluded to the Round Tower at Newport, which is sup-



THE SKELETON IN ARMOR.

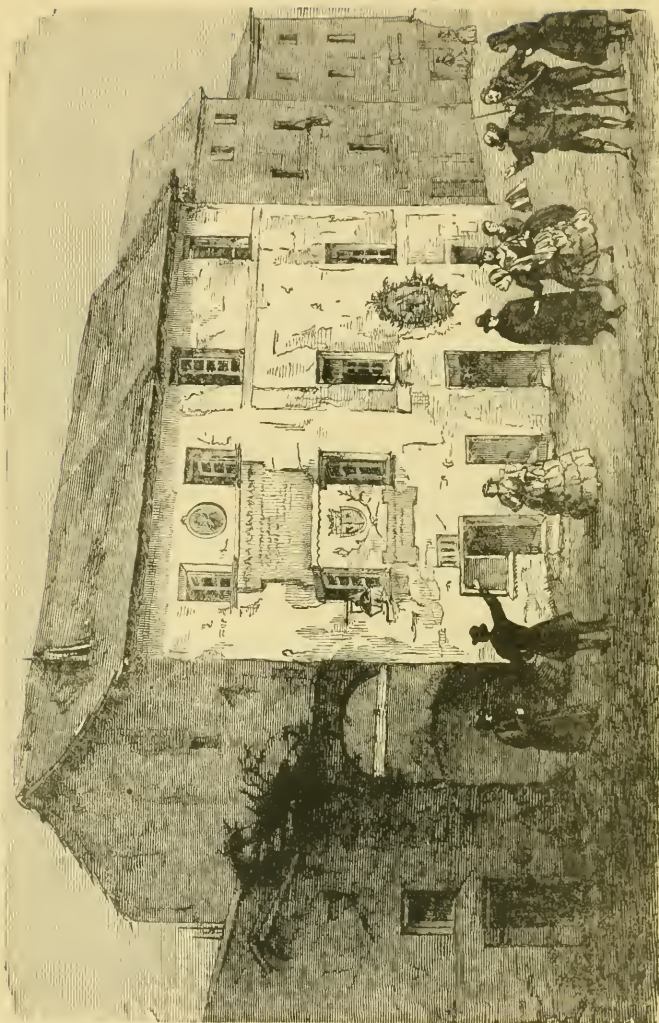
posed by many to be the work of the Norsemen; antiquarians claiming that it resembles certain structures in the Old World, which are known to have been built by this people. Another curious relic is found in what is called The Dighton Rock, which is situated about six and a half miles from Taunton, Massachusetts. This rock, which is about eleven and a half feet long at the base, and about five feet high, is covered on one face with an inscription, which Norsemen claim is written in the Runic characters which their ancestors used. The name of Thorfinn and the

number of his followers are about the only points which they have been able to make out. It is right to state here that their claim of its Norse origin is not undisputed. Schoolcraft, the best authority upon all matters relating to the American Indian, says it is an Indian picture-writing, and can be readily read by any one acquainted with their mode of expression.

Many Americans are acquainted with Longfellow's poem of "The Skeleton in Armor." This skeleton was dug up in the vicinity of Fall River; was it the body of Thorvald? We have no means of knowing.

It must be remembered that, in all these stories of the early discovery of America there is much that is uncertain and conjectural. Even those heroes whose adventures are recorded in the sagas, have had their claims contested: for they knew so little of geography that they could not clearly describe the position of the lands which they discovered. The difference between the earlier and the later discoverers may be stated thus: Those persons who reached the shores of America before the middle of the fifteenth century, were wild adventurers, knowing nothing of any means of preserving the record of their exploits but the wild songs of their native minstrels; Columbus and many of his successors were men of science, capable of observing and recording points which made patent to the world the facts of their achievements.

Thus ends the story of those who claimed to have discovered the western world before Columbus set out on his memorable voyage. We shall see, when we come to tell of his struggles to obtain recognition, whether he knew anything of what others had done before him by crossing the great Atlantic.



BIRTHPLACE OF COLVIRUS.

## CHAPTER II.

### COLUMBUS' LIFE BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Date and Place of His Birth—A Poor Man's Son—Education—Geographical Knowledge of the Time—Ideas of India—Marco Polo—A Splendid Banquet—The Seoffers Rebuked—"Lord Millions"—The Story of His Travels—The Grand Khan—Cipango—Imprisoned at Genoa—Influence on Youths of Genoa—Columbus Sees Service—Deceiving a Mutinous Crew—Prince Henry of Portugal—Columbus at Lisbon—Marriage—An Honored Profession—Friends—Evidence of a World Beyond the Waters—Growth of His Great Idea—Toscanelli Consulted—Religious Character of Columbus—Application to Genoa—To Venice—Voyage to Iceland—Application to Portugal—A Scurvy Trick—Condition of European Countries—A Friend at Last—Disappointment—A Sketch of Spanish History—The War Against the Moors—Effect upon the Project of Columbus—Friends at Court—Received by King Ferdinand—The Great Council of Salamanca—The Folly of the Wise—The Arguments of Columbus—Delayed Decision—A Wandering Court—Invitation to Portugal—Letter from England—The Council's Decision—Columbus Sets out for France—At the Convent Gate—Friends at Palos—Appeal to the Queen—Demands of Columbus Rejected—A Courageous Courtier—Columbus Recalled—Isabella's Independence—Articles of Agreement.

HAVING now renewed brielly the claims of those nations which are said to have discovered America before it was reached by the Genoese sailor with his Spanish followers, let us learn what we can of the early years of the great discoverer—not only of his birth, childhood and education, but of the weary wanderings from place to place, the long years of labor and waiting, before he found friends with minds sufficiently large, and purses sufficiently filled, to assist him in this great undertaking.

He was the son of a wool-comber of Genoa, and the oldest of four children. Nothing is known of his sister, except that she married an obscure man named Savarello; of his brothers, Bartholomew, and Diego or James, we shall hear more, particularly of the first-named.

After Columbus grew famous, there were many efforts made to claim him as native of other places than Genoa: as it was said of the great Greek poet,

"Seven Grecian cities strove for Homer dead,  
Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

Had these places been as anxious to assist the struggling genius as they were to borrow some of his glory, there would be much less to tell about disappointments and long weary waiting. The claims of Genoa are proved by the wording of the will of Columbus himself: "I was born there, and came from thence."

It is probable that, although his father was an humble tradesman or mechanic, the family had been one of some importance. Genoa was a mercantile city; and a wealthy family, reduced by misfortunes to poverty, would still retain friendship among those who were less unfortunate. We shall see, as we go on, that Columbus had some such friends; but just how much they did for him, and how much he won for himself, we cannot tell.

This much is certain: he was a poor man's son, born and brought up in a city the people of which derived their daily bread from trading. Look at the map of Italy, and remember that in those days there were not only no railroads, but no other roads that were safe and well kept; and you will readily see what part the sea played in the life of every Genoese. The great salt-water highway was the only one for their commerce; and every Genoese boy learned something of seamanship as naturally as a duck learns to swim.

His book education was supposed to be completed at the age of fourteen. He had then acquired a knowledge of the rudiments, reading, writing and arithmetic; he knew something of Latin, no hard study for an Italian, and had learned to draw. Some time had also been spent at the University of Pavia, where he studied geography, geometry, astronomy and navigation.

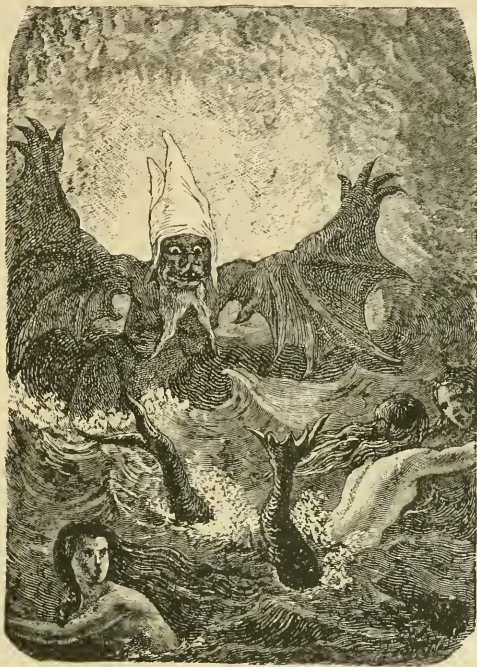
When we remember what parts of the earth have been discovered and explored since the middle of the fifteenth century, it does not seem that there would be much geography for the boy Columbus to study. And there was not. Even the eastern continent was largely unknown to the geographers of that time. With the coast of Europe, from the northern point of Europe to the Strait of Gibraltar, and thence along the Mediterranean, they were thoroughly well acquainted; of Africa, they knew only the northern coast and a small part of the western, as far south as Cape Bojador, a name which means "The Outstretcher;" and of Asia they knew the Mediterranean coast, a part of the southern coast, and thought that they had reliable accounts of the part farther to the east.

They were sure that the world was round, but thought it much smaller than it has since been proved to be. They reckoned that the known portions of the world covered about two hundred and twenty-five degrees of longitude, or about twice as great a proportion as modern geographers allow for it.

The world, or rather the land of the world, was wholly surrounded by the "Ocean Stream," beyond which lay, they thought, the path to the other world. The great salt sea to the south of Asia was probably no part of this, but was surrounded by land, the eastern coast of Africa turning to the east, and joining the south-eastern extremity of Asia; but opinions on this point varied, for some believed the Indian Sea, as it was called, to be a part of the ocean; and stoutly maintained that it would be possible to reach India by sailing around Africa. As to investigating the boundaries of the ocean, that would be the act of a madman; for countless dreadful and unknown dan-



gers must be faced, besides the absolute certainty that no one would ever be able to return. The earth is round, these wise men argued; and if one were to sail down from the summit, where we live, he would never be able to sail his ship up-hill, to reach home again.



SEA BISHOP AND MERMAIDS.

Besides, in and about that sea, in the dim light of fading day, crawled, seethed, fluttered and swam all the monsters that terror could conjure up. The enormous nautilus, able with one stroke of its live oars to capsize a ship; the sea-serpent, fifty leagues long, with a comb like a cock's; the syrens of Homer, ceaselessly pursued by the cruel sea-monk, which was still believed in as late as 1826; and, finally, the dreadful bishop of the sea, with his phosphorescent mitre. Harpies and winged chimeras skimmed this mo-



THE PHANTOMS OF FEAR,



tionless sea in pursuit of their prey; there were sea-elephants, lions, tigers and hippocampi, who grazed in vast fields of sea-weeds from which no ship could ever hope to extricate herself.

Out of this chaotic sea arose a colossal hairy hand armed with claws—the hand of Satan, *La Main Noire*; its existence could not be doubted—it was pictured on all the maps of the time.

From the bottom of the abyss there appeared also, from time to time, at regular intervals, the back of the kraken, like a new island, some said twice, others three times, as large as Sicily. This huge polypus, who, with one of its suckers—and it had as many as the cuttle-fish—could arrest a ship in full sail, was in the habit of rising to the surface every day. From its vent-holes issued two water-spouts six times as high as the Giralda of Seville. When it had squirted out the water, it would draw in a corresponding supply of air, thereby creating a whirlwind in which a ship would have spun like a top.

The kraken was not an evil-disposed monster; but it could not be denied that its enormous dimensions rendered it, to say the least, an unpleasant object. And even without the kraken, and supposing that the Black Hand of Satan did not dare to descend on a fleet whose royal ensign bore the image of Christ crucified, which had the ever-blessed Virgin for its patroness, how were they to escape from the two-headed eagle with its enormous wings, or from the formidable roc, which had seized and carried off in its talons, before the Arab traveler's eyes, a vessel equipped with a hundred and fifty men?

These were some of the things which the boy Columbus learned at the great and famous University of Padua; when he became a pupil in the University of Hard Knocks, he acquired information that was quite different.

But why was India considered of so much importance? For, we have seen that it was debated whether or not it would be possible to reach India by sea; and although we have not yet reached that point in telling the life of Columbus, there is not a reader of these pages but knows beforehand that he expected to reach India by sailing westward.

For a long time the regions of the far east had been considered the home of luxury of every kind. Perhaps the stuffs which merchants brought from there had something to do with this belief; perhaps it was only because people wanted to tell themselves some kind of a marvelous story, and imagined these things. Some of these stories had come down from ancient times; others had been told by the Arabs and Moors, who had settled in Spain, and with whom there was more or less intercourse. What we know as European Turkey was not in the hands of the Turks when Columbus was a school-boy, if we accept 1435 as the date of his birth; so that nothing could have come from them.

There were not wanting travelers' tales, to excite the popular curiosity re-

garding the east. In the year 1295 there arrived at Venice three men, very shabbily dressed in travel-stained garments. The eldest of these declared that his name was Nicholas Polo, and that his companions were his brother Maffeo and his son Marco. But the relatives of the Polos, who had started upon a commercial voyage to the east some forty years before, refused to recognize or invite these shabby strangers to their magnificent houses, for they were all rich and aristocratic. The Polos, however, managed to obtain possession of their own dwelling, and then invited all the proud relations to a banquet. Perhaps it was out of curiosity that all went; such curiosity was most abundantly gratified.

The three hosts, whose worn and travel-stained garments had so offended the ideas of the dainty Venetians, had been exchanged for rich robes of crimson satin, such as the nobles were in the habit of wearing upon state occasions. When, however, the guests had been received, these costly clothes were cut up and distributed among the servants, while the masters reappeared, robed in still richer costumes of crimson damask. These shared the fate of the other dresses, and the Polos arrayed themselves in crimson velvet. When the feast was over, they bade the servants bring in those robes in which they had returned to Venice; and ripping the seams, showed the astonished guests that these despised garments contained, thus hidden, jewels enough to have purchased the whole city of Venice.

Marco Polo, the youngest of the three, seems to have come in contact with the people much more than his father or uncle; and he told them, day after day, such stories of the magnificence of the princes whom they had visited, always reckoning the income of each potentate as so many millions, that an irreverent American would have dubbed him "Old Millions;" the Venetians, more polite in their nicknaming, styled him *Ser Milione*—"Lord Millions."

So great an influence did these stories have upon Columbus, that we must here pause and learn what parts of the earth were visited by these three travelers. We have seen that they left Venice about 1255, bound on a commercial journey to the east. At Constantinople, they sold the Italian goods which they had carried from home, and bought jewels with the proceeds. With these they set out to trade with the Tartars, who had then overrun many parts of Asia and Europe, and were building cities on the Volga. Here they were fortunate enough to meet with a Tartar prince who was extremely honest; they trusted him with their wealth; and in return for this trust were loaded with favors during the year they remained at his court.

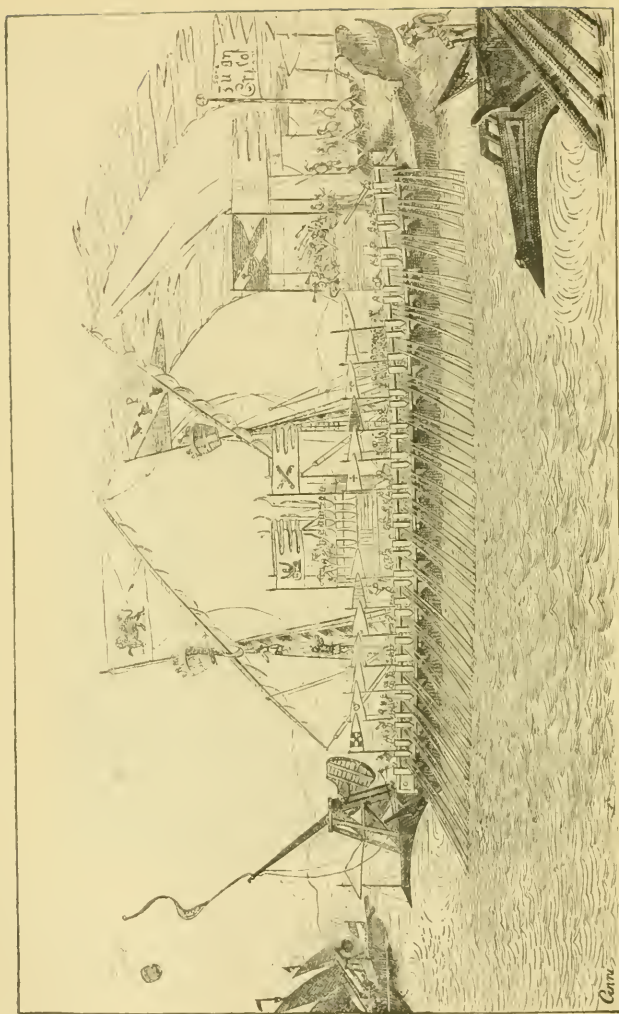
But war broke out between him and his neighbors; and the strangers found that they could not get home. They accordingly, after three years spent at Bokhara, joined an embassy which was going to the court of the Grand Khan, or King of Kings, the sovereign of all the Tartars.

This was situated at a city which Polo called Cambalu, since identified as Pekin. It was the capital of Cathay, of which wonderful stories had been told for many years; but the account which Marco Polo gave of its riches was still more wonderful.



MARCO POLO AT THE COURT OF KUBLAI KHAN.

To the east of this rich country lay an island, the name of which is variously spelled by different writers; we shall use the form Cipango, since in that shape the name frequently occurs in the writings of Columbus. The palace of the king of Cipango, the traveler asserted, was covered, not with sheets of lead or copper, as was the custom in Europe, but with sheets of



MARCO POLO'S SINGLE GALLEY ATTACKED BY SEVENTY FROM GENOA.

gold; and the golden plates used for its inside adornment were, in some cases, two inches thick. The island also produces pearls of fabulous size in large quantities, as well as great numbers of precious stones. It is so rich, he added, that even the mighty Khan, a prince far richer than any in Europe, had tried many times to conquer it, but had failed to do so, since the inhabitants had a secret by which they were enabled to make themselves secure against any kind of wound.

The sea between Cathay and Cipango is studded with seven thousand four hundred and forty small islands, all of which produce perfumes and valuable woods most abundantly.

The Great Khan, otherwise called Kublai Khan, was much pleased to receive these strangers from the distant west. He prepared a feast for them, and asked, with much eagerness, for any information that they could give him of what was happening in Europe, requiring details of the government, of the various kings and emperors and their methods of making war. Maffeo and Nicholas fortunately spoke the Tartar language fluently, so they could freely answer all the emperor's questions.

This mighty prince of the East had also shown great interest in the doctrines of Christianity, as taught by the Venetian merchants; and had requested them to take a message to the Pope, asking him to send at once a hundred learned men to instruct the wise men of Cathay in religion. All these statements were proved by the golden tablets with which the Khan had furnished them as passports, and by the magnificent jewels which they showed as his gifts to them.

How much of these stories was true? The contemporaries of the Polos regarded them as grossly exaggerated; neither friends nor foes believed the half was true. It is said that when Marco Polo was on his death-bed, some of his friends, distressed at the idea of his dying with all these falsehoods on his soul, exhorted him to retract what he had published; or, at least, to disavow such parts as were fictitious. The dying man raised himself and glared fiercely at them, as he replied that it was all true; only, he had not told half of the wonders that he saw.

So much for the travels of Marco Polo. How did they affect Columbus? Venice and Genoa are now close neighbors, cities of the same kingdom, their language and their laws alike. It was different then; the few miles between them were multiplied by the dangers and difficulties of the way; they were under distinct governments, and occasionally at war with each other; how could the Genoese boy be influenced by the accounts given, a hundred and fifty years before, by the Venetian traveler?

It came about in this way. Shortly after the return of the wanderers, a Genoese fleet threatened part of the Venetian territory; it was necessary for Venice to defend herself. Of the fleet which was sent to oppose the enemy,



one galley was commanded by Marco Polo. Advancing, the first vessel of the line, upon the enemy, he was soon hotly engaged in battle. For some reason, the others did not follow as promptly as they should have done; and Marco Polo's single galley was surrounded by the seventy from Genoa.

Only the fate of the commander is matter of record; taken prisoner, he was thrown in irons, and carried to Genoa. Here he was detained a long time in prison, his captors refusing to accept any ransom. His prison was crowded daily with representatives of the nobility of the city, who came to hear the stories with which he had astonished Venice. At length, one of them prevailed upon him to write down the account of his travels. He consented; and sending to Venice for his papers and journals, produced the wonderful record now preserved in literature. In those days, before the invention of printing, books were of course costly and rare articles; but the stories in this one were of such interest that the student who had access to the volume would tell them to his less fortunate companions; they again to others; and so on, until all Genoa knew the tale of Marco Polo, and how he had lived, a prisoner of their city, in that very building, and there written the story of what he had seen. And then, doubtless, the Genoese would talk among themselves of this wonderful Cathay and the island of Cipango, full of gold and jewels and rare woods and perfumes, and say to each other what a pity it was that no one should have made any effort to convert these heathens, though Kublai Khan had asked for missionaries. Then, perhaps, they would talk of Prester John, that wonderful Christian Prince, whose dominions were nobody knew exactly where, but to whom some messenger ought to be sent. Then they would get to talking of the difficulties in the way of these duties, and recount the terrors by land and by sea which would confront the traveler—great winged lions, giant cannibals, and tremendous sea-serpents.

Did all this talk of far-off countries bear no fruit in Genoa for a hundred and fifty years? There were many Genoese youths who went from the city, bent on seeing far-off lands; but until the days of Columbus there was not one who had an idea that India and Cathay and Cipango could be reached by sailing to the west. Others were content to follow; and the name of the one great leader is the only famous one among them all.

In regard to the wanderings of the young men of Genoa, a historian of that city says that they go with the intention of returning when they shall have acquired the means of living comfortably and honorably in their native place; but, he adds, of twenty who go, scarce two return; either dying abroad, or marrying foreign wives and settling in their country, or finding some safer and more comfortable home for their declining age than their native city.

For a few months after his return from Pavia, the boy Columbus worked

at his father's trade; but this could not last long. Soon he, too, followed the example of so many of his countrymen, and engaged in a seafaring life.

His first service was under the command of a relative, a Colombo who had for some time past held the rank of an admiral. We cannot tell the degree of relationship; probably it was very distant; for, as we have seen, the father of the discoverer was a poor man, a mechanic. In the fifteenth century, a man who worked was thought very little of; quite below consideration, in fact; and perhaps the old admiral was not very proud of his poor relations.



THE YEARS OF PREPARATION.

Cruising in the Mediterranean was then no child's play; for there was scarcely a part of the sea that was not beset with pirates; petty states were constantly at war, and frequently their vessels would seize those whose mas-

ters were not engaged in war with any one. A merchant vessel had to carry arms, and be ready to use them at very short notice. Columbus, however, was not engaged in the merchant service. A French prince, John of Anjou, asserted his right to the kingdom of Naples, a small state in the south of Italy. The republic of Genoa was an ally, and sent ships and men to his assistance; the war lasted for about four years, and ended in the defeat of John of Anjou and his father, King Reinier of Provence.

Columbus was assigned to no small post in the fleet commanded by his relative; boy as he was, he had dangerous work to do. He tells us of his being sent to rescue a galley from the harbor of Tunis.

"It happened to me that King Reinier—whom God has taken to himself—sent me to Tunis, to capture the galley *Fernandina*, and when I arrived off the island of San Pedro, in Sardinia, I was informed that there were two ships and a carrack with the galley; by which intelligence my crew were so troubled that they determined to proceed no further, but to return to Marseilles for another vessel and more people; as I could not by any means compel them, I assented apparently to their wishes, altering the point of the compass and spreading all sail. It was then evening, and next morning we were within the Cape of Carthage, while all were firmly of opinion that they were sailing towards Marseilles."

What the sailors said when they found out that he had deceived them as to the direction in which they were sailing by thus altering the point of the compass, does not appear; nor are we told the result of the cruise into the harbor of Tunis; probably the same bold and resolute spirit which had outwitted the crew gained a victory over the enemy. We shall see after awhile that he again deceived a crew, and again brought the voyage, by this deception, to a successful ending.

Now and again we find some traces of Columbus in the history of the time; but it is doubtful whether the person meant was the old admiral under whom the discoverer sailed as a boy, or a nephew called Colombo el Mozo, the Younger, or the youngest and finally by far the most famous of the three. Probably most of the exploits recorded are to be placed to the account of the first or the second, for Christopher was not likely to have attracted so much attention in these years.

It is probable that he was early attracted to the capital of Portugal as a suitable place for a man to live who was interested in adventures and explorations by sea; for Lisbon was then the starting-point of many great expeditions. Prince Henry of Portugal was the first prominent person to engage in the work of carrying forward discovery; and during the first half of the fifteenth century, under his direction, Portuguese ships had ventured farther and farther along the coast of what is still the Dark Continent. Prince Henry died in 1463; but the work of discovery to which he had given



strength still went forward; Diaz was sent to find, in the interior of Africa, the king who has already been mentioned, Prester John; he found, instead, the Cape of Good Hope. It is worthy of remark, that Bartholomew Columbus was one of the sailors who ventured on this long voyage.

There is a story of the manner in which Christopher Columbus first came to Lisbon, which may here be set down. While the story is not without foundation, it should be remembered that Columbus was a resident of Lisbon some time before this; so that he was but returning to a place where he had lived.



DIAZ ON HIS WAY TO THE CAPE.

He was in command of a vessel of the squadron under the leadership of Colombo el Mozo. This admiral was really little better than a pirate; and having heard that four richly laden galleons were on their way from Flanders, as the Low Countries were then called, to Venice, he gave orders to his captains to lie in wait for them off the coast of Portugal, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. There was a desperate battle; the ships were lashed and grappled together; the sailors fought hand to hand, now on the deck of one, now of the other. The vessel commanded by Columbus was grappled with a huge galley of the Venetian fleet, the crew of which fought with even more

fierceness than their companions. A favorite form of warfare in that time consisted of throwing fiery darts and hand grenades; sometimes in throwing Greek fire, a nearly inextinguishable thing. Such missiles were thrown on this occasion; the ships took fire; they were too firmly grappled together to be unloosed, and burned to the water's edge, side by side, Venetian and Genoese. The crews had but one common hope of escape; each man threw himself into the sea, grasping whatever wood was within reach. Columbus chanced to secure an oar, and although they were fully six miles from shore, succeeded in swimming to land. Thence he made his way to Lisbon, where he found many of his countrymen living; perhaps he found there his brother Bartholomew, known for his bravery as a navigator since he had accompanied Diaz in that perilous voyage far to the south, when the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered. Certainly he found such a welcome that he decided to remain there for some time to come.

Columbus went to Portugal about the year 1470. Although at this time, if we accept the earliest date given for his birth, he was in the very prime of life, being but thirty-five years old, his hair was as white as that of a very old man. In person, he was tall, well-formed and muscular; and he had achieved a victory over a naturally quick temper so completely as to mark his bearing with a grave and gentle dignity. Throughout his life, he had shown great regard for the church, strictly observing the fasts, vigils, and other forms of devotion prescribed by her priests; and this quality seems to have had fuller opportunity for development in the peaceful life at the Portuguese capital than among the wild rovers of the sea.

There is a certain convent in Lisbon, styled the Convent of All Saints, where young ladies of rank and family were then, as now in similar institutions, received for instruction in all that a lady is supposed to learn at school. In addition to these inmates were some others, who boarded at the convent as a safe and proper shelter for women of their age and rank. One was a certain Dona Felipa de Perestrello, the daughter of a man who had won renown and reward as a leader of explorers in the time of Prince Henry; and had, indeed, colonized the island of Porto Santo, of which he had held the office of governor. But this very office was the cause of his ruin. It was conferred upon him as a reward for his long-continued services, and seemed to be full payment. But the colonists took some rabbits with them to the island; and the little animals multiplied so rapidly that before long it was completely overrun by them. There was no demand for canned meats in those days, or knowledge of preparing them; or the unlucky colonists might have done as nineteenth century men have done under precisely the same circumstances—killed the rabbits and exported the canned flesh. As it was, they fought the pests as long as they could; but were finally compelled to give up the contest, and leave the island to the ravages of the rabbits.

Perestrello returned to Portugal, a ruined man; for all that he had previously acquired had been invested in property in this island. He died, leaving a widow and three daughters, one of whom, as mentioned above, was a boarder in this Convent of All Saints.

The services in the chapel of this convent were regularly attended by a certain Genoese who had recently arrived at Lisbon; and in some way, we cannot tell how, Christopher Columbus became acquainted with the ruined governor's daughter. Of this romance of four hundred years ago, we only know that it began with a meeting in the convent chapel, and ended with a marriage in the same place.

For a time, the newly-married couple lived with the bride's mother; and the husband added to the family income by making maps and charts, and illuminating manuscripts. This work was not regarded then as it is now; then, the map-maker was a man of science and an artist combined, and was respected accordingly. It is recorded that the Venetians struck a medal in honor of one cosmographer, who had projected a universal map, esteemed the most accurate that had ever been made. It is also a matter of history, that Americus Vesputius paid a sum equivalent to \$555 in our time for a "map of sea and land." Thus Columbus engaged in a work which was well-paid, and which placed the workman in a position of no small honor.

Nor was his new life such as to hinder his advancement. His wife's father had left numerous notes and charts of his many voyages, and these were placed at his disposal, when Madam Perestrello saw that his character and skill justified her in so doing. Then, too, although the Perestrello family had become reduced to poverty, there were still many influential persons whose acquaintance they retained; and by this means the Genoese wanderer received introductions to a higher circle than he could have reached unassisted; and was even received by the king himself. Once brought to their notice, he had no difficulty in retaining their regard by his own merits.

In the meantime, a younger daughter of Madam Perestrello had married Don Pedro Correa; and he had been appointed governor of Porto Santo. De Belloy says that he inherited this government from his father-in-law; but why the younger sister's husband should be the heir, does not appear; probably his own influence was sufficient to procure the appointment, if the Perestrellos were not against it. The two sons-in-law of the old governor appear to have been on excellent terms, and conversed much of the new lands which were constantly being discovered. Nor did Columbus only talk of them; he had, since his residence in Portugal, sailed occasionally in the expeditions to the Gulf of Guinea; and we may safely assume that he was well acquainted with the history of Portuguese discovery along the coast of that continent.

Discovery was the great subject of interest in Portugal at that day; and it was natural enough that when the learned map-maker Columbus was admitted

to the presence of nobles and princes, that they should inquire about his work, and remark upon recent changes. Perhaps they listened with interest to his accounts of his own voyages; perhaps he now and then unfolded some plan by which new routes to India and Cathay might be found. Certainly the King looked so kindly upon him, and showed so much interest in the subject which so absorbed the stranger's attention, that he entered into conversation regarding indications of lands yet undiscovered, and showed Columbus reeds as large as those which grow in India, which had been picked up on the coast of the Azores.

Nor was this the only indication that there was a world beyond the waters. Many mariners had told of islands, seen casually in the ocean; and the people of the Canaries told of an island which was sometimes seen, in clear weather, to the westward of their islands; a vast stretch of earth, diversified with lofty mountains and deep valleys. So persuaded were they of the reality of this island, that they asked and obtained the permission of the King of Portugal to discover it. Several expeditions were actually sent out, but not one succeeded in reaching the island; for it had been but a singular optical delusion. Then arose the story of St. Brandan's Isle, an island which, it was said, was sometimes reached by those who set out for another port, but were driven from their course by storms; but could never be approached by any who set out with the intention of going there. This imaginary island was, for many years, laid down in maps as lying far to the west of the Canaries; and its existence was never actually disproved until the southern Atlantic was thoroughly explored.

Columbus, however, appears to have been but slightly impressed by this talk of islands in the Atlantic. He always considered that the talk was occasioned by the existence of rocky islets, which, under certain conditions of the atmosphere, may assume the appearance of much larger and more fertile islands. Or, he reasoned, they may be floating islands, where a mass of earth is supported by twisted roots, and borne along by the ocean currents and the winds.

More conclusive evidence was found by him in the things that had drifted ashore. Great pines, unlike any known in Europe, had drifted ashore; pieces of wood, curiously and delicately carved, but unlike the handiwork of any known people, had been brought by the same agency to the coast of the Azores and the Madeiras; and the same shores had received, from the same westward direction, the bodies of two men of some strange race.

These were the subjects on which he conversed with his brother-in-law, like himself a bold and clever seaman. Correa had seen these carvings, and perhaps added many a rumor to the stock of information which Columbus had gleaned from many different quarters.

Direct testimony was not wanting. Martin Vicenti, a pilot in the service

of the King of Portugal, related to Columbus that after sailing four hundred and fifty leagues to the west of Cape St. Vincent, he had taken from the water a wonderfully carved piece of wood, which must have drifted from the far west; a mariner who had sailed from the port of St. Mary narrated how, in the course of a voyage to Ireland, he had seen land far in the west, which the crew took for some remote part of Tartary.

There is also a story, which seems to have no good foundation, that a certain pilot sought shelter in Columbus' house, and finally died there, after having told him of an unknown land in the west, to which he had been driven by adverse winds; this pilot, says the story, left to Columbus the chart by which he had guided his vessel, and thus Columbus was enabled to cross the ocean by a path which had already been marked out, with the certainty of finding land at the end of his voyage. This story was mentioned by the first historian who gave it a place in his pages, as a vulgar, idle rumor; and he showed the falsity of it. Others, however, copied his summary of it, but not his contradiction; and a hundred and fifty years after it was said to have occurred, Garcilaso de la Vega told it, complete with names and circumstances, as he had heard it told in his childhood by his father and other old men, who talked of it some seventy or eighty years after the death of the pilot. On such slender foundations does this attack upon the originality of Columbus rest.

Columbus and his wife accompanied Don Pedro Correa and his wife to the island of Porto Santo, when the new governor went there to assume the duties of the office; and there the great navigator's eldest son, Diego, was born. His residence on this island was probably of but short duration; and was followed by voyages along the coast of Africa. In 1473 we find him at Sayona, assisting his aged father, whom debt had compelled to flee from Genoa; before this time, he had contributed regularly to the support of his parents and the assistance of his younger brothers.

All this time, there had been growing up in his mind the idea that it would be possible to reach India by sailing to the west. We have seen what trifles confirmed his theory that there was land beyond the Atlantic, while he rejected those widely-believed stories about islands that had been seen: this theory was drawn from a close study of the learned writers, and the reports of navigators, and the known shape of the earth.

In the year 1474 these ideas were fully matured; but either they had not been unfolded to any one in Lisbon, or they had been coldly and contemptuously received. Columbus determined to take the subject to the highest living authority upon such questions, and wrote to the learned Toscanelli, of Florence, submitting to him the question whether it would be possible to reach India by sailing in a westerly direction. Toscanelli showed his greatness by appreciation of Columbus, and responded with a letter, applauding

the bold and original design of the Genoese. Nor was the letter all that was sent; there was also a chart, drawn by Toscanelli himself, partly from the ancient authority of Ptolemy, and partly from the descriptions of Marco Polo. In this chart, India, Cathay, and the longed-for Cipango, were depicted as lying directly to the west of Europe, and but a short distance away. This was in accordance with the prevailing idea, before noticed, that the earth was much smaller than it has since been proved to be; and both Toscanelli and Columbus supposed Asia to be much larger than it really is. Thus two errors combined to make Columbus more ready to undertake his great work; had he known that the earth is more than twenty-five thousand miles in circumference, and that Cipango, as he called Japan, is half way around the world from the Azores, he would not, in all probability, have dared venture to seek India by way of the west. At any rate, whatever his own boldness might have been willing to risk, he would have got neither ships nor men from any safe and prudent prince.

Why should Columbus attach so much importance to reaching India by a shorter and safer route than any which was then used? His purpose was founded upon the deeply religious character of his mind. We have seen that Kublai Khan requested the Pope to send a hundred learned men to instruct his courtiers in the Christian religion; this had never been done. Again, much wealth might be gained by trading with these countries; and while the many wars for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Mohammedans had failed, it might be that the country of Palestine could be bought from them, if a sufficiently large price were offered. This motive explains many things in the life of Columbus which otherwise would not be clear.

This plan was complete in his mind before 1476; and in that year he went to his native city and offered to conduct a fleet from Genoa across the western ocean to the land of Kublai Khan. But the world was not yet ready for the idea thus laid before it; and the Councilors of Genoa, wrapping their furred mantles around them, replied with courteous dignity that their city had been too much impoverished by her numerous wars to undertake any such expensive enterprise.

Disappointed, but not disheartened, Columbus went to Venice, and made the same offer, only to meet with the same reception. He seems to have perceived, in this second refusal, that it was useless for him to talk more about it for the present; so, after a short visit to his father at Savona, he again went to sea.

His voyage in this year 1477 was in a new direction—to the far northwest. This is the record which he has left of his visit to Iceland, of which the Norsemen have made much:—

“In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is seventy-three degrees distant from the



equator, and not sixty-three, as some pretend; neither is it situated within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this island, which is as large as England. When I was there the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathoms."

It is sometimes claimed that Columbus must have heard, during the course of this voyage, of the journeys of the Norsemen to Vinland and neighboring countries. Even if he did, if he read all the sagas that tell of their adventures, the knowledge thus gained only confirmed his theory, without detracting from the greatness of his discovery; he intended to find a new route to India; these lands which had been discovered had nothing in common with the thickly populated, wealthy and highly civilized domains of Kublai Khan. The Norsemen had never reached India.

But while Columbus spoke several of the languages of the south of Europe, we have no assurance that he was able to communicate with the Icelanders in their own tongue; and it is more than doubtful whether he ever heard of Vinland the Good.

Upon his return to the south, he did not push his project for some time; perhaps he had already laid it before the King of Portugal and received no encouraging answer; but of this we have no record. In 1481, the old King died, and was succeeded by his son, John II., a young man in his twenty-fifth year. Perhaps Columbus hoped from the adventurous daring of youth what he could not find in the prudence of the old King; at any rate, he laid his plans before the young ruler.

There was another reason why Columbus should be bolder in pressing his desires than before; there was an invention recently perfected which enabled the mariner to shape his course with more certainty, since by means of this instrument he could readily ascertain his distance from the equator. This was the astrolabe, which has since been discarded for the quadrant and sextant. It was intended to show the altitude of the sun, and by this means to fix the latitude.

It must be remembered that for a hundred years Portugal had been foremost in discovery and exploration; such had been the liberality of her rewards for successful navigators, that men of all nations had been attracted to her service; learned men had been gathered from all quarters to pass upon the value of the information which might be brought back by the daring sailors; and skilled cosmographers were busy at Lisbon making maps and charts which embodied this information. It might well be thought that this, of all others, was the country where Columbus, whose home had so long been within its borders, would meet with appreciation, and with that assistance which he sought.

So Columbus hoped, as he patiently awaited the decision of the King, who

had listened to him with the closest attention. The arguments of the navigator strongly impressed the royal mind; but when it came to proposing terms, the monarch recoiled from the adventurer with surprise and dismay; for Columbus, believing that he had a world to bestow, demanded rank and honor and wealth in exchange for it.

King John referred the matter to three persons who were in general charged with all matters relating to maritime discovery. These were two noted cosmographers, and the Bishop of Ceuta, who was also the King's confessor. These learned men heard all the arguments of Columbus, and returned their answer to the King: he was an extravagant and idle dreamer.

Still the King was not satisfied; he convoked his great council, composed of prelates and the most learned men in the kingdom; and laid before them the proposition which had been condemned by the three special advisers. Two views were taken of the subject of maritime discovery; the Bishop of Ceuta maintained that the country had enough to do without engaging in any more such ventures; his opponents replied that Portugal had won honor and glory and extended her dominion by this means, and should not hesitate to continue the work until a passage to India should be reached. But this passage to India was to be by way of the Cape, they thought; and the project of Columbus was almost wholly ignored.

Thus it had been condemned a second time; but still the King seemed to long to help him. Seeing this, the wily Bishop advised that means be taken to ascertain privately the value of the theory; should the King grant ships and men, and the adventurer turn out to have been but an idle dreamer, Portugal would be the laughing-stock of all who heard of it; but if a small expedition be sent out privately, it could be soon told what was the value of the idea, without committing the dignity of the crown; if it should turn out that Columbus was right, the King could, out of his royal generosity, reward him, though not, of course, at the extravagant rate which the adventurer had fixed. This advice suited the King very well; and Columbus was accordingly informed that the matter was still under consideration; that the King was not yet ready to give him a definite answer.

While he was yet awaiting the answer, he learned that some sailors, who had lately taken part in some mysterious expedition, were ridiculing him and his ideas. He resolved to search them out, and find what they really knew of the subject. He found them, and learned that they had been sent out by the King to see if there really was a path to India across the ocean; but storms had arisen; the ocean had proved impassable; they told of dreadful things opposing their further progress; and had been only too glad when the winds beat them back to the shores of Portugal.

We do not read that Columbus said anything to these sailors; only that he decided at once to leave Portugal. He declined positively to treat with



King John any further; though the King, when he saw that the poor adventurer who had asked his assistance was angry at the trick that had been played him, made some effort to detain him in Portugal still longer. Dona Felipa was dead; there was but one tie which still bound him to Portugal—his little son; but father and son could roam the world together. His resolve was soon taken. His brother Bartholomew was dispatched to England to seek for aid there; and secretly, lest he should be prevented by the King, or, as some authorities say, by his creditors, Columbus and his little son left Portugal, to return no more.

Of the countries of modern Europe, Russia was then almost unknown; certainly no one would think of journeying to its distant capital to ask help of its half-savage sovereign in any such enterprise. What is now Prussia was then a number of small independent states, frequently at war with each other. England was desolated by fifty years of civil war—the Wars of the Roses—which had just ended with the marriage of the heir of one line with the heiress of the other. King Henry VII. might render the wished-for aid, but Columbus seems to have had small hopes from this quarter. France was in a little more prosperous condition, though her King was much hampered by his nobles, who were more independent of him than he was of them. Italy consisted of a great number of small states, several of which he looked upon with hope, as not unlikely to give ships and men for this purpose. Spain was engaged in war with the Moors within her very borders; and hence could ill afford anything which would drain her treasury.

Italy was the most promising; and Columbus carried his plans there, submitting them to Venice again. But they were declined, on account of the critical state of affairs there. The poverty and unsettled condition of the other states warned him that what Venice would not, they could not give; and he went to Spain.

But it was not to the court. He laid his plan first before a wealthy noble, the Duke of Medina Celi, whose estates were like principalities, and whose retainers were an army in themselves. This powerful and wealthy noble listened with attention to the navigator, and saw how reasonable was the thing which he proposed. His kinsman, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, warned him that the promises which Columbus made were too splendid to be true, and that the stranger was only an Italian visionary; but he refused to be convinced of this. He entertained Columbus for some time in his house, and made himself thoroughly master of the project. He gave orders that four caravels which lay in his harbor of Port St. Mary should be made ready for sea; and it seemed to Columbus that he was on the very threshold of success.

Suddenly, however, the Duke changed his mind: he saw that the empire which Columbus promised to give the promoter of this enterprise was too

great for any subject to hold; perhaps he foresaw wars against his sovereigns, should he try to hold it; such wealth was too great for any but a sovereign prince. On the other hand, should Columbus fail, it would still be known at what he had aimed; and the Duke of Medina Celi would be an object of suspicion forever to his King and Queen, as having aspired to dominion which they had not given.

Columbus now determined to apply to France for help; but the Duke, disliking to see such advantages offered to a rival power before Spain had been allowed to decide upon them, wrote to the Queen, recommending it. A favorable reply was received, and Columbus was invited to the court.

Before the middle of the eleventh century, Sancho the Great, Emperor of Spain, had divided his dominions, at his death, among his four sons. Navarre remained an independent kingdom for a longer time than the others; Castile and Leon were re-united shortly after this division; Arragon remained apart. In addition to these kingdoms, there was another monarchy in Spain, which had grown up during the eighth century. The early Mohammedans had been possessed with a thirst for the conquest and conversion of the world; they had overrun many countries, offering the inhabitants the Koran or the sword; and one army of Arabs had even established themselves in Spain, making their capital at Cordova. There was war, nearly constant, between them and the various Christian kingdoms; but the latter, being unable to unite among themselves, even for the expulsion of the infidels from their country, did not accomplish as much as they might have done. But the Mohammedans were hard pressed, notwithstanding; and in time had to call to their assistance the Moors. The Arab kingdom, which had its capital at Cordova, was finally overthrown; but in its place was established a Moorish kingdom, with its capital at Granada.

The Christian kingdoms preserved a distinct existence, their fortunes varying with the character of their kings, until, in 1469, Isabella, the sister of the King of Castile and Leon, and heiress to its crown, married Ferdinand, heir of Arragon. When they succeeded to the crowns of the two kingdoms, the united realms were called Spain; but for some time each was independent sovereign of the hereditary kingdom. They were rulers, bound by the strictest kind of alliance, but Isabella was no more Queen of Arragon than Ferdinand was King of Castile and Leon. It is necessary to remind the reader of this, that we may understand more clearly the part which each of these two sovereigns took in the expedition which discovered America.

When Columbus first went to the court of Spain, he was the bearer of a letter from the Duke of Medina Celi, who asked, that since he had resigned the pleasure of this undertaking in favor of the royal pair, he might yet have a share in the expedition, should it be carried into effect, and the armament be fitted out from his port of St. Mary.



ISABELLA IN ARMOR.

But it was not a good time to solicit aid from the Spanish rulers; they had entered upon a war with the kingdom of Granada which was intended to be final; they would not cease until the Moors had been driven from Spain. Columbus arrived at Cordova, where the royal forces were encamped; and his arrival was made known to the sovereigns. By their command, he was given in charge to the treasurer of Castile, Alonzo de Quintanilla; but the Queen was too busily engaged in military preparations to receive him.

The scene was one which might have delighted any of the old romancers; the "marshalling in arms" meant the burnishing of spear and shield, the arraying of knights in full armor, mounted on horses eased in steel. The Queen herself wore a magnificent suit of plate armor, with an ermined mantle hanging from her shoulders, and the greaves half concealed beneath a flowing garment covered with the richest embroidery. Some few cannon there may have been, and a very few muskets of antique fashion; but they were almost as dangerous to the men who fired them as they were to those at whom they were aimed.

In the midst of all this glitter of shield and sword and spear, the churchmen mingled; some in the dark robes which we naturally associate with their calling, others in the more gorgeous costumes of the higher ranks, even to the scarlet of the cardinal. There was nothing brilliant, or striking, or magnificent, or romantic, that we connect with the idea of war in the middle ages, but what was present in this picture, as Columbus saw it, late in the spring of 1486.

The King marched off, to lay siege to a Moorish city; the Queen remained in Cordova, but so busily engaged in dispatching troops hither and thither, and sending military supplies where they were needed, that she had not a moment to devote to Columbus. Then she went to the very midst of the war, and remained there, superintending in person the movements of her armies. Returning to Cordova to celebrate their victories, which, however, were not yet conclusive, the two sovereigns were almost immediately called upon to go to a distant province, to suppress a rebellion which there threatened the crown. The royal pair passed the winter in Salamanca.

Meanwhile, Columbus was well entertained in the house of Quintanilla, where he made many friends for himself and his theories. Perhaps the most valuable of these friends were the Geraldini brothers, one of whom was the Pope's Nuncio, while the other was the preceptor of the younger children of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was during this time, also, that he became acquainted with Dona Beatrix Enriquez, the mother of his second son, Fernando, afterwards his biographer.

Columbus followed the court to Salamanca, and his friend Quintanilla made great efforts to obtain for him the friendship of Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, without whose advice the King and Queen did little of import-



ance. He was a man of sound judgment and quick understanding; and although he knew but little of the science of geography, readily gave audience to the *protege* of Quintanilla. At first, it seemed to him that the theory of Columbus was opposed to the direct statements of Scripture as to the form of the earth; but being convinced that this was not so, he admitted that there could be nothing wrong in seeking to extend the bounds of human knowledge. He was pleased with Columbus himself, whom he at once saw to be free from the vanity which attends the small mind, and wholly wrapped up in his subject. He saw that the navigator urged no wild dream, but a theory based on extensive knowledge and careful thought; and he consented to bring the matter to the attention of the sovereigns.



COLUMBUS IN THE ROYAL PRESENCE.

Probably Isabella was not present at the first interview which was granted Columbus by Ferdinand; one of his biographers distinctly says that he did



COUNCIL BEFORE THE COUNCIL.



not see the Queen until the siege of Malaga, which took place some time after this interview; but although not admitted to an interview, he surely must have seen her while in Cordova. Be this as it may, Ferdinand received him, and listened, coolly and warily, to all that he had to say; reserving his decision with characteristic caution, until he had heard the opinions of the learned men of his kingdom. His ambition was excited by the thought of what might be done for Spain, were this dreamer to work out the fulfillment of his visions; and he foresaw that Portugal, which had labored so long to establish a road to India around the Cape of Good Hope, would be forestalled in her anticipations of commercial gains if this Genoese adventurer should succeed in finding a shorter, more direct passage across the Atlantic. Still, the opinions of the learned must be considered before the King could give any definite answer.

During the progress of the congress which was held at Salamanca for this purpose, Columbus was lodged and entertained with the magnificence due to a guest of the King, at the college convent of St. Stephen, a house of the great Dominican order. It was here that the conference was held; and the men gathered to decide the great question were mainly churchmen, since few of the laity had any learning.

“What a striking spectacle must the hall of the old convent have presented at this memorable conference! A simple mariner, standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors, friars, and dignitaries of the church; maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and, as it were, pleading the cause of the New World. We are told that when he began to state the grounds of his belief, the friars of St. Stephen’s alone paid any attention to him; that convent being more learned in the sciences than the rest of the university. The others appear to have entrenched themselves behind one dogged position that, after so many profound cosmographers and philosophers had been studying the form of the world, and so many able navigators had been sailing about it for several thousand years, it was great presumption in an ordinary man to suppose that there remained such a vast discovery for him to make.”—*Irring*.

But there were other and more definite objections than this. We pass over some which will readily suggest themselves, as being reasonable in this time; and state a few of those which show the ignorance and prejudice of these learned men, chosen to assist the King with their knowledge:—

It is a piece of great foolishness to think that there can be such a thing as an antipode; can people walk with their feet upward, as flies cling to the ceiling of a room? Is there a part of the earth where the sky is beneath all, where rain and hail ascend, and where the trees grow downward with their branches? Certainly not, said these wise men; and shook their learned heads at Columbus.

Again, they quoted St. Augustine to prove that the ideas advanced by Columbus were in direct contradiction to the Scriptures. To maintain that there are inhabited lands across the ocean is to suppose that there are men who are not descended from Adam: since these supposed Aborigines could never have crossed the sea.

Again, the Bible says that the heavens are stretched about the earth like a tent; how could this be possible, and yet allow free passage around it? Certainly, the earth must be flat.

Those who maintained this knew considerably more of theology and such subjects than they did of geography. There were others, who were quite willing to admit that the earth is round, who yet had other objections to urge. One of these was, that the insufferable heat of the Torrid Zone would make it quite impossible to cross the ocean in the direction indicated. Even granting that this should be passed, they claimed that the circumference of the earth is so great that it would require three years to reach the land on the other side of the ocean—an error curiously differing from the error of Columbus, who supposed the earth to be smaller than it actually is.

Again, the Greek philosopher, Epicurus, was quoted to prove that only half of the world was habitable; that the sky extended over no more; and that the remainder was a waste of waters, a chaos, a gulf.

Others argued that even if a ship should succeed in reaching India, the return voyage would be impossible; for the waters would then rise like a kind of mountain, since the earth was round, and he could not be so foolish as to think of sailing up-hill.

It must have taxed the patience of Columbus to listen to such arguments as these, and reflect that the fate of his enterprise, so far as help from Spain was concerned, lay in the hands of men who knew so little about the subject. He kept his temper, however, and answered gravely and respectfully as the arguments were pressed: the sacred writers, he said, were speaking in figures adapted to the comprehension of men before science had made any advancement; the commentaries of the fathers, he contended, were not intended as scientific treatises, and hence it was unnecessary to speak of them, either to support or refute; he showed that the most illustrious of the ancient philosophers believed both hemispheres of the globe to be habitable, although separated from each other by that impassable Torrid Zone; but he had himself voyaged to the Gulf of Guinea, which is almost directly under the Equator, and could thus assure them from his own experience that the Torrid Zone abounded in fruits and population, instead of being uninhabitable.

But as he argued with them, he forgot the petty objections which they had urged, and poured forth such eloquence as they had never listened to before; and surely, outside of religion, no man ever had such a grand subject.

It may be said that he was not speaking wholly of the things of this world; for he called upon them as Christians to send the missionaries of the Cross to these millions awaiting them in far Cathay. A more sacred duty even than this, according to the ideas of the times, called them; the Holy Sepulchre was in the hands of the infidels; this scheme offered the means of redeeming it, and placing it once more within the control of Christian princes.

How many converts were made by this eloquence? We have the record of but one, Diego de Deza, then the professor of theology in the convent where the conference was held, and afterward Archbishop of Seville, a church dignitary of Spain who is second only to the Archbishop of Toledo. By his efforts many of the churchmen were brought to give the matter a more dispassionate hearing; he removed many of their prejudices, founded on a mistaken belief regarding the meaning of the Scriptures and the commentaries of the fathers; in short, he repeated, with all the force which only a churchman in good standing could give to an argument in that time, the reasoning which Columbus had already used, but which was not regarded from the lips of a layman. Thus in making one convert he made a host.

What was the result of the conference? It may be stated in a single word—nothing. Spite of the eloquence of Columbus, seconded as it was by that of Deza, there were too many narrow-minded, ignorant, prejudiced men in that assemblage, for the question to be fairly considered on its merits; and although there were several meetings, the decision was put off from time to time, until the court left Salamanca for Cordova, in preparation for the spring campaign.

We are not to understand that Columbus spent this waiting time idly, or even engaged in study; several times, during the course of the campaign, he would be summoned to attend a conference with the sovereigns, and would be led into the very heart of the country where the war was going on; but before he had reached the point designated, the fortunes of war would have carried the King or Queen to another place, and the conference would be indefinitely postponed.

The siege of Malaga took place between the spring and summer of 1487, the town surrendering in August. It was during this siege that a fanatic Moor tried to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella, but mistook two of their courtiers for the persons of the King and Queen; the wounds, fortunately, were not fatal. The fortunes of Columbus were doubly imperilled by this act; for not only had Isabella, who afterward proved the friend that he sought, been threatened by the blow, but it had actually fallen upon the Marchioness of Moya, who pleaded his cause before the Queen when it came to be considered.

The campaign ended with the fall of Malaga, and the court returned to Cordova; but still the plans of Columbus were not to be considered by the

sovereigns. Just at the time when they might have had leisure to do so, the plague broke out in Cordova, and the court was driven from the city.

While he was thus engaged in following up a court which was continually moving from one place to another, and which found its sole interest in the war which it was prosecuting, Columbus received a letter from King John of Portugal, inviting him to return to Lisbon, and assuring him that he should not be molested by any suits of either a civil or criminal nature. What was the offense which Columbus had committed against the laws of Portugal it was impossible to determine; probably it was a debt which remained unpaid; for it will be remembered that long after this date there was such a thing as imprisonment for debt; and suits of this kind were sometimes converted into criminal prosecutions.

But no matter in what way he had rendered himself liable to the laws of Portugal, he evidently had no intention of returning to that country. King John had proved himself utterly untrustworthy, and Columbus declined the offer thus made him. He also received a letter from Henry VII. of England, which country his brother Bartholomew had reached after long delay, holding out promises of encouragement.

Probably these things reached the ears of King Ferdinand, and he saw that something must be done to prevent Columbus from accepting the offers. Certainly he summoned the navigator to appear before a conference of learned men, to be held in the city of Seville; a royal order was issued, providing for his lodging and entertainment in that city; the Castilian treasurer had been directed to pay him a certain sum of money, probably to provide for his expenses to the city of Seville; and the magistrates of all towns through which he might pass were commanded to furnish him with entertainment, since the miserable inns did not afford fitting accommodations.

But again, as so often before, the conference was delayed by war. This time, however, we find Columbus, not patiently following the court about, and waiting for a hearing, but actually "fighting, giving proofs of the distinguished valor which accompanied his wisdom and his lofty desires."

His religious ardor received new strength during the course of this campaign. Two friars of the convent established in Jerusalem, came as messengers to Ferdinand and Isabella, to tell what threats the Grand Soldan of Egypt had made, if the Spanish sovereigns did not end their war against the Mohammedans of Spain. He would put to death all the Christians in his dominions, raze their churches and convents, and utterly destroy the Holy Sepulchre and all other places esteemed sacred by the Christians.

It was impossible for the Spaniards to give up the war; for it had come to be a question of life and death between the Moorish and the Christian kingdoms; it was impossible for both to continue in Spain. Isabella, however,

granted a perpetual annual gift of a thousand ducats in gold for the maintenance of the convent, and sent a veil embroidered by herself to be hung before the shrine; then, dismissing the friars, turned to the prosecution of the war again.

But their coming, and the message which they brought, had a great effect upon the minds of many soldiers of high rank; and particularly was Columbus affected by it; it was a new and stronger proof than ever of the need of finding the rich regions of the east, and bringing home treasure enough to purchase the Holy Sepulchre from the heathen who so persecuted Christians.

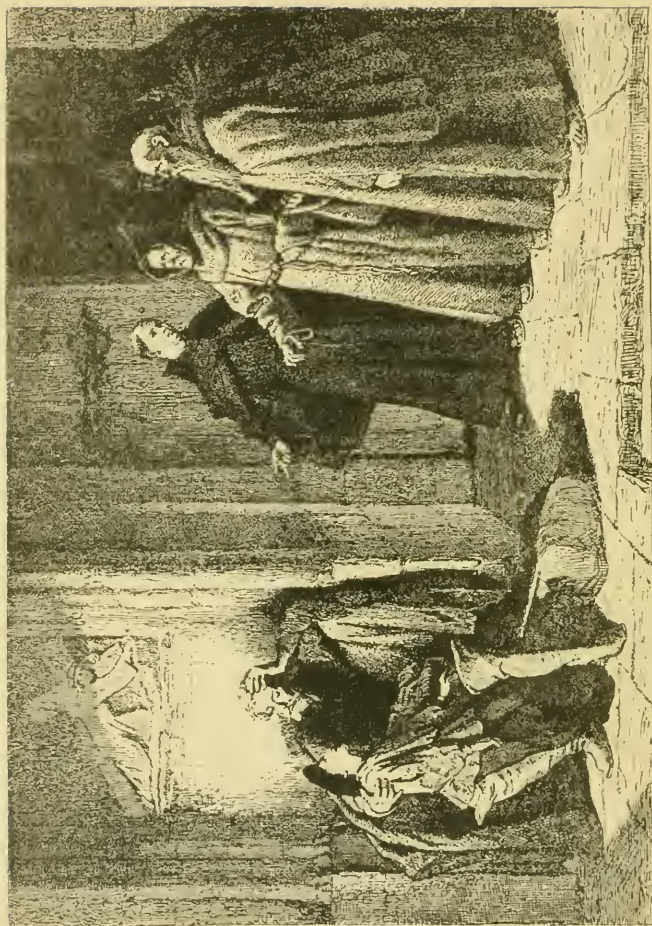
Again we find a similar series of events filling the next year. Finally, in the spring of 1491, Columbus determined that he would wait no longer; he pressed for a reply to his suit. With some difficulty, the King was persuaded to tell Bishop Talavera that the learned men who had been so long in conference must render their decision. Their answer was ready, after some delay, and the King was gravely informed that the proposed scheme was vain and impossible, and that it did not become such great princes to engage in an enterprise of the kind on such weak grounds as had been advanced.

Not all the members of the conference agreed in this report, however; there was what, in modern parlance, is called a minority report as well; and this, fortunately for Columbus, was rendered by Fray Diego de Deza, tutor to Prince Juan, who had access to the ear of the King and Queen when others were denied. But the most favorable answer that even this suitor could obtain was a message that the expenses of the long war had been so great that the King and Queen could not now engage in any new enterprise demanding money and men.

Disheartened at this message, Columbus repaired to court, to learn from Ferdinand and Isabella themselves if this was really the answer they meant to give him, after keeping him waiting their pleasure for so many years. When he found that it was so, he thought that it was but a polite way of telling him that they considered his schemes impracticable and visionary, and that they consequently had no intention of assisting him. He accordingly resolved that he would leave Spain at once, and seek in the court of France the aid which had been refused him by the Most Catholic King.

Before he went, however—and a journey from Spain to France was something of an undertaking then—he must see and talk with Don Pedro Correa, who, it will be remembered, had married one of the Perestrello sisters, and was therefore, by courtesy, brother-in-law to Columbus; and who had been one of those who communicated to the future discoverer what signs of land to the west of the ocean had been perceived, from time to time, by those acquainted with the western islands. He set out on foot; for his stock of money, never large, must be carefully husbanded; he could not tell when he should have any more.





COLUMBUS AND HIS SON AT THE MONASTERY GATE.



He was not alone on this journey; his son Diego, who was probably not more than fifteen years old, accompanied him; three-year-old Fernando, we may conjecture, remained in Cordova with his mother. We may easily imagine the picture—father and son toiling along the lonely road from Seville to Huelva, near the little seaport of Palos de Moguer.

Half a league outside the walls of the last-named town, there is still standing an ancient convent of the Franciscan order, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. Before its gates, one day four hundred years ago, a stranger, leading a boy by the hand, stopped, and asked for some bread and water for the child. There was nothing unusual in the request; for at that time there were no inns of any kind; and the traveler expected to find lodging and food in the castle or the convent. The request was granted as a matter of course; and while the child ate and drank, the prior of the convent, who chanced by, entered into a conversation with the father, whose plain garments did not conceal the evident distinction of the wearer.

The prior had taken much interest in geographical and nautical science; for the seaport of Palos sent many enterprising navigators out to explore unknown paths upon the ocean; but the stranger opened a new line of thought to him. India could be reached by sailing westward across the ocean, and there were no insuperable difficulties in the way—that was the wonderful idea which the stranger unfolded to the prior, Juan Perez de Marchena.

But the wanderer had more to tell than that he had conceived this idea. He told of long and patient waiting for help from the sovereigns of Spain, and their decision that the fulfillment of his hopes from them must be indefinitely postponed; and he told the prior how, disappointed, but not wholly disheartened, sure that the truth which he alone saw would be apparent to others could he but point it out, he was now on his way to the court of France, to offer to Charles VIII. the wonderful things which Ferdinand and Isabella had refused to accept from him.

The good prior was dismayed to find that these things were to be lost to Spain; it must be that the petition of Columbus had not been rightly presented. He knew of a power which he himself possessed; he had once been confessor to Queen Isabella, and knew that he could reach her ear at any time. But before he ventured to appeal to her—and his caution shows why the appeal was listened to when it was made—he determined not to trust altogether to his own judgment, which might have been led astray by the wonderful eloquence of the stranger. He accordingly detained Columbus and his son as his guests, and sent for his friend, Garcia Fernandez, a physician of Palos.

Fernandez came; and Columbus again explained his belief and aims. Like the prior, the physician was impressed by the boldness and originality of the

mariner; and listened eagerly to all that he had to say. But other friends must be found for him; the question must be submitted to the judgment of practical sailors, many of whom were to be found in Palos. Several veterans of the sea were invited to the convent, to talk with the mariner who had lately come there; one of these was Martín Alonso Pinzón, the head of a family of rich and experienced seamen, who had made many adventurous expeditions.

Remembering how the Portuguese had won fame and wealth by voyages of discovery along the African coast, these experienced mariners saw no reason why, under the leadership of a man daring and original enough to plan and lead such an expedition, new worlds might not be opened up in another direction. What had been to churchmen a stumbling-block, and to philosophers foolishness, was to these practical, brave and generous sailors the highest wisdom. Pinzón, particularly, was so impressed with the genius of Columbus, that he offered to take part in such an expedition when it should be organized; and in the meantime, if Columbus would but renew his application to the Spanish court, to defray the expenses connected with doing so.

The prior begged Columbus to remain in the convent until an answer could be received from the Queen; and dispatched a letter to her by a trusty messenger. It was not difficult to prevail upon Columbus to stay; for he dreaded to be put off in France as he had already been in Spain.

The Queen was at Santa Fe; and the messenger required only fourteen days for the journey of something like four hundred miles from Palos and return. Isabella had always been more favorably disposed toward Columbus than the wary and cold Ferdinand; and she now wrote kindly, bidding Perez come to court, leaving Christopher Columbus in confident hope until he should hear further from her. The prior at once set out, late at night as it was when the messenger returned; and alone, riding his good mule, the steed which the ideas of the day assigned to churchmen, he traversed the conquered territory of Granada, and entered the presence of the Queen.

The friar pleaded the cause of Columbus eloquently and fearlessly. Before this time, it is probable that Isabella had never heard the case fully stated; for it is Ferdinand whom we find active in receiving the reply of the learned conference, and deciding upon the case. The Queen listened with such interest that Perez felt great hopes of the result, even before she commanded Columbus to return to court; and, with a true womanly attention to details, ordered that a sum equal, at the present day, to about three hundred dollars of United States money, be sent him for the expenses of the journey.

The arrival of Columbus at the Spanish court was marked by what the men of that day considered one of the most important events in the history of Spain—the final downfall of the Mohammedan power in that country,

and the surrender of the capital city of the Moors, Granada, to Ferdinand and Isabella. It was indeed an eventful time when Columbus arrived, for he came to offer still more extended empire, and multiplied wealth, to Spain; he came, bringing in his hands the gift of a New World.

We shall not dwell, as Irving does, upon the glittering magnificence of the scene of surrender at Granada; nor upon the rejoicings which followed it. Columbus obtained a hearing, and commissioners were appointed to consider the case. But his demands appeared to them exorbitant; this penniless foreign adventurer demanded that he should be created admiral and viceroy of the provinces which he should discover, and receive one-tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. The proud Spanish nobles looked coldly upon the man who sought to raise himself to their rank, and remarked that it was a shrewd arrangement which he wished to make; having nothing to lose, he demanded, in case of success, rank, honor and enormous wealth. Columbus, nettled by the sneer, promptly offered to defray one-eighth of the cost of the expedition, if he might enjoy one-eighth of the profits. He had friends in Palos, he knew, who believed in him and his enterprise; and Martin Alonzo Pinzon, if all others failed him, would bear him out in this proposition to the royal commissioners.

By Talavera's advice, the Queen declined to accept his terms; and offered conditions which, while more moderate, were yet advantageous and honorable; but Columbus would not yield an inch; and mounting a mule which he had bought for the journey from Palos to Santa Fe, he rode forth again, once more to seek the French court.

But although Columbus had failed to convince Ferdinand and his more generous, enthusiastic wife, he had made many friends about the court who appreciated his powers of mind to the full. One of these was Luis de St. Angel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Arragon. Like others of high rank and place, he was filled with dismay at seeing the great man depart from Spain, to throw into the lap of another country what had been wantonly rejected by Arragon and Castile; and he had the courage to tell Isabella what he thought. He pictured not only the enormous addition to her revenue and dominions, as well as her fame among rulers; but he told, with impassioned fervor, of the religious aspect of the enterprise. He painted the millions in the realms of Kublai Khan, waiting eagerly to receive the gospel; and then prophesied of the honor in which they would hold the name of her who should carve out a path for the missionaries of the Cross to reach them. He showed what more this discovery might do for the exaltation of the Church; how the boundless riches of Cathay would buy the Holy Sepulchre from the Mohammedans, and the most sacred spots on earth be forever free to the feet of the pilgrim. He told her how sound and practicable were the plans of Columbus; that they had received the endorse-

ment of veteran mariners; and that he was no idle visionary, but a man of wide scientific knowledge and sound practical judgment. He told her that failure would bring no disgrace upon her; for it was the business of princes to investigate such great questions as this; and then informed her that the expense of the expedition, of which so much had been said, would amount to no more than two vessels and about two thousand crowns.

Isabella listened with renewed interest; but Ferdinand was at her side, ready to oppose any such unwise scheme. The war had drained the treasury of the united kingdoms; they must wait until it had been replenished. But Isabella was too deeply interested in the advancement of the Church: though she was the wife of Ferdinand, she was also Queen-Regnant of Castile and Leon, a kingdom equal in importance and wealth to Arragon.

"I undertake the enterprise," she answered St. Angel, after a short interval of suspense, "for my own crown of Castile, and will pledge my jewels to raise the money for it."

It is because of this speech on the part of the Queen that the famous verse reads:—

"To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a new world."

Ferdinand had neither part nor lot in the enterprise. It is true that Isabella did not find it necessary to pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds; that the sum required was taken from the treasury of Arragon: for that was not so emptied by the war as the King had implied; but the credit of the kingdom of Castile and Leon was pledged to repay this debt, and it was afterward repaid in full.

Columbus had journeyed about two leagues—six miles—on his way back to Palos, thence to France, when this decision was reached. It was not known whether he had actually set out or not; but when this was found to be the case, a courier was dispatched to summon him back to Santa Fe. He did not return without hesitation; for his hopes had been raised often before this; but he was told that the Queen had now positively promised to undertake the enterprise; and his doubts thus removed, he turned his mule's head once again toward Santa Fe, and joyfully retraced his steps.

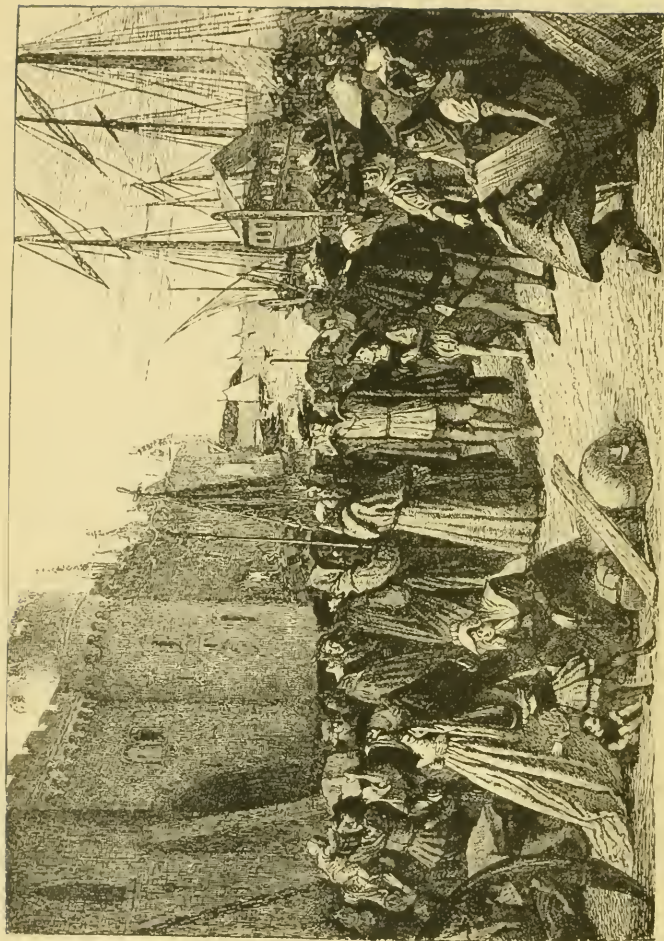
The articles of agreement drawn up provided that Columbus should have for himself and his heirs, forever, the office of admiral, viceroy, and governor-general over all lands which he might discover; that he should be entitled to one-tenth of all revenues from these lands, in whatever way obtained; and that he should, at any time, be entitled to contribute one-eighth of the expense of fitting out vessels, and receive one-eighth of the profits.

In accordance with this last-named privilege, Columbus, with the aid of Pinzon, added a third vessel to the armament of two which Isabella furnish-

ed. These articles were signed by Ferdinand and Isabella, April 17, 1492; for although Isabella bore the whole expense, the expedition was under the patronage of the united sovereigns of Spain; and the signatures stand side by side on this important document: "I, the King." "I, the Queen."

A letter of privilege, or commission, was granted to Columbus the last of the same month; confirming the offices mentioned to him and his heirs, and authorizing the use of the title *Don* by him and his descendants. A little later than this, the Queen issued letters-patent; appointing his son Diego a page in the household of her son, Prince Juan. This was an honor usually shown only to boys of high rank; and was thus a marked compliment to the Genoese traveler.

May 12, 1492, Columbus set out for Palos, to make ready the vessels for his expedition. He was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; eighteen years had passed since the plan was matured in his own mind so far that he was ready to ask the advice of the learned Florentine; fully half of that time had been spent in waiting the convenience of the great ones of earth; but at last he who was really great was to venture his all upon three small vessels, scarcely sea-worthy.



DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM PALOS, SPAIN.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

New Difficulties—Reluctant Seamen—The Three Vessels—A Town of Mourning—Sets Sail from Palos—Alarms—The Double Reckoning—Variation of the Compass—the Grassy Sea—Renewed Doubts—Indications of Land—Mutiny of the Crew—Hope Renewed—Confidence in Columbus—Night-Watch of the Admiral—Light Through the Darkness—"LAND!"—The Landing of the Discoverer—Taking Possession—The Natives—Cruising—Self-Deception—Exploration of Cuba—Two Wonderful Plants—Desertion of the *Pinta*—Hayti Discovered—Visits from Native Chiefs—Guacanagari—The *Santa Maria* Wrecked—Assisted by Natives—Tribute of Columbus to their Character—The Indians' First Acquaintance with Firearms—Enviably Indians—Colony Projected—Efforts to Convert the Indians—Building the Fortress—Instructions to Colonists—Departure of Columbus—Rejoined by the *Pinta*—Explanations—Armed Natives—Hostilities—Difficulties of Return Voyage—Storms—Piety of the Crew—Causes of the Admiral's Distress—His Precautions—Land Once More—Enmity of Portuguese—Liberated Prisoners—Departure—Storms Again—Off the Coast of Portugal—Reception in Portugal—The King's Advisers—Rejoicing at Palos—Arrival of the *Pinta*—Pinzon's Treachery—His Death—Reception of Columbus at Court—Unparalleled Honors—Royal Thanksgiving—Jealousy of Courtiers—Columbus and the Egg—The Papal Bull—Preparations for a Second Voyage—Various Arrangements—The Golden Prime of Columbus.

THE port of Palos had committed some offense against the sovereigns ; in punishment for which it had been sentenced to furnish two caravels for royal use, for the period of one year. These were the vessels assigned for the use of Columbus, and he was empowered to procure and fit out a third vessel, at his own expense, in accordance with the terms of the agreement.

Having reached Palos, and again become the guest of Fray Perez, Columbus proceeded to the most public place in the town, the porch of the church of St. George ; and having caused the authorities and many of the inhabitants to assemble there, read to them the royal order that they should, within ten days, furnish him with the two caravels for the service of the Crown. The crews were to receive the ordinary wages of seamen, payable four months in advance ; and the strictest orders were given in regard to the furnishing of such supplies as Columbus might require.

Weeks passed, and not a vessel could be procured, nor a sailor to man it had one been found. Then a royal order was issued, and an officer of the royal household detailed to see that it was executed : any vessel belonging to Spanish subjects might be pressed into the service, and the masters and crews obliged to sail with Columbus wherever he might give orders.

After the necessary ships were secured, and the men engaged, there were many difficulties arising. The men employed to caulk the vessels, for instance, did their work so badly that they were ordered to do it over again; whereupon they disappeared from Palos. Some of those who had volunteered after the Pinzons had set the example, repented of what they had done, and deserted and hid. Had it not been for the example and influence of the Pinzons, Columbus would probably have found it impossible to fit out even the modest armament which he had required.

The *Santa Maria* was prepared especially for the expedition, and was the only one of the vessels that was decked. It was commanded by Columbus himself. The *Pinta* was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and had his brother Francisco as pilot; the *Nina* was under the authority of Vicente Yanez Pinzon. There were three pilots besides Pinzon, a number of officers of the Crown, including a royal notary, who went along to take official notes of all transactions, a surgeon, some private adventurers, and ninety mariners—a total of one hundred and twenty persons.

Before setting sail, each one, from Columbus to the meanest sailor, confessed himself and partook of the sacrament. They were looked upon by their kinsmen and friends as doomed men; Palos was a town of mourning; for nearly every household had some member or friend engaged in this dreadful enterprise. Nor was this feeling confined to those who remained on shore; it was fully shared by the sailors themselves; and when, half an hour before sunrise on the morning of Friday, August 3, 1492, the little fleet sailed from the harbor of Palos, there was but one man on board who felt any certainty that they would ever see Spain again.

Not three days had passed before Columbus had evidence of the ill-will of those who had furnished the expedition. On the third day out, the *Pinta* made signals of distress; and it was found that her rudder was broken. It was clearly due to the contrivance of her owners, who had thus tried to disable their vessel so that she might be left behind. Pinzon, who commanded the *Pinta*, secured the rudder with cords until the following day; when, the wind having lulled, the other ships lay to while the necessary temporary repairs were being made.

But the vessel proved to be leaky; and Columbus decided that they should put in at the Canary Islands until she should be repaired; return to Spain he was resolved that he would not. The pilots had asserted that the Canaries were far distant from the point where the injuries of the *Pinta* were discovered; but Columbus differed from them. The event proved that he was right; and this added somewhat to their opinion of his knowledge and abilities.

This new confidence in him enabled him to pacify the sailors when they became alarmed at seeing the volcano of Teneriffe sending forth flame and

smoke. He recalled the examples of Etna and Vesuvius, which were well-known to them, and thus allayed their fears. But he himself became alarmed when he found that a Portuguese fleet had been seen hovering off the Canaries; he suspected the wily King of Portugal, who had thrown away his own chances of engaging in this great work of discovery, of being anxious to revenge himself upon Columbus for having entered the service of Spain. The Admiral, as Columbus may now be called, accordingly gave hasty orders that his ships should be put to sea at once.

It was the morning of September 6 when they saw the heights of Ferro gradually fade into a dim blue line upon the horizon, and knew that an unexplored ocean lay before them. As the sun rose higher, their hearts sank lower, and all three ships were filled with the complainings and lamentations of the sailors. Many of the most rugged were not ashamed to shed tears because of the land which, as they thought, they had left behind them forever. It required all the eloquence of Columbus to sooth them, even partially, with glowing word-pictures of the riches and magnificence of the countries to which he was conducting them.

Columbus gave strict orders that, should the vessels by any mischance be separated, each should continue its course due westward; providing, that when they had gone seven hundred leagues, they should lay by from midnight until dawn, each night; for that was the distance at which he expected to find land. It was now that he resorted to his stratagem of concealing from the crew the true distance from Europe; keeping two reckonings, one of which, intended for his own guidance, was correct; the other, published to the crews of the three vessels, considerably less than the truth.

They had sailed five days after leaving the Canaries when they fell in with a spar, evidently part of the rigging of a vessel much larger than any of their own. This did not tend to raise the spirits of the men, but was rather an indication of the fate which had befallen others, and which they might expect.

Two days after this, Columbus noticed that the needle of the compass, hitherto considered an unfailing guide, no longer pointed exactly to the north. This appears to have occasioned some alarm even to his courageous soul; and he observed it attentively for three days, during which time the variation became greater and greater. At the end of that period, it was noticed by one of the pilots; and from him the alarm spread to his comrades, thence to the others.

It was a fortunate thing that Columbus should have observed this so long before the others discovered it; for he had opportunity to consider the case, and reason out a theory to account for it. When the pilots, then, acquainted him with their discovery, he assured them that the pole star is not a fixed point, but revolves around the pole like other stars; and thus the



COLUMBUS WATCHING FOR LAND.

needle of the compass is subject to variations. Ignorant as they were, they had a high opinion of his ability as an astronomer, and accepted this explanation. Columbus seems to have been well pleased with it himself; and there is no reason to suppose that he ever held any other theory regarding the variation of the needle.

The next day they saw what they believed to be certain indications of land. Two birds of different species, neither of which they supposed would be found far from land, hovered about the ships. The next night, a great flame of fire, as Columbus describes it in his journal—presumably a meteor—fell from the sky about four or five leagues away.

As they sailed along, borne by the trade-winds through a sea of glass, they saw the surface of the water flecked, here and there, with great patches of sea-weed. These increased in number and size as they advanced; and Columbus recalled the accounts of certain mariners who were said to have been driven far to the west of the Canaries, and found themselves in the mist of a sea covered with great patches of weeds, resembling sunken islands. Some of these weeds were yellow and withered, while others were quite fresh and green; and on one patch a live crab was found.

Up to the eighteenth of September this favoring weather continued; and the sea, to use the words of Columbus, was as calm as the Guadalquivir at Seville. Great enthusiasm prevailed among his followers, lately so filled with fear; each ship tried to keep in advance of the others, and each sailor hoped to deserve the pension of ten thousand *maravedis* which had been promised to the first who saw land.

September 19, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, whose vessel was in the lead, hailed the *Santa Maria*, and informed Columbus that from the flight of a great number of birds and from the appearance of the sky, he thought there was land to the north. But Columbus refused to turn from the course which he had marked out; he knew that land was to be reached by sailing due west, and in no other direction would he go. Every sailor knows how deceptive are the clouds, particularly at sunset; and he felt sure that Pinzon was but the victim of such an illusion as often deceives those on the lookout for land.

As the enthusiasm of the sailors began to die down, doubts of the Admiral took its place; and they thought that they should never see home again. It is true that there had been many signs of land; but these had now been observed for many days, and still there was no land to be seen. Even the favoring wind became a cause for alarm; on a sea where the wind was forever from the east, how were they ever to sail away from the dreaded west?

But the next day the wind veered, and there was a faint gleam of hope; small birds were also observed, singing, as if their strength was not exhausted by their flight from the land where they had nested.



The next day, there was no wind; but the ships were in the midst of fields of weeds, which covered the surface of the water, and impeded the progress which might have been made had there been any wind. They began to recall some vague traditions which had reached even their untutored ears, about the lost Atlantis, and the sea made impassable by the submerged land.

Their fears were not borne out, however, by the soundings; for a deep-sea line showed no bottom.

Columbus was kept busy arguing against their fears; for as fast as one was allayed, another would take its place. If there was wind, they feared a storm; if there was none, they were forever becalmed; if there were no signs of land, they knew that they should never return; if there were signs of land, they had been so often deceived that they could not trust again. One great source of alarm was the calmness of the sea, even when there was wind; and Columbus could not convince them that this was due to the presence of a large body of land in the quarter whence the wind blew; which had not, therefore, sufficient space to raise great waves in the ocean. Finally, on Sunday, September 25, there was a great swell of the sea, without any wind; and the sailors were reassured by this phenomenon, as by something familiar to them of old. Columbus piously regarded it as a special miracle wrought to allay the rising clamors of his crew.

But this was only temporary relief; the discontent among the crew continued, and they resolved that they would go no farther. They had now advanced far beyond the limit reached by other seamen, and would certainly be entitled to much respect from their acquaintances should they return at once. As for Columbus, he had few friends, for he was but a foreigner anyhow; and even if they felt that they could not rely upon the many persons of influence who had opposed this enterprise, and who would be glad to learn that it had failed, they could easily get rid of the Admiral. If they took back the story that he had fallen overboard one night, while busy with his instruments and the stars, who but those who threw him into the sea were to know that the tale was not true?

The wind again became favorable, and the ships were enabled to keep so close together that a conversation could be maintained between the commanders of the *Santa María* and the *Pinta*. While this was the state of affairs, and Columbus was busily studying a chart about which they had been talking, Martin Alonso Pinzon suddenly cried out:—

“Land! Land! Senor, I claim my reward!”

As he spoke, he pointed toward the southwest, where there was indeed an appearance of land. So strong were the indications, that even Columbus was deceived; and yielding to the insistence of the crews, gave orders that the three vessels should sail in the direction indicated by Pinzon. Morning came, after a night of much excitement and hopeful pressage, and showed



that what Pinzon had beheld, was but "the baseless fabric of a vision," a sunset cloud which had passed away during the night. This occurred September 25; and from this time forward, the sailors appear to have been somewhat more hopeful; indeed, so frequently was the cry of "Land" uttered that Columbus found it necessary to rule that if any one gave such notice, and land was not discovered within three days thereafter, he should forfeit all title to the reward, even should he afterward be the first to see land.

By the first of October, according to the belief of the crew, they had reached a point five hundred and eighty-four leagues west of the Canary Islands; Columbus knew that they were in reality seven hundred and seven leagues from those islands, but he still kept this knowledge to himself.

October 7, it was thought by those on board the *Nina* that land lay in the west; and that vessel crowded all sail to follow the indications; for no one dared give notice to the Admiral, for fear of losing the reward. Pressing forward, it was not long before a flag was hoisted at the masthead of the little ship, and a gun boomed over the waters—the preconcerted signal that land had been seen. As before, Columbus fell upon his knees, and repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was joined by all his crew.

But the end was not yet; as the *Nina* confidently advanced, to follow up the great discovery, with the other vessels close in her wake, it was seen that there was no cause for exultation. Again the fancied land was seen to be nothing but a cloud on the horizon; and the flag which had been hoisted in such proud anticipation was slowly and regretfully hauled down.

On the evening of this day, he determined to alter slightly the course to which he had held so rigidly, and proceed to the west-south-west. This was in accordance with the repeated solicitations of the Pinzons, and with his own recently conceived idea that there might have been some mistake in calculating the latitude of Cipango. The fleet kept this course for three days.

It was the night of the tenth of October when the long repressed mutiny of the crew broke forth. Their fears were no longer to be controlled, and they demanded that the Admiral should at once return to Spain. It was in vain that he urged what signs of land appeared daily; they replied, surlily, that such had been seen a month before, and still the watery horizon was unbroken by anything but clouds. It is said that Columbus promised them that if land were not discovered within three days, he would consent to return; but there appears to be no good authority for this story, which was probably invented to satisfy those who love to hear of marvelous coincidences. Nor does it seem likely that Columbus, who had persevered for eighteen years in seeking help to fit out this armament, should have been willing, after a voyage of but little more than two months, to compromise matters in this way. The story rests upon the testimony of a single historian, who is accused of many inaccuracies in other respects.

Finding soothing words and fair promises of no avail, Columbus was obliged to use a more decided tone. He told them that the expedition had been sent by the King and Queen to seek the Indies; and that whatever might be the result, he was determined to persevere, until, by God's blessing, he should have fulfilled their commands.



THE MUTINY.

Having no answer ready to oppose to these resolute words, the men drew away from the leader. We may imagine how they hung together in little knots, muttering deep curses against the folly of the man who had brought them hither, and almost wailing in their grief because they would never see their country again. How often during that night the old scheme of throwing Columbus into the sea was brought up, how often they debated whether

or not they might not keep him a prisoner until Spain was reached, how often they reckoned over their grievances and many causes for fear, no man knows. Morning found them sullen and despairing; their commander was still defiant.

But as the day went on, those signs of land, which the sailors justly said had been seen so long as to be completely misleading, became more and more certain; fresh weeds, such as grow in rivers, were seen on the surface of the water; then a branch of thorn with berries on it; and finally, a reed, a small board and a staff of carved wood. Their gloom and rebellious feeling gave place to hope; and they were eagerly on the watch throughout the day.

At sunset, the crew, according to their custom, sang the *Salve Regina*; after which Columbus addressed them again. He pointed out to them the goodness of God, who had given them, throughout their perilous voyage, favoring breezes and a summer sea; he reminded them that when they left the Canaries, he had given orders that after proceeding seven hundred leagues to the west, they should not sail after midnight—a proof, as he told them, that he had not gone farther than he had then thought it would be necessary. He told them that he thought it probable, from the indications seen that day, that they would make land that very night; and he gave orders that a vigilant look-out should be kept from the forecastle of each vessel; and he promised, in addition to the pension given by the sovereigns, to give a velvet doublet to the first who should discover land.

As the evening closed in, Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, and kept an unwearied watch for land. Throughout the number of followers, there was the same excitement, greater than had ever before prevailed, even over the false alarms given by the Pinzons; for now the Admiral himself, for the first time, was confident that they were approaching land. The very failures of the others gave strength to their trust in Columbus; and they forgot their rebellious clamor of the previous night.

It was about ten o'clock when Columbus first thought he saw a light glimmering at a great distance—could it indeed be land? Literally, he could not believe his own eyes; but fearing that his hopes deceived him, he called to Pedro Gutierrez, a gentleman of the King's bedchamber, and asked him if he saw a light. The adventurer replied that he did; but still Columbus was not convinced. Rodrigo Sanchez was called, and the same question was asked him; he answered that he saw none; and both Columbus and Gutierrez saw that the light had disappeared. But in a moment more they saw it gleam forth again; and it continued to waver thus, as if it were a torch in a boat that was tossed on the waves or carried from one hut to another on shore. So uncertain was it, that the others were inclined to doubt its reality;



COLUMBUS ADDRESSING HIS MEN DURING THE MUTINY

but Columbus, once assured that it was not a fiction of his excited imagination, considered these gleams of light as a certain sign that they were approaching an inhabited land.

Contrary to the orders which he had given on leaving the Canaries, they did not pause during the night. It was two o'clock when a gun from the *Pinta* gave the signal that land was actually descried. It was about two leagues away, and had first been descried by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana; but the pension was adjudged to Columbus himself, as having seen the light four hours before the signal was given from the smaller vessel.

For more than three weary hours they lay to, the waves gently rocking the adventurous barks on the smooth warm waters. As day dawned, the discoverer saw before him a level island, well-wooded, and apparently several leagues in area. The supposition of Columbus that they were approaching inhabited land proved to be correct; for the dusky inhabitants thronged the shore and stood gazing in wonder at the ships.

The vessels had come to anchor; and Columbus, attired in a rich suit of scarlet, befitting the dignity of the Admiral and Viceroy of India, entered this boat, while the two Pinzons entered those belonging to the vessels which they commanded. Each boat bore a banner on which was a green cross and the initials of the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, surmounted by a crown imperial.

What effect did this splendor of color and glitter of armor produce upon the natives? When they first saw the ships, so huge in comparison with their own slight canoes, they had been filled with wonder; as the day dawned, they beheld the vessels more plainly, and that they were borne along, apparently without effort, while the great white sails seemed to them like wings. As the boats were launched, and came toward the shore, their astonishment was changed into terror of the strangers; and they fled into the woods.

Meantime, Columbus had landed; and kneeling upon the earth, he kissed the soil of that new world which he had been first to discover, surrounded by his now devoted followers. Then he rose and drew his sword, and solemnly took possession of the newly discovered country in the name of the sovereigns of Castile. He then called upon all his followers to take the oath of allegiance to him, as Viceroy and Admiral, the representative of these sovereigns.

As the natives witnessed these ceremonies from their hiding-places on the edge of the woods, they gradually regained confidence, and drew a little nearer the strange white men. When they saw that the new-comers seemed to have no intention of injuring them, they approached and made signs of friendship. These were responded to, and the natives came still nearer, and stroked the beards of the Spaniards and examined their hands and faces,





COLUMBUS APPROACHING SAN SALVADOR.



evidently wondering at the whiteness of their skins. All these demonstrations were preceded and accompanied by frequent prostrations and other signs of adoration. To the simple-minded inhabitants of the island, it seemed that these men had come in their great winged vessels straight from the blue heaven which bent over their island, and touched the ocean all around them.

As Columbus supposed that he had reached India, it was natural that he and his followers should speak of the natives of the newly discovered country as Indians; a name which was so much used before it was fully ascertained that he had reached another continent, that reason has never been able to displace it.

The Indians wore no clothing, but had their bodies painted with various colors. Their only arms were lances with heads of sharp flints or fish-bones, or hardened at the end by fire. They evidently had no knowledge of sharpened iron or steel, for one of them took hold of a sword by the edge and cut his hand. They received with eager gratitude the trifles which Columbus and his followers presented to them, offering in return balls of cotton yarn, tame parrots, and cassava bread. These, however, were not the articles of traffic which the Spaniards had come so far to procure; the small golden ornaments which some of the natives wore in their noses were of much greater interest than their twenty-pound balls of cotton, and Columbus at once made inquiry regarding the source from which they were derived.

He learned that these precious ornaments came from the southwest, where there dwelt a king who was always served in vessels of fine gold. Much more has the great discoverer set down of the same kind, but it is probable that he deceived himself in much of what he understood them to tell him by signs. He felt assured that he had now reached the outlying islands of Asia, and was near the countries of fabulous riches of which Marco Polo had written; and he readily believed that the gestures of these naked Indians indicated much more than the savages tried to express.

The island, which Columbus thoroughly explored, was named San Salvador. Around it lay beautiful and fertile islands, so that he was at a loss which to choose as the next to be explored. He set sail two days after landing, taking with him seven of the natives, to whom he proposed to teach the Spanish language, that they might serve as interpreters. As these became better able to communicate with him by signs, and understood more clearly what information he wished to obtain, he learned that he was in the midst of an archipelago, numbering more islands than the limited arithmetical skill of the savages could reckon. They enumerated more than a hundred, and gave him to understand that they were all well peopled, and that the inhabitants were frequently at war with each other. All this was in full accordance with what Columbus had heard of the islands about the eastern coast of Asia.



LANDING OF COLUMBUS ON THE ISLAND OF SAN SALVADOR.

Several islands were visited in succession, but without finding the vast stores of gold which they had understood from the natives were in the possession of their neighbors. They learned, however, that their coming was regarded as a wonderful event by the natives, as a single Indian in a canoe was taken into one of the ships, and found to be a messenger dispatched to carry the news among the different islands. How many similar messengers were dispatched, the Spaniards did not know; but they were less proud of their own courage in venturing across the ocean when they reflected that this naked savage had entered upon a voyage of such length and danger in his frail canoe without a single companion to assist him in storms or tell of his fate if he should perish.

Wherever he went, Columbus heard of an island of much greater extent than any that he had seen, called Cuba; and he determined that this must be the long-sought Cipango. He determined to set sail to this favored country; but his departure from the smaller islands was delayed for some days by calms and contrary winds. It was the 28th of October before he finally reached the coast of the Queen of the Antilles. In his journal, Columbus seems never tired of expatiating upon the beauty of the islands which were now seen by Europeans for the first time; their mild climate, the smoothness of the waters in which these jewels of ocean were set, the majesty of the forests, the beauty of the birds, the magnificence of the flowers, even the glittering sparkle of the insects, are constantly the subjects of his praise.

While coasting along Cuba, Martin Alonso Pinzon learned from some natives that there was a country in the interior called Cubanacan. Later researches have developed the fact that *nacan* is simply the native word meaning the interior, so that Cubanacan means only the interior part of Cuba; but the heated imagination of Pinzon connected this name with the word Khan, and the amazing discovery was communicated to Columbus. The discoverer at once concluded that he was mistaken in supposing Cuba to be Cipango, or Japan; it was a part of the mainland, and he was now in the territories of the Great Khan.

The Admiral settled it in his own mind that he was about a hundred leagues from the capital of this mighty potentate, and resolved to send ambassadors to him at once. Two envoys were selected; one of them a converted Jew, who was acquainted with Hebrew and Chaldaic, and had some knowledge of Arabic, in which language, it was supposed, he would be able to communicate with some one in the court of the Khan. These ambassadors were instructed to inform the Khan that Columbus had been sent by the King and Queen of Spain, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations between the powers; they were also to ascertain exactly the situation of certain ports, provinces, and rivers; and they were to find out if certain drugs and spices, of which they were provided with samples, were produced in that country.

While awaiting the return of these ambassadors, Columbus occupied himself in attending to the necessary repairs of his vessels. Having arranged for this work, he spent some time in the exploration of the interior; and again received much remarkable information from the natives. We cannot help suspecting that the natives found Columbus such a willing listener that they indulged their imaginations considerably; for they gravely assured him that there were tribes at a distance, of men who had but one eye; that there were others who had the heads of dogs, and that there were still others who were cannibals, killing their victims by cutting their throats and drinking their blood. Mingled with these stories, were accounts of a place which they called Bohio, where they declared that the people wore anklets and bracelets and necklaces of gold and pearls.

While Columbus was being thus ably entertained by the Indians of the coast of Cuba, his ambassadors had penetrated to the interior in search of the capital of Kubli Khan. They returned Nov. 6, having reached a point twelve leagues from the coast, and learned there that there was nothing of interest beyond it. The village which was the capital of Cubanacan contained about fifty huts, and at least a thousand inhabitants. The envoys had been treated with courtesy and hospitality, though, to their surprise, they found that Hebrew and Arabic were but gibberish to the natives, and were obliged to rely upon the services of an Indian who had accompanied them, and who had picked up a little smattering of Spanish. They saw no gold or precious stones; and when the white men displayed their samples of cinnamon, pepper, and similar commodities, they were informed that such things grew far off to the southwest.

During their absence, Columbus had become acquainted with the properties of a plant, which, one of his biographers justly observes, was destined to be of more real value to the people of the eastern continent than all the precious metals that have been mined in the New World. This was the potato. The ambassadors sent into the interior saw in use a plant which has not, indeed, the wide usefulness of the potato, but which has become necessary to the comfort of many of the white race. This was tobacco, the name of which is derived from the Indian word designating a sort of rude cigar; the term being applied by the Spaniards to the plant and its dried leaves. The strangers at first regarded this practice of smoking as singular and nauseous; but as it is said of vice that—

"We first endure, then pity, then embrace,"

so the white men were taught by curiosity to learn what the Indian found in tobacco that was pleasant, and speedily acquired the habit.

Columbus was now convinced, by the report of his envoys, that he was not within such a short distance of the capital of the Khan. He still listened

eagerly, however, to the tales which the Indians had to tell of Babeque and Bohio, although he was not quite certain whether these terms applied to the same place or not. He decided to go in search of Babeque, which he hoped to find the name of some rich and populous island off the coast of Asia. Later researches into the language of the natives of these islands have not made it wholly clear what they intended to convey by these two words; according to some authorities, they are names applied to the coast of the mainland; others that *bohio* means house, or populousness.

November 12, the little fleet weighed anchor, and sailed eastward along the coast of Cuba. A storm obliged them to take refuge in a harbor to which Columbus gave the name of Puerto del Principe, and several days were spent in exploring that cluster of small and beautiful islands which have since been called El Jardin del Rey, "The Garden of the King." On the 19th, he again put to sea, and for two days made ineffectual efforts to reach an island which lay about twenty leagues to the eastward, supposing it to be Babeque. Finding this impossible, on the evening of the second day he put his ship about, and made signals for the others to do the same. The *Pinta* was considerably to the eastward of the *Santa Maria* and the *Nina*, and, to the surprise of the Admiral, failed to answer the signals or comply with the commands which they indicated. He repeated the signals; but still the *Pinta* paid no attention. Night came on; and hoisting signal lights at the masthead of the *Santa Maria*, so that the *Pinta* could easily follow through the darkness, he sailed onward. Morning came, but nothing was to be seen of the *Pinta*.

Columbus was not a little disquieted by this action of Pinzon. The rich navigator of Palos, who had furnished a large part of the money required for the expedition, and without whose aid Columbus would probably have been obliged to seek assistance at some other court than that of Spain, was fully aware of the importance of the services which he had rendered to the Genoese adventurer. Thoroughly familiar with the theories of Columbus, he had adopted them as his own, and probably came gradually to consider them as much his property as they were the foreigner's. Several times, during the voyage, there had been serious differences of opinion between Columbus and his chief subordinate; and when the Admiral saw that the *Pinta* had thus deserted the flag-ship, he suspected that Pinzon intended to return to Spain at once and claim all the honors due to the successful prosecutor of this great enterprise.

But Columbus was not to be deterred from his purpose of discovering the rich and populous parts of the far east; he continued coasting along the northern line of Cuba until, Dec. 5, he reached the eastern extremity, to which he gave the name of Alpha and Omega, supposing it to be the eastern point of Asia. He was now undetermined what course to pursue. Return to Spain would be unadvisable at this season of the year; and so far as the



*Pinta* was concerned, she was so much swifter sailer than the other vessels, and had the start of them by many hours, that it was useless to think of chasing her across the Atlantic. If he kept along the coast, following its trend to the southwest, he might find the country of the Khan; but then he could not hope to reach Babeque, which his Indian guides now assured him lay to the northeast.

Thus undecided, he continued cruising aimlessly for some days in the waters around the eastern end of Cuba; and at last descried land to the southeast, which he decided to make. The natives protested against his seeking to do so, assuring him that the people were fierce and cruel cannibals. But these remonstrances were unheeded, and Columbus steered toward Hayti.

He anchored in a harbor at the western end of the island, to which he gave the name which it still retains—St. Nicholas. As they explored the northern coast of the island, they caught many fish, several species of which were similar to those which the sailors had taken in Spanish waters; they heard from the wooded shore the notes of song-birds which reminded them of the nightingale and other birds of Andalusia; and they fancied they saw, in the beautifully diversified country, some resemblance to the more beautiful parts of Spain. Accordingly, Columbus named the island Hispaniola, or little Spain.

While exploring the island, Columbus found plants and birds of much different species and more abundant than those he had seen in Europe. Animals were also less rare, more various, and of greater size; amongst others the iguana, a sort of gigantic lizard, whose likeness to the crocodile, or at least to the representations of it then extant, made some of the crew mistake it for one of those dreadful monsters. Glad to make use of his courage in reassuring his men, who were frightened at everything that was new, Columbus did not hesitate to attack this beast; he rushed at him with uplifted sword, and pursuing him into the waters of the lake, did not come out until, to the universal satisfaction, he had made an end of him. The skin which he carried back with him to Europe, measured seven feet in length, much more than the average length.

Columbus must have smiled at the recollection of this exploit, when he found out that this terrible-looking beast, with its enormous crop, its long and powerful tail, its spine notched like a saw, its sharp claws, is as harmless as our common lizard, and is even esteemed a great delicacy by the Indians.

The natives had abandoned their villages and fled into the interior at the approach of the vessels, leaving their cultivated fields and large villages. Columbus sent well-armed parties in search of them, and one such party succeeded in capturing a young woman, who was induced by presents of clothes, trifling ornaments, and trinkets, and by the kind treatment which she experienced, to act as ambassador to her people. It was no difficult matter after



this to secure the presence of large numbers of the natives, who were well disposed toward the strangers when they found that there need be no fear of them.



THE FIGHT WITH THE IGUANA.

They were frequently visited by chiefs of various degrees of importance; and, Dec. 22, received a message from a chief named Guacanagari, borne by a number of natives, who filled one of the largest canoes that the Spaniards had as yet seen. This cacique, as the chiefs of these islands are called by Columbus, asked that the ships might be brought to a point opposite his village, which was a little farther east than the point where they then were. But the wind was not favorable, and Columbus had to content himself with sending a deputation to visit Guacanagari, by whom they were received with great state and honor. But, as before, the Spaniards learned from this chief

nothing of the vast stores of treasure for which they were seeking; and although the cacique and his followers freely gave them any of their few golden ornaments, it was evident that these were not drawn from any mine worked by Guacanagari and his tribe.

The envoys returned, bearing the most friendly messages with them; and as soon as the wind proved favorable, Columbus gave orders that the two vessels should sail toward the village of Guacanagari. His hopes had again been raised by the statements of various minor caciques who had visited him during the absence of his messengers, and who talked much of a place which they called Cibao, the cacique of which had banners of wrought gold. To the ears of the great discoverer this name was nearly enough like Cipango to mislead him completely; and he believed that at last he had come upon the traces of that magnificent prince mentioned by Marco Polo, whose wealth exceeded even that of the ruler of Cathay.

It was the morning of December 24 that the two vessels departed from their resting-place to proceed toward the residence of the cacique. The wind was so light as hardly to fill the sails, and they made but little progress. At eleven o'clock that Christmas eve, they were about four or five miles from the harbor where the cacique's village was situated; the sea was calm and smooth, and the coast had been so explored by the party of messengers that Columbus felt no fears regarding rocks or other sources of danger. He accordingly retired to the rest which he had earned by sleepless nights spent in watching the course of the vessels along an unknown coast.

Scarcely had he fallen asleep, before the helmsman, in defiance of the commander's plain orders, gave the helm over to a boy, and himself went to sleep. It was not long before the whole crew of the *Santa Maria* was locked in slumber; the only wakeful one being the boy at the helm.

The currents along this coast are swift and strong; and when the ship was once in the power of one of them, she was swept rapidly along. To older or more heedful ears the sound of the breakers would have given warning of the danger; but the boy thought nothing of what he was doing. Silently and swiftly the current bore the ship upon a sand-bank; suddenly the boy-helmsman felt the rudder strike, and heard the tumult of the rushing sea. Frightened, he called loudly for help; the Admiral, a light sleeper, and always feeling the responsibility which rested upon him, was the first upon deck, followed hastily by the sailors who had been sleeping when they should have watched, and by those others who were not on duty. He quickly gave orders to carry an anchor astern, that by this means the vessel might be warped off. The boat was launched, and the men detailed for the purpose entered it; but either, insane from fright, they misunderstood the order, or purposely disobeyed it, by seeking their own safety first, and at once rowed off toward the other vessel, which lay half a league to windward.

The *Santa Maria* had swung across the stream, and lay helpless, the water continually gaining upon her. The Admiral gave orders that the mast should be cut away; hoping to lighten her so that she would be carried off the bar before any more serious damage was done. The order was obeyed; but the keel was too firmly bedded in the sand for this measure to prove effective. The shock had opened several seams, through which the water entered in large quantities. The breakers struck her with force again and again, until she lay over on her side. Had the weather been less calm, this vessel, the largest of the armament which a queen had fitted out for the discovery of a New World, would have gone to pieces on the shore of that far-away island.

In the meantime, the boat had reached the caravel *Nina* and given information of the condition of the larger vessel. The commander of the caravel reproached the sailors for their desertion of the leader in such misfortunes, and immediately dispatched a boat to his relief. Columbus and his crew took refuge on board the *Nina* until morning, and envoys were at once sent off to inform the cacique of what had happened.

Guacanagari showed great distress at the misfortunes of his expected visitors; nor did he confine himself to mere words of sympathy and condolence, but showed himself active in measures for their relief. All the canoes that could be mustered were pressed into service, and all his people assisted in unloading the vessel. The lading was stored near the palace of the cacique, and an armed guard placed around it to prevent depredations; the cacique and his brothers having kept close watch while the work of unloading was going on, to prevent the helpers from being overcome by temptation to help themselves to these wonderful things.

To Columbus and his companions, this course appeared unnecessary; so much sympathy with the shipwrecked sailors was shown by all who, at the command of the chief, were engaged in assisting them; and Columbus afterward bore this testimony to their character, in his Journal:—

“So loving, so tractable, so peaceable are these people that I swear to your majesties there is not in the world a better nation, nor a better land. They love their neighbors as themselves; and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy.”

The day after Christmas, Columbus was visited on board the *Nina* by Guacanagari, who assured him again of his eagerness to render the Spaniards any assistance which lay in his power.

The Admiral, who was at dinner when he came on board, observes in his Journal with regard to this visit, that the cacique would not allow him when he entered the cabin to rise or use any ceremony, and that, when invited to partake of any dish, he took just as much as was necessary for him not to

appear impolite. He did the same if anything was given him to drink; he put it to his lips, merely tasted it, and sent it to his followers. His air and his movements were remarkably grave and dignified.



THE GRATEFUL CACIQUE.

His dignity and discretion, however, were not proof against all the attractions that surrounded him. While, with the help of the Indians he had brought with him as interpreters from San Salvador, Columbus was entertaining his royal guest, he noticed that the cacique turned his eyes again and again, as if in spite of himself, on the quilt that covered his bed. Columbus, seeing this, hastened to present him with the coveted object, together with a pair of red shoes and a necklace of amber beads. The gratitude of the cacique and his officers knew no bounds, and there is no doubt that these

gifts did more to exalt the power and grandeur of Spain and her sovereigns in their eyes than all the words of Columbus and his interpreters on that subject. While they were conversing, a canoe arrived from another part of the island, bringing bits of gold to be exchanged for small bells, such as were worn by the hawk used at that time in hunting. To the Indians, these appeared the most desirable articles which the Spaniards had to distribute among them; they hung the bells on their arms and legs when preparing for the dances of which they were so fond, and which were performed to the cadence of certain songs. They had found that the Spaniards valued gold more than anything which their savage treasuries contained, and readily brought all that they had to exchange for the wonderful musical bells.

Sailors who had been on shore, trading, informed Columbus that gold was easily obtained in trade with the natives; and this restored the drooping spirits of the Admiral to something of their normal state. The cacique saw the change in his countenance, and inquired what good news the sailors had brought. He was told how desirous the Admiral was of obtaining the yellow metal; and replied that there was a place not far off, among the mountains, where it could be obtained in large quantities. He promised to get as much as Columbus might desire, the metal being there in such abundance, he said, that it was not held as very valuable. This place he called Cibao; and Columbus at once recognized this name, and again confounded it with Cipango.

When Guacanagari had been entertained by Columbus, he insisted that the Admiral should be his guest on shore. The request was granted; and the guest received such honor and sympathy as to make him admire the kindly yet dignified savage chieftain more than ever. In return for the cacique's efforts at entertaining him, he sent on board the ship for a skilled archer and his arms, and showed the assembled Indians the accuracy of such weapons. The people of Guacanagari were of so unwarlike a nature that they had no similar skill to display; but the cacique informed Columbus that the Caribs, who sometimes made forays upon them, had bows and arrows which they used with deadly precision. Columbus assured the chief that he had nothing more to fear from the Caribs, for the great monarchs of Spain had weapons far more terrible than these, which they would not hesitate to use in the defense of a people who had assisted their Admiral. To illustrate his words, he ordered an arquebus and a heavy cannon to be discharged.

To the Indians, it seemed that a thunderbolt had fallen from a clear sky; and they fell prostrate on their faces in terror. When they had recovered a little, Columbus called their attention to the place where the cannon-ball had crashed through the trees, carrying away great branches; and they were filled with renewed dismay. But he assured them that these arms would not be used against them, but for their protection against the cruel and dreaded



Caribs; and secure in the friendship of these children of light who were armed with thunder from their native skies, the simple savages were more than content.

The fame of the hawk-bells had gone abroad, and there was not an Indian who had a golden ornament who was not more than willing to trade it for one of these precious articles. Las Casas, whose work is one of the chief authorities regarding this part of the life of Columbus, tells us that one Indian offered a handful of gold-dust in exchange for one; and when the trade had been made, hurried off as fast as his feet would carry him, lest the Spaniards should regret that they had sold it so cheap.

The Spaniards who had endured so many hardships and dangers became enamored of the easy, luxurious life which the Indians led; in a land where the earth produced, almost spontaneously, roots and fruits enough to feed more than the inhabitants, where there was evidently no winter to be feared, where shelter and clothing were looked upon as unnecessary, where the main part of the day was passed in indolent repose, and the main part of the night in dancing to the music of their songs or the beating of their rude drums, the Indians were indeed creatures to be envied. Gradually the sailors came to long to share this life, so full of ease and enjoyment, and Columbus formed the idea of establishing a colony of those who wished to remain; while he, with his one vessel and a small crew, would return to Spain to carry the news of his discovery—unless he had been anticipated by the captain of the *Pinta*—and to procure the needed supplies and reinforcements. Had the natives been less peaceable and friendly, such a course would have been the height of madness; but armed as the Spaniards were with cannon and smaller firearms, and surrounded by those whose chief wish seemed to be to minister to the white strangers, there appeared to be no difficulty in the way.

But he did not propose to take any unnecessary risks; the stranded vessel was to be broken up to afford materials for a fortress; and it was to be armed with her guns. Provisions enough could be spared from the general stock to maintain a small garrison for a year; so that whatever change there might be in the feelings of the natives, the white men who were left behind would be entirely safe. He intended that they should occupy themselves with exploring the island and becoming acquainted with the location and extent of the gold mines on which they all laid such stress, and in trading with the natives for whatever of the precious metal they might possess. At the same time, they could learn the language of the country more perfectly, so that communication would be easier and surer; and acquaint themselves with the habits and customs of the people, so as to make future intercourse all the smoother.

Columbus did not suppose that the fortress, except under very improbable circumstances, would be necessary for the defense of his followers from the natives; for the latter had too clearly proven their unwarlike nature and their



friendly disposition; but he considered that some sort of military organization and round of required duties was necessary to keep the Spaniards in good order during the absence of a ruler specially appointed by the Crown, and to enable those who were disposed to do what was right by the natives to hold in check those who might otherwise have proved tyrannical, unprincipled, and cruel.

For the discoverer, who was so enchanted with the beauty of nature and the character of the inhabitants in this New World, entertained fond hopes that all these people would speedily be converted to the Christian faith. Wherever he had gone, he had found them of the same gentle, loving disposition, ready to listen eagerly to whatever the strangers could make them understand, and readily learning by rote such prayers as the sailors taught them, and making the sign of the cross with becoming devoutness of aspect. This is not the place to discuss the good done by prayers which are not understood by those who utter them; but it is a fact that these Spaniards of the fifteenth century thought they had done good when they taught an Indian the Latin words of a prayer, of the meaning of which the savage had not the slightest conception; and which may have been rather hazy to the Spaniard. Columbus looked eagerly forward to the time when all these untaught savages should receive the rite of baptism, believing that that was all that was necessary to make them good Christians. Throughout the time that he had sought assistance in working out his theory, he had held fast to the idea of advancing the dominion of the Church; and this feeling was probably at the bottom of his reasons for seeking assistance from Spain. Isabella was known for a devout Catholic, and ardent in the cause of religion; hence, although the country was convulsed with civil war, he sought assistance from her, rather than from the cold and crafty men who sat on the thrones of France and England.

The project of building a fortress and leaving a colony was broached to the natives, who were enraptured with the plan. That the wonderful white men who had come from heaven with their thunderous weapons should remain to protect them from their dreaded enemies the Caribs, while the Admiral returned to the skies for more white men and hawks' bells, was almost too good to be true; and they eagerly assisted in building the fortress.

A site was chosen, the wreck was broken up and brought to shore. A large vault was to be dug, and over this a strong wooden tower was to be erected; finally, the whole was to be surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, with the usual draw-bridge. In the vault were to be stored such supplies of arms, ammunition, and food as should be brought from the wreck, and could be spared by those who were about to undertake the homeward voyage.

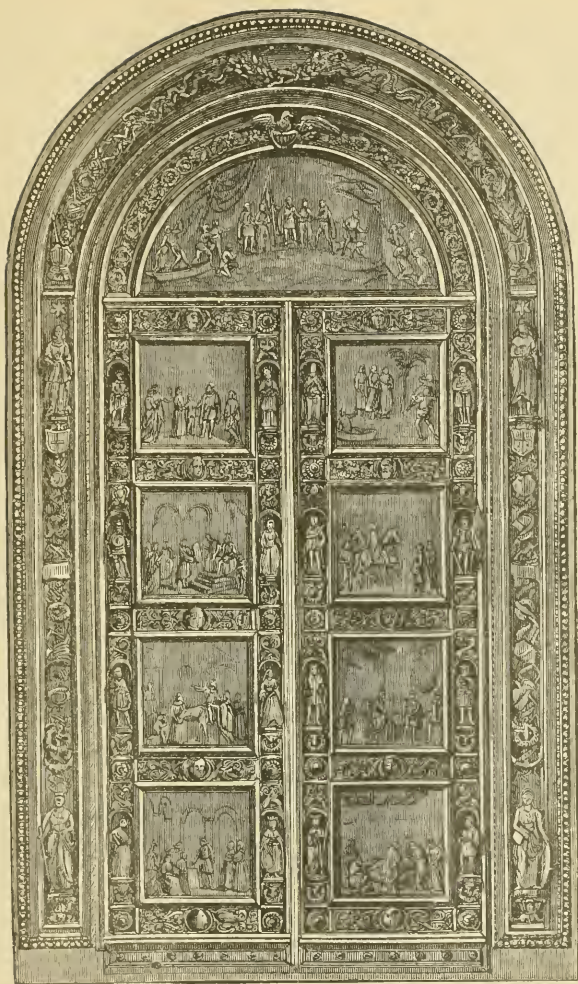
So industriously did the Spaniards push the work, and so eagerly did the many natives assist them, that the whole fortress was completed in ten days

from the time that Columbus had given orders to begin it. He gave it the name of *La Navidad*, or the Nativity, because they had been rescued from the wreck of the vessel on Christmas Day. Having concluded the account of the building of this tower, the devout Admiral points out the care which Providence had exercised over his voyage; so that even the shipwreck, which appeared at the time to be such a great misfortune, was the cause of his finding what riches lay hid in the island, where otherwise he would only have touched at the coast and gone farther on. As seen more clearly by those who have a knowledge of later events, the wreck of the *Santa Maria* appears the misfortune which it seemed at first; since because of it Columbus devoted so much of his time and attention, in later years, to this very island, and suffered much because of his connection with it.

While they were engaged in building the fortress, some Indians brought word that a large vessel, like that of Columbus, had been seen in a harbor at the eastern end of the island. There could be but one explanation of this: it must be the *Pinta*. Columbus at once sent a Spaniard, with a crew of natives in a native canoe, to take a letter to Pinzon, urging him to join company at once, but making no complaint regarding his desertion, or saying a word that was not entirely friendly. A close search, however, by these messengers, failed to disclose the presence of any such vessel; and they returned to the Admiral. Other rumors reached them of a ship like theirs, but Columbus resolved to take no further steps toward searching for the lost vessel until something more definite should be heard.

In the meantime, it was a subject of much anxiety to Columbus, how the voyage back to Spain would be accomplished. The *Pinta*, the swiftest of the ships, had deserted, and they knew nothing of her fate; she might have escaped across the ocean, or she might have been wrecked on the shore of some distant island, or she might have foundered at sea and gone down with all on board. The *Santa Maria*, the largest of his ships, had been wrecked and destroyed. There remained only the *Nina*, which really was fit only for coasting. Indeed, it was not wholly because Columbus had feared to demand large ships that he had accepted small ones; he had selected those which seemed to him best fitted for coasting and for tracing an intricate course in channels between islands.

But the *Nina* was not the vessel in which any sane sailor would have wished to cross the Atlantic without a consort; much less was it one to which a man who had labored and waited for a score of years to secure the realization of his dreams would wish to entrust the fulfillment of those dreams. For, should the *Nina* be lost on the homeward voyage, what record would remain of Columbus? It would only be known that he maintained a theory which the most learned men of Spain condemned as impracticable; that he had sailed into the western ocean, and had been lost there, as they had predicted.



THE COLUMBUS BRONZE DOORS IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

Return he must, however; and preparations for the homeward voyage were begun about the same time as the fortress. Thirty-nine persons were selected to remain behind at La Navidad, while the others, numbering a few more, sailed eastward again. Minute instructions were given the colonists, to treat the natives always with gentleness and justice, remembering how much they were indebted to Guacanagari; to keep together, for mutual safety, and not stray beyond the territories of the cacique who had so befriended them; and to acquire a knowledge of the productions and mines of the island, to procure as much gold and spice as possible by trading, and to seek a better situation for a settlement, as this harbor was far from being a safe one. The boat of the *Santa Maria* was left with them, as well as a variety of seeds to sow, and a quantity of articles to be used in traffic. A commandant of the post was appointed in the name of the sovereigns, and two lieutenants, upon whom, successively, the command was to devolve in case of his death. Having made all arrangements for the safety and well-being of the colony, as far as such arrangements could be made by any man, Columbus, on the 4th of January, 1493, sailed from Hispaniola eastward across the broad ocean: five months and one day after he left Palos.

The student of idle superstitions may well remark the recurrence of a certain day of the week in the history of this first voyage of Columbus; it was on Friday that he set sail from Palos: it was on Friday that he first saw the shores of Guanahani, the first land of the New World on which his eyes rested; and it was on Friday that he left Hispaniola on his return. The sixth day of the week is far from being considered a day on which to begin great undertakings; but the greatest event of modern times is thus associated with it.

The first two days of the return voyage were without event; on the third, the lookout gave the cry that he saw the *Pinta* at a distance. The report was an animating one; for there was not a man on board but fully realized the dangers of their long and lonely voyage.

The *Pinta* hastened toward them as soon as the *Nina* was descried by her lookout; and conversation proving impracticable by reason of the state of the weather, the two vessels, at the command of the leader of the expedition, put back to the bay a little west of what is now called Monte Christi. Here the Admiral and his chief subordinate landed, and here was told the story of the *Pinta's* adventures. According to Martin Alonzo Pinzon's account, he had been compelled to part company by stress of weather, and had ever since been seeking to rejoin his companions. Columbus received this statement without contradiction, although he did not believe it from the first; and made investigations afterward which brought the truth to his ears. One of the Indians on board the *Pinta* had given information of a gold-bearing country to the eastward which had excited the imagination of the master; he had taken

advantage of circumstances to separate from the others, and had sought to be the first to discover this rich country. For some days he sailed about among a group of small islands, unable to shape his course so as to avoid them; but the Indians had finally conducted him to Hispaniola; the rumors that Columbus had heard were not wholly false, although unreliable, or perhaps misunderstood, in their statements of localities. Pinzon had remained three weeks near the shore of this island, and had collected by trading no small amount of gold; half of this he had retained for himself, half had been divided among his crew, to insure their silence regarding the transaction. But Columbus, even though the treachery of Pinzon could be clearly proved, could as yet take no steps to punish him in any way, or even appear to disbelieve his assertions. Many of the sailors were relatives or townsmen of Pinzon, and a break with him, at this juncture, might have been fatal to Columbus.

A supply of wood and water was procured for the voyage, and the two vessels coasted a short distance along the shore which had been explored by Pinzon. Arrived at the mouth of a river which Columbus named Rio de Gracia, but which is now Porto Caballo, the Admiral received news that his lieutenant had, during the period of his desertion, carried off four men and two girls from among the Indians of that section. The complaint was investigated, and it was found that the captives were on board the *Pinta*, and that it was the intention of that vessel's commander to take them to Spain and sell them as slaves. The Admiral at once gave orders that they should be released and returned to their own people; being clothed and given many presents as a kind of restitution for the temporary loss of their liberty. This proceeding was not conducted without protest from Pinzon, and we shall find, as we proceed, that Columbus learned to look with less horror upon the project of selling Indians as slaves; but at this time he was careful to take none with him but those who voluntarily accompanied him.

As they continued their course along the coast, they came to an arm of the sea extending so far into the land that at first they supposed it to be a channel separating the island of Hispaniola from some other near neighbor; but it proved to be only a gulf. On the farther side of this inlet, they found a people differing very much from those others with whom the discoverer was so much pleased. These were of a ferocious aspect, and hideously painted; they were armed with war-clubs, or with bows as large as those used by English archers, the arrows being made of slender reeds and tipped with bone or with the tooth of a fish. They also had swords of palm-wood, the weight and hardness of which excited the wonder of the Spaniards. Though ferocious in appearance, and thus armed, they did not seem hostile, but sold two of their bows to the Spaniards, and one of them was induced to go upon the Admiral's vessel.

He was sent back with many presents, to induce his comrades to trade with



the Spaniards. The men in the boat which conveyed him back to land were alarmed at the sight of about fifty fully armed warriors, who gathered on the shore; but at a word from the savage in the boat, they laid down their arms and came to meet the white men. Suddenly, in the midst of a peaceful conference, they rushed toward the spot where they had left their arms, and returned with a quantity of strong cord, as if to bind the strangers. The latter at once attacked them, wounding two. The others took to flight. The Spaniards would have pursued them, but the pilot who commanded the boat forbade it. Such was the first conflict between the natives and the people of southern Europe; if we regard the fight of which the old saga tells as unworthy of credit, the first on the soil of America between Indians and white men.

Columbus had been so anxious to keep the peace with all the natives, that he was much troubled at the occurrence of this fight; but he consoled himself by thinking that the Indians had now had a taste of the superiority of the white men's weapons, and would be careful how they attacked them in the future. He was pleased to find that the enmity of the Indians had not been excited by this occurrence, as they returned the next day and appeared more desirous than ever of being friends. They told him of the islands to the east in such terms that Columbus decided to stop there, and prevailed upon four of their young men to accompany him as guides.

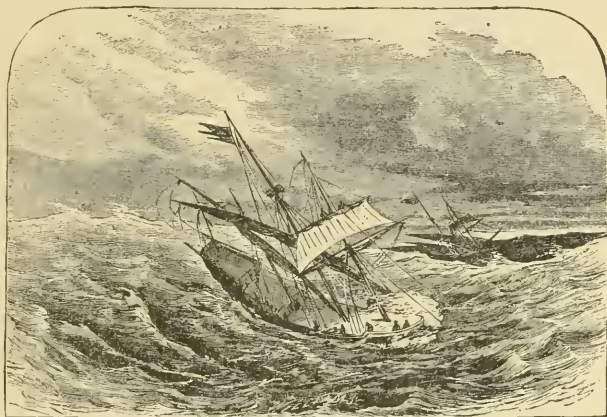
Following their guidance, Columbus at first steered to the northeast, then to the southeast; but he had gone but about fifty miles in all when there sprang up a breeze which, it seemed to him and his sailors, would waft them straight to Spain. He saw the discontent on their faces as they thought how far from the direct line of the homeward path they were diverging; he considered how shaky was the allegiance of Pinzon; and how uncertain was the fate of either vessel, should it be exposed to even an ordinary storm among these many islands. He considered that the whole fate of the path which he had marked out to India depended upon his safe arrival on the eastern shore of the Atlantic; and repressing all desire for further exploration of the islands which he had discovered, he gave orders to shift sail and make direct for Spain.

The outward voyage had been full of doubts and anxieties; had it been through one-tenth of the difficulties and dangers which beset the homeward voyage, the New World would have remained undiscovered; for the rebellion of the crew would have been determined enough to have broken even the iron resolution of Columbus.

The trade-winds which had so prospered the outward voyage were of course unfavorable to their return; and it was not until they had run far to the north, and got completely out of the track of these winds, that they were enabled to make any headway. So often had they changed their course to



take advantage of the least wind that promised to bear them homeward, that the pilots had lost their reckoning completely; and could no more agree with each other than they could guess at the true situation. Columbus alone retained a clear idea of where they were, having powers of minute observation which often caused his conclusions to seem little short of inspirations; but he did not enlighten the pilots; since he wished to be the only man who had a clear idea of the route followed in crossing the Atlantic.



THE RETURN OF COLUMBUS.

While they were yet in the midst of the Atlantic, barely two-thirds of their voyage done, they were looking for land, supposing themselves to be in about the latitude of the Madeira Islands. Columbus knew that they were more nearly in a line with the Azores, but that they were not likely to reach even these outposts of the known world for a few days.

February 12, a storm began to come on; and it was only with great labor and danger that the ships could keep on their eastward course. The wind and heavy sea lasted all that day and the next; increasing greatly after sunset on the 13th. Flashes of lightning gave promise of a still greater tempest, which soon burst in such fury that they were obliged to take in all sail, and scud all night under bare poles.

The next morning there was promise of a break in the storm; but it was not fulfilled. The wind rose again, and lasted all through the night. The open vessels labored hard, every moment threatening them with engulfment in the angry waves. As night came on, the two ships were separated: Columbus kept on a straight course to the northeast, endeavoring to signal

by lights to the *Pinta*; but no answering lights could be seen through the blackness of the stormy night. The weakness of her foremast had prevented her from holding the wind, and she had been obliged to run before it due north.

Day broke over a waste of waters, still angry and threatening. All through the dreary day the helpless little *Nina* was driven along before the wind, not knowing what had become of her companion vessel. The ship was nearly disabled, and all seamanship was in vain; there was but one source of help in such emergencies, and thither Columbus and his crew betook themselves. Thinking to avert the wrath of Heaven as manifested in this terrible tempest, he determined to offer solemn vows and acts of penance. Pilgrimages to peculiarly sacred places were in that day a favorite means of showing devotion, and were esteemed acceptable worship. At the suggestion of Columbus, it was determined to cast lots, to see who should vow to make a pilgrimage, immediately after landing, to the shrine of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, bearing a wax taper of five pounds' weight. A number of beans, one of which was marked with a cross, were placed in a cap, and the crew assembled to draw from among them. Columbus, of course, was the first to do so; and he drew the marked bean, which indicated that he was to make the pilgrimage. Another lot was cast, to decide who should undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine at Loretto; and Columbus agreed to pay the expenses of the seaman who drew the marked bean. A third time was chance invoked to decide who should become a pilgrim, this time to the shrine of Santa Clara de Moguer, and coupled with an obligation to procure a solemn high mass, and to watch all night in the chapel; and this, like the first, fell upon Columbus.

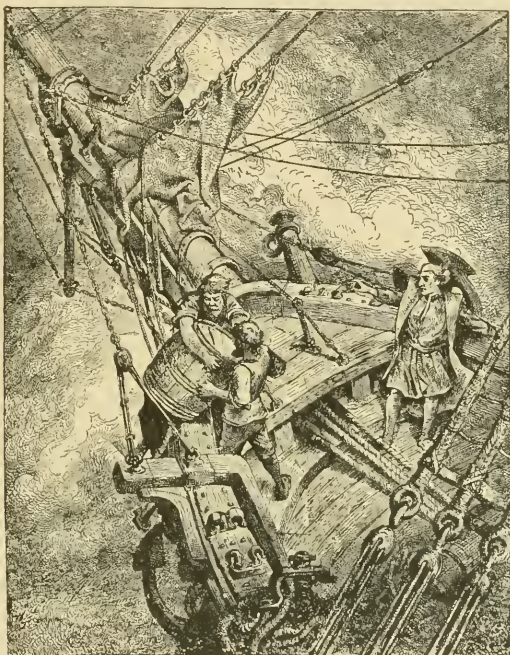
But in spite of these pious vows, the tempest was not abated; and the whole crew agreed that wherever they first landed they would go in procession, barefooted, and clad only in their shirts, or close under-tunics, to some church dedicated to the Virgin, and offer up a solemn thanksgiving for their safety. Each man, besides, made such private vows of penance or reformation of life as seemed good to him; and the whole crew anxiously waited to see the result of their acts of piety.

But even to the eye of faith it was not perceptible, and all gave themselves up for lost. The storm continued unabated. Their danger was increased by the lightness of the vessel; the water casks being nearly emptied, and the provisions having run low. To remedy this evil, Columbus gave orders that the empty casks should be filled with sea-water; and thus ballasted, the caravel rode more steadily.

The condition of the mind of Columbus is better pictured by his own words, as found in a letter to the sovereigns, than in any which could be found to express it. He says:—

“I could have supported this evil fortune with less grief, had my person

alone been in jeopardy, since I am a debtor for my life to the supreme Creator, and have been at other times within a step of death. But it was a cause of infinite sorrow and trouble to think that, after having been illuminated from on high with faith and certainty to undertake this enterprise, after having victoriously achieved it, and when on the point of convincing my opponents, and securing to your highnesses great glory and vast increase of



COLUMBUS' MEN THROWING OVER THE CASK.

dominions, it should please the Divine Majesty to defeat all by my death. It would have been more supportable, also, had I not been accompanied by others who had been drawn on by my persuasions, and who, in their distress, cursed not only the hour of their coming, but the fear inspired by my words which prevented their turning back, as they had at various times determined. Above all, my grief was doubled when I thought of my two sons, whom I had left at school in Cordova, destitute, in a strange land, without any testimony

of the services rendered by their father, which, if known, might have inclined your highnesses to befriend them. And although, on the one hand, I was comforted by the faith that the Deity would not permit a work of such great exaltation to his Church, wrought through so many troubles and contradictions, to remain imperfect; yet, on the other hand, I reflected on my sins, as a punishment for which he might intend that I should be deprived of the glory which would redound to me in this world."

While in this state of uncertainty as to what had become of the *Pinta*, and what was to become of the *Nina*, the tireless Admiral of the Indian Seas determined to take every means to perpetuate the knowledge of his discovery, even should he be lost. An account of his voyage was carefully written out on parchment and enclosed in a waxed cloth, which was placed in the center of a cake of wax. The whole was then shut up in a large barrel, which was cast into the sea. The account of his voyage was addressed to the King and Queen of Spain, and superscribed with a promise of a thousand ducats—about six thousand dollars according to present values—to whoever should deliver it unopened. He made two copies of the account, and placed one, enclosed in a similar way, on the poop of his vessel; so that, if he should be lost, there would be two copies afloat on the ocean.

About the year 1852 a report was circulated, through the English newspapers, that this cask, committed to the waves so long ago, had been picked up by an American vessel off the African coast. Lamartine, one of the great writers who have devoted their talents to a study of the life of Columbus, has accepted this story as correct. Of the other principal biographers of the great discoverer who have written since the date of its publication, Helps is the only one who mentions it; and he says the story has never been substantiated, but probably originated in the brain of some fertile newspaper writer. It seems incredible that, if such a thing were indeed discovered, the fact should not excite wide-spread comment, and the article itself be deposited in some public place, where it could be examined by historians and antiquarians.

Although taking such precautions to prevent the knowledge of his discovery from being wholly lost, Columbus did not let his men know what he was doing; but gave them to suppose that he was performing some religious vow. So great was the variety of such vows in those times, and so whimsical did they sometimes appear to those who did not know the full meaning which the devotee attached to that particular form of doing things, that this excited no surprise in the minds of his followers. If his vow obliged him to throw a cask overboard, it was his duty to do so, especially in such a storm as this, which might have been sent to remind him of a neglect of duty.

A streak of clear sky appeared in the west about sunset, and the wind changed during the night; but the sea still ran high, and they could carry but little sail during the night.

At daybreak on the morning of the 15th, the lookout gave the welcome cry of "Land!" It was plainly to be seen, about five leagues to the east-northeast, directly over the prow of the caravel. The rejoicing sailors began to discuss the question of what land it was; one thought it one of the Madeira Islands; one said that it was a rock near Lisbon; and many of them strove to recognize some Spanish headland in its outlines. Columbus was assured that it was one of the Azores; and this it proved to be. As they approached the land, the wind veered directly around; and for two days the tempest-tossed mariners were kept by the contrary wind in full sight of the land which they longed to reach, but could not.

They succeeded in coming near enough to cast anchor on the evening of the 17th; but the cable parted, and they were obliged to put to sea once more. Beating about all night, they were more successful the next morning, and anchored in a harbor on the northern side of the island, as they had now found it to be.

A boat was sent to land, and it was found that this island was St. Mary's, one of the Azores, and a dependency of the Crown of Portugal. When the inhabitants saw the caravel, and learned that it had been at sea during the tempest, and yet had lived through it, they were wonder-struck; for the storm had raged for fifteen days with unexampled severity. When they learned, however, from what port it had sailed, and that it had crossed the ocean and found land on the west, from which it was even now returning, their wonder and excitement knew no bounds. In reply to inquiries, they pointed out a harbor where the caravel might ride in safety; but insisted that three of the seamen should remain on shore to give them full particulars of the extraordinary things of which they had told.

Morning came; and Columbus, grateful for the preservation of his vessel from the fury of the storm, reminded his men of the vow which they had made, to be fulfilled as soon as they should reach any land where there was a shrine of the Virgin. The crew could not all go at once; so that it was resolved that half should go first; and when they had performed this pious duty and returned, the others, among whom was the leader himself, should follow their example.

There was a small hermitage, dedicated to the Virgin, at no great distance from the spot where they lay at anchor, although hidden by an intervening point of land. This was the end of their pilgrimage; and messengers were sent to the village to procure the services of a priest in celebrating mass.

The governor of the island, Juan de Castaneda, had, on the previous evening, sent refreshment to the tempest-tossed mariners, and claiming through his messenger an acquaintance with Columbus, had been profuse in his compliments and congratulations. He had apologized for not coming in person, but promised to pay them a visit the next morning, bringing more supplies



and the three seamen whom he now detained on shore. It was then with a feeling of perfect security that the devotees left the vessel and marched barefooted to the little hermitage. What was their surprise when, in the very midst of their prayers and thanksgiving, they found themselves surrounded by a mob, mounted and unmounted, from the village, headed by the governor himself; and were all taken prisoners!



A PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

Eleven o'clock arrived, and the Admiral was anxiously awaiting the return of his men; but still they came not. He now began to fear that they had been detained by the Portuguese; for he was by no means certain that any official of that government would be disposed to treat him well. There was another alternative: the boat might have been dashed to pieces upon the rocky and surf-beaten shore. He accordingly gave orders to weigh anchor and stand out to sea far enough to command a view of the hermitage and of the path leading to it. Much to his dismay, he saw a party of armed men approach and enter the boat. They rowed to the side of the caravel; and the governor, who was one of their number, demanded an assurance of his personal safety in case he boarded the vessel. This was given, readily enough; but still he seemed reluctant to trust himself within reach of Columbus. The Admiral then broke



forth into reproaches, declaring that the perfidy of the governor did wrong not only to the Spanish monarchs, whose representative Columbus was, but to the King of Portugal, whom Castaneda represented here. He stated in sonorous Spanish titles, his own rank and dignity, displayed his letters patent, with the royal seal of Castile affixed, and threatened him with the vengeance of Ferdinand and Isabella. Castaneda replied contemptuously, and the boat, after an hour's altercation, returned to shore.

Columbus feared that a war had broken out between Spain and Portugal since his departure from Palos, and that this was the explanation of the treatment which he had received. But whatever the reason, he did not have long to speculate; all his attention was required to keep the vessel safe. The weather became stormy again, and she was driven from her anchorage; not only was she short of hands, because of the detention of half her crew on shore, but the greater part of those who remained were landsmen and Indians, who were almost useless in navigating the vessel.

The evening of the 22nd, Columbus returned to his anchorage; for the storm had abated. Shortly afterward, a boat, containing two priests and a notary, as civil officers were called, put off from shore and approached the caravel. After considerable parleying, they came on board; and requested to see the papers of Columbus. These were readily shown; and the officials departed, satisfied. The next morning the sailors were liberated, and permitted to depart in their own boat.

During their detention, they had learned the reason for this action on the part of the governor. Jealous in the extreme of the sovereigns of Spain, since they had embraced an opportunity which his own craftiness and deceit had lost to him, he had given orders to all the governors of his outlying colonies to seize and detain Columbus wherever he should be met with. Castaneda had hoped, by courteous treatment, to allay any suspicions which Columbus might entertain, and then surprise and capture him while he was without the assistance of so many of his men; but the caution of Columbus had prevented this; and the Portuguese governor had to own himself beaten.

Two days later they set sail from St. Mary's, the wind being favorable for a direct passage to Spain. But this state of affairs did not long continue. They seemed to be repulsed, on their return, "from the very door of the house." Several days of stormy weather had been experienced when, on the 2nd of March, a squall struck the little vessel and rent her sails into ribbons. Again she scudded under bare poles; and again the crew, at the suggestion of Columbus, cast lots to see who should perform a pilgrimage. The devotee was to go to the shrine of Santa Maria de la Cueva in Huelva; and once more the lot fell upon Columbus. The devout Las Casas, remarking upon the fact that Columbus had drawn the lot for three pilgrimages out of the four, concluded that it was an intimation from God that these storms were all on his

account, to humble his pride, and show him how easily he might have been lost, with all knowledge of what he had done, had Providence so willed it. It is not improbable that Columbus himself took this view of it.

They saw various signs of the vicinity of land; but in such a storm as was raging, this only increased their fear. The tempest continued; and the light caravel seemed but the plaything of the angry winds and waves. During the first watch of the night of the 3rd, the cry of land was given; but by strong exertions they managed to keep to sea until daylight should point out a safe path.

They found themselves off the rock of Cintra, at the mouth of the Tagus; and although Columbus had good reason to doubt how he would be treated in Portugal, he had no choice but to bring his battered little vessel to land. He accordingly anchored opposite to Rastello, the crew returning hearty thanks to God for their escape from so many dangers. From the inhabitants of that part of the shore, who flocked to congratulate them upon what seemed a miraculous preservation, the seamen learned that this had been a remarkably stormy winter; and that many vessels had remained storm-bound in port for months, while many others had suffered shipwreck. Yet the frail and crazy bark *Nina* had crossed the broad and unknown Atlantic in safety, and reached port at last.

Columbus at once dispatched a courier with letters to his royal patrons; and another with a letter to the King of Portugal, asking permission to take his vessel to Lisbon, and assuring him that he had not been to the coast of Guinea or any other of the Portuguese possessions, but had reached India by sailing to the west.

Before this letter had reached its destination, indeed, the very day after he had anchored, Columbus received a message from the commander of a Portuguese man-of-war summoning him to give an account of himself and his vessel. The Admiral of the Indian Seas refused to leave his vessel at the bidding of any power but that of Castile, and so replied to the messengers. When the Portuguese officer learned what a voyage he had made, he visited him on board the caravel, and offered his services in any way in which they might be desired.

From this visit, and from the accounts given by the people living near the mouth of the Tagus, the news was transmitted to Lisbon, reaching the popular ear at almost the same time that the letter of Columbus was delivered to the King. The people were wild with excitement; since for a hundred years the chief glory of Portugal had been derived from her maritime explorations, and here was an achievement which threw into the shade their latest success, the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope.

As soon as the King received the letter, he dispatched a cavalier with an answer, inviting Columbus to Valparaiso, where the court then was; and or-

dering that everything which Columbus might require for himself, his men, or his ship, should be furnished at the expense of the royal treasury.

Columbus, remembering the treatment which he had received at the hands of this very monarch, was a little distrustful; but being already in his power, dared not show suspicion by declining the invitation. He went, accompanied only by his pilot; and was received with high honors. So anxious was the King to show him all possible respect that the visitor was commanded to be seated in the royal presence; an honor which generally was accorded only to royalty.



COLUMBUS BEFORE THE SOVEREIGNS OF PORTUGAL.

After the interview between them, in which Columbus gave an account of his voyage and of the lands which he had visited, the King held a conference

with some of his advisers. He was uneasy lest these discoveries should interfere with his claims of territory which had been granted him by a papal bull, of the land from Cape Non, on the coast of Africa, to the Indies; and his courtiers were only too ready to suggest that the islands which Columbus had discovered lay very near the Tercera Islands, and therefore rightfully belonged to Portugal.

It was even advised that Columbus should be prevented from returning to Spain or making more voyages of discovery, by the simple and effective means of putting an end to his life. It could be done, the wily advisers told the King, without any appearance of violence unbefitting the King; Columbus could be led to resent some remark, for his pride was evident to them all; this would lead to an altercation, such as could be settled, between gentlemen, only by an appeal to arms; and in the resulting duel the adventurer would be slain.

But this advice was less pleasing to the King than another bit of counsel. If he followed the leading of some of his courtiers, he would permit Columbus to depart for Spain, unmolested; for it was his duty as a prince to protect and further the journey of all who were driven by storms to seek shelter in his harbors. But if he should at once proceed to fit out an armament, and should send it to take possession of the countries which Columbus claimed to have discovered, it would require a war for Spain to dispossess him: and his right would be made all the stronger, before such war could be begun, by his having possession of the country in dispute.

Thus the King of Portugal and his Council first persuaded themselves that the countries discovered by Columbus rightfully belonged to Portugal—no difficult task, since they wished to believe it—and then contrived a plan by which, they thought, Spain and her envoy could be cheated out of the results of that envoy's genius and labor and peril.

In accordance with this plan, Columbus was treated with the most distinguished consideration by all connected with the Portuguese court. King John offered, if he preferred to enter Spain by land, to bear all the expenses connected with his journey, and to furnish a guard of honor such as was fitting for a personage of his rank and achievements. Columbus, however, declined this flattering offer, since the weather had become more calm; and put to sea March 13, arriving at Palos two days later, the day of the week being Friday.

If the day, nearly seven months and a half previous, when the little fleet set sail from Palos had been a season of general mourning, the day of the *Nina's* return was one of general rejoicing. There are but two important dates in the history of this Spanish seaport; one is August 3, 1492; the other is March 15, 1493.

Yet, although the bells were rung, the shops shut, and all business suspended, there was but one of the vessels that had returned in safety; one

had been wrecked, and the fate of the other was dreadfully uncertain. Of the mariners who had manned these vessels, thirty had been left on the strange shore which the expedition had discovered; about the same number were still battling with the ocean, in the *Pinta*, or were buried with her beneath its waters.

But this uncertainty was soon to be dispelled; for on the very day that Columbus arrived at Palos, and only a few hours later, the *Pinta* sailed up the river. Driven before the storm into the Bay of Biscay, Pinzon had succeeded in making the port of Bayonne. Confident that in a tempest which the stronger and more sea-worthy *Pinta* could hardly weather, the *Nina* must have perished, he wrote a letter to the rulers of Spain, announcing the discoveries which he had made; and requesting permission to come to court and communicate the particulars in person. Full of brilliant anticipations of a triumphant entry into his native town, he then set sail for Palos.

The bells were still ringing when he entered the harbor; but he knew no reason for this glad demonstration until he saw, riding at anchor before him, the battered and tempest-tossed *Nina*, which he had thought was at the bottom of the Atlantic. At once all his bright hopes were dashed to the ground; and fearful of being called to account by Columbus for his desertion off Cuba, he caused his boat to be lowered, and landed privately; keeping well out of sight until he learned that Columbus had left Palos.

Concealed in the home which he had dreamed would be the scene of such honor, he at last received the answer of Ferdinand and Isabella to his letter. It reproached him with endeavoring to take to himself the honor which rightfully belonged to another, and ended by forbidding him to come to court. It was too much for the hardy and adventurous mariner; and he who perhaps had done more than any one man to make the expedition of Columbus possible died a few days afterward, the victim of deep chagrin. "His story shows how one lapse from duty may counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness may mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue; and how important it is for a man, under all circumstances, to be true not merely to others, but to himself."

Columbus had gone to Seville, shortly after landing, there to await the commands of Ferdinand and Isabella; he had taken with him six of the Indians who had voluntarily accompanied him to Spain; one having died on the voyage, and three being left, ill, at Palos.

At Seville he received an answer to his letter, addressed to "Don Christopher Columbus, Our Admiral of the Ocean Sea, and Viceroy and Governor of the Islands Discovered in the Indies." It is said that the Spaniards are particularly fond of long and sounding titles; and this address would surely have satisfied the most ambitious of them. The contents of the letter were as flattering as the superscription was imposing. The sovereigns expressed





THE TRIUMPHAL PROGRESS.



their unbounded delight at the services rendered by Columbus, and requested him to repair to court at once, to make arrangements for a second voyage. If there was anything which they could do to expedite such a journey before he could come to them, he was to send them word, and it should be done. They desired to take advantage of the approaching summer, since that was the most favorable season for such journeys of discovery.

His journey to Barcelona, where the court then was, was like the triumphal progress of a sovereign; never before had a man sprung from the people received such honors from Spaniards; for never before had any man done such service to the Crown and the empire. Arrived at Barcelona, he was welcomed by such a crowd of spectators of the brilliant cavalcade which escorted him, that they could hardly make their way through the streets. The King and Queen had ordered their throne to be placed in public under a rich canopy of brocade; and seated here, attended by their son and the highest nobles of the court, they awaited the coming of the discoverer. As he approached the throne, they rose, as if receiving one of their own rank; and as in the court of Portugal, so in the presence of the proud and punctilious Spanish monarchs, Columbus was actually permitted to be seated. To us, such a distinction appears trivial; but it did not seem so to those who witnessed the reception of Columbus by the sovereigns whom he served.

An account of the voyage was given their majesties, and the natives and other spoil acquired duly displayed. When Columbus had finished speaking, the King and Queen, followed, of course, by all present, fell upon their knees; and raising their clasped hands, poured forth a thanksgiving to the Power which had so blessed the enterprise. The emotion of those assembled was too deep for ordinary acclamations; and when the prayer was concluded, there was a solemn silence, until the voices of the choir of the royal chapel, accompanied by instruments, rose in the sacred strains of the psalm, "*Te Deum Laudamus*." Their thoughts were borne upward on the swelling strains, as though, says Las Casas, "in that hour they communicated with celestial delights."

It would be tedious to tell of the round of entertainments prepared in honor of Columbus by the obsequious courtiers, and the honors which they strove to shower upon him. Everywhere that he went, he was the object of a respect so profound that its like had never been shown to any man not of royal descent. Yet there were not wanting some who were meanly jealous of him, and who asserted that his service was but small; had he not discovered these countries, there were yet others in Spain who were capable of doing so; that his success was due simply to a series of lucky accidents, which might have befallen any adventurous mariner. At one of the banquets given in his honor, a courtier had the hardihood to suggest this to Columbus himself, by asking if he thought there was no one else in Spain who could have accom-



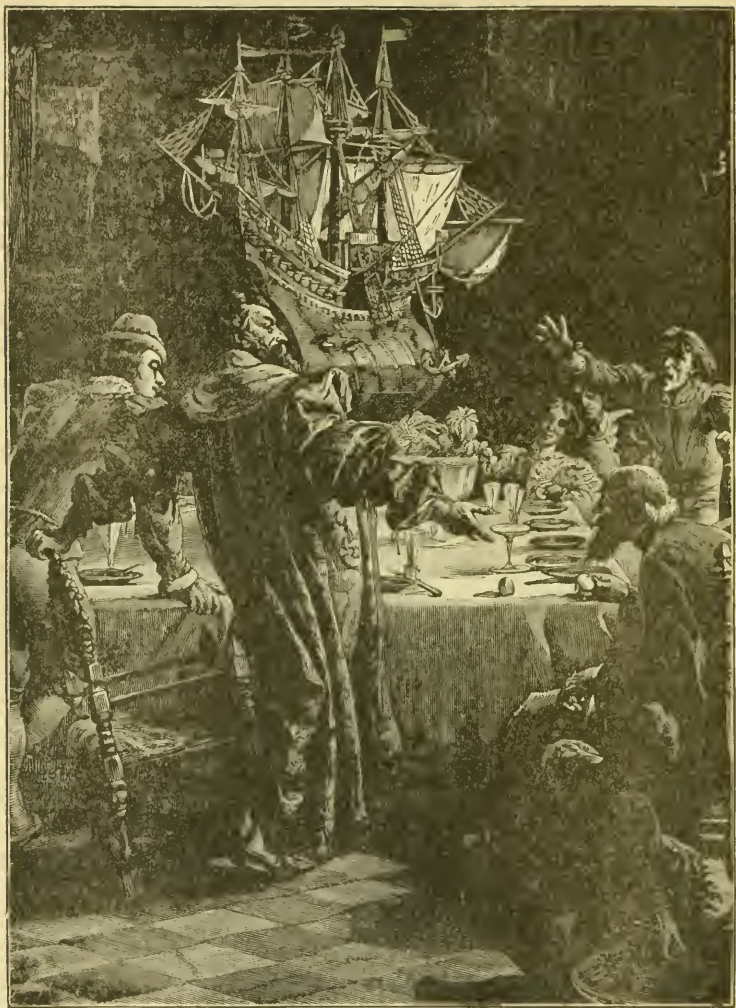
RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

plished the discovery. For answer, Columbus took an egg, and asked his would-be detractor to set it on end; saying that it was an easy thing to do. The courtier tried to balance it, but failed; meantime, the attention of all present was attracted to this "most excellent fooling," which seemed to be directed by the great man himself. When the trial was ended, and the proud Spaniard acknowledged that he could not do it, one after another, believing he saw wherein lay the difficulty, and encouraged by the amused smile of Columbus and his assurance that it was easy enough, begged leave to make the trial. One after another they essayed it; and one after another they failed, and were obliged to give up. The discoverer took the egg in his hand, and knocked one end against the table until it stood firmly upon the broken part. No words were needed to complete the lesson; the envious belittler of a great man's fame had learned that there are things easy enough to do when one knows how, but impossible to those who have not learned, unless natural capacity supplies the place of teaching.

The story is as well known as that later one of George Washington and the cherry tree; but it is better authenticated than that. The simplicity of the reproof is quite in accordance with the character of Columbus, who was eminently practical, and always ready to use the means at hand, no matter how trifling.

Although it was supposed that the land discovered by Columbus was a part of the territory of a people who had made a considerable advance in civilization, the Spanish sovereigns felt not the slightest doubt of their right to take possession of it, and appoint governors and other officials as they saw fit. This was in accordance with the principle which the rulers of Europe had established for themselves during the Crusades, that Christian princes have undoubted rights over all countries not Christian. This principle, highly satisfactory to those who were benefitted by it, combined with the principle of the right of discovery, sustained Ferdinand and Isabella in their intention of taking possession of the Indies. It was further believed that the Pope, as the head of the Christian world, possessed the right to assign these territories of paynim peoples to the Christian nations. In accordance with this belief, the Spanish rulers, to strengthen their right of discovery, applied to the Pope for a bull to sanction their further proceedings.

This request was not made without an intimation that the Spaniards scarcely considered it necessary, but regarded it merely as a ceremony due from them to show their respect for the Holy See. Thus politely informed that if he did not give his consent to their holding and colonizing these lands, they would do so without his permission, the Pope granted the request, and issued the desired bull. To prevent any conflict between Spain and Portugal regarding the countries which the Holy Father had granted to them respectively, it was decided that an imaginary line to be drawn from pole



COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.



to pole a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, should be the boundary between their possessions; all to the east of this was to belong to Portugal; while all land to the west of it was to belong to the Crown of Spain.

While these negotiations were being carried on, Ferdinand and Isabella exerted themselves to honor Columbus to the utmost. The outcome of their efforts seems to have been the assignment of a coat of arms, in which the group of islands surrounded by waves, which was the design of the heralds, was quartered with the royal Castle and Lion, which Isabella bore on her shield in allusion to the names of her two kingdoms, Castile and Leon. To this device, a motto was afterward added, a Spanish couplet which is, translated into English prose: "To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a New World."

It took time to procure the papal bull; and the Spanish monarchs were not willing to delay their preparations for another voyage. They proceeded with the work, first organizing it so as to insure regularity and dispatch in transacting the business relating to this vast new empire. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, was appointed to superintend them, and finally, after several ecclesiastical promotions in Spain, made Patriarch of the Indies. Francisco Pinelo was associated with him as treasurer, and Juan de Soria as comptroller. These officials were to be located at Seville; although they also had charge of the custom-house at Cadiz, where ships from the New World were required to land. An office was also ordered to be established in Hispaniola, under the direction of the Admiral. An accountant was to sail with each vessel, and strict reports were to be rendered to the sovereigns of the amount of cargo carried; since they were responsible for the expenses, and received all the emoluments, except for that small proportion which they had agreed to allow to Columbus.

The narrow and jealous spirit of the Spaniards was shown in the restrictions which were put upon emigration and commerce; for a long time no one but subjects of Isabella were permitted to trade in the Indies discovered by Columbus; he had given the New World to Castile and Leon, and to no other country.

Although Ferdinand was called the Most Catholic King, and Isabella was noted for her piety and devotion, the means which they employed or permitted to furnish this armament seem to us to smack of the grossest injustice. We have seen that on the first voyage they had ordered that men and vessels should be pressed into service when it was found that they could be obtained in no other way; and now again they ordered that Columbus and Fonseca should select whatever vessels pleased them, and pay to the owners what seemed to the Admiral and the Archdeacon a fair price, regardless of whether the owner desired to sell or not. The same order was given in regard to the supplies of provisions, arms, and ammunition; and they were further author-

ized to compel any officer or seaman who might add to the efficiency of the service to embark on the fleet at a reasonable pay.

The revenue for this expedition was drawn partly from the church tithes; two-thirds of that revenue being set aside for the purpose. The Jews had been banished from the kingdom during the preceding year, their jewels and many other valuables being confiscated; and these were now sold, and the proceeds applied to the expenses of the expedition. The deficiency which existed after these resources had been exhausted was supplied by a loan.

Twelve zealous and able churchmen were to sail with the Admiral, to assist in the conversion of the heathen inhabitants. The six Indians, also, having been duly baptized with great state and ceremony, were intended to assist in this work among their countrymen; but one of them remained behind, at the request of Prince Juan, the heir to the throne, as a member of his household. He died not long afterward, however; the first of his race, says the pious Spanish historian, to enter the kingdom of Heaven.



COLUMBUS RELATING HIS DISCOVERIES TO HIS FRIEND, FATHER PEREZ.

Seventeen vessels were prepared for this second expedition to the western lands; all kinds of skilled workmen were provided for every need of the new colony; domestic animals of all varieties were secured, and there was a plentiful stock of seeds and plants, as well as of the special kinds of merchandise for traffic with the natives. Provisions, ammunition, arms, and medicines were a matter of course. The number of persons engaged in the enterprise was at first limited to a thousand; but so great was the enthusiasm respecting the New World, and so vast was the army of adventurers, whose



occupation had been gone since the Moorish wars and the late contests with France had ended, that the sovereigns found it necessary to raise the limit to twelve hundred. These enlisted without pay, trusting to the fabulous amount of wealth which they believed to exist in the Indies to repay every exertion which they might make. So intense was the desire of many to go, that they hid themselves on the vessels until after the departure; and the real number on board the ships, including these stowaways, was not far short of fifteen hundred.

Not all the requisitions which Columbus made for men and supplies were honored without question by the officials appointed for the superintendence of these affairs. Both Fonseca and Soria demurred to various demands of his; but an appeal to the royal authority always ended in Columbus being upheld, and the objecting officials being commanded to furnish all that he might desire. It was the golden prime of his favor with the sovereigns; for a little while he was to be the man whom the king delighteth to honor; and then his star was to set at the Spanish court, to rise again, after a short obscurity, over the wide world.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

The Great Fleet—Precautions of Columbus—The Outward Voyage—Traces of Civilization—Evidences of Cannibalism—Hostilities—Doubts Confirmed—At Anchorage—The Fate of the Garrison—Story of the Natives—Attacked by Caribs—A New Colony—The Building of Isabella—Sickness—Exploration of the Island—Ojeda's Expedition—Return of Vessels—Slave-Trading Proposed by Columbus—His Reasons—Dissatisfaction—A Conspiracy Discovered—Action of Columbus—Columbus Explores the Island—Fort St. Thomas—Necessities of the Colony—"Gentlemen" at Work—A Voyage of Discovery—Welcome Reports—Cuba Voted a Part of the Mainland—Dangerous Illness of Columbus—Return to Isabella—Adventures of Bartholomew Columbus—Margarite's Rebellion—Enemies—Siege of St. Thomas—Ojeda's Daring Enterprise—Spanish Cunning vs. Indian Cunning—Steel Bracelets—Spanish Cunning Wins—Condition of Colony—An Indian War—Victory—The Conqueror's Conditions—A Desperate Effort—Misrepresentations of Margarite—Isabella's Views on Slavery—Aguado's Arrival—Wariness of Columbus—Discovery of Gold Mines—Romantic Story—Return to Spain.

WHEN, in the early part of August, 1492, three small vessels sailed from the port of Palos, the men on board of them were regarded as doomed to be lost at sea, and the leader of the expedition was regarded as a foolhardy adventurer, who had succeeded in exciting the cupidity of the sovereigns until, for the hope of visionary gain, they were willing to imperil these vessels. Now, he was the great discoverer of a new route to the opulent Indies, the friend and favored officer of great sovereigns; while his followers were the most fortunate of mortals in being permitted to seek these regions of riches incalculable.

The fleet, as we have seen, consisted of seventeen vessels; three of which were of the class called carracks, of about one hundred tons' burden each; two of the caravels were much larger than the others; and there was not a vessel of them all that was not far superior, in its sea-going qualities, to the crazy bark in which the great Admiral had made the homeward voyage.

Leaving Cadiz at sunrise on the 25th of September, they reached the Canaries October 1, and remained there several days, taking on board a number of domestic animals in addition to those already provided, and seeds of lemons, oranges, and such other tropical fruits as seemed to Columbus appropriate to the climate of the islands which he had visited. Before leaving these islands, Columbus delivered to the commander of each vessel sealed orders as to the course to be pursued; these orders to be opened only in case the vessels should become separated. He pursued this course in order to prevent the path to the New World from becoming generally known;

for he feared lest adventurers of other nationalities, and particularly the Portuguese, would follow in his steps should the road once become familiar, and rob the Spanish rulers of the sovereignty and emoluments which justly belonged to them. It was the thirteenth, however, before the wind proved favorable for their westward voyage; and on that day they set sail from the Canaries.

The journey was not attended by any misfortunes, such as had marked the recent homeward voyage. Toward the latter part of October they were considerably alarmed by a storm, accompanied by the vivid lightning and heavy thunder of the tropics; this lasted for four hours; but they were reassured when they saw the lambent flames playing about the masts: with the superstition of the time, they said that St. Elmo appeared on the mast, with seven lighted candles. Having seen this appearance, they chanted litanies and orisons, confident that when St. Elmo showed himself in the storm there would be no damage done.

Sunday, November 3, land was descried; and because it was seen on Sunday, *dies Domini*, Columbus named the island Dominica. Six other islands were seen during the day, on one of which he landed to take formal possession of the archipelago in the name of Spain.

Continuing their course, they landed the next day on an island that Columbus named Guadaloupe, in fulfillment of a promise to the monks of Our Lady of Guadaloupe in Estramadura to call some newly discovered place after their convent. The natives fled at their approach, in such haste that some of them even left their children behind them. The huts they found constructed in a similar manner to those of the other islands which Columbus had visited; but much to his surprise, he found in one of them an iron pan, the first bit of that metal which he had seen in the New World. In another house was the stern-post of a vessel, which was very much like those of European manufacture. Columbus wondered much to see this, and was at a loss to know how it had been obtained. Had it been brought from some country near by, where the people were more civilized, as he was certain that the subjects of Kublai Khan were? Or was it the sole remnant of some unfortunate vessel which had been driven out to sea from some voyage along the coast of Europe or Africa, and lost, its fragments drifting to this distant shore? It surely could not be the stern-post of that vessel of his own which had been wrecked off Hispaniola, for the parts of that had been used in the construction of the fortress, toward which they were presently to continue their voyage.

But the most horrifying sight which they beheld, was the evidence of the cannibalism of the inhabitants; human skulls were used as vases and household utensils; and other human remains were present in abundance. Fortunately for the crew of the boat that was sent to land, the men of the island

were absent on one of the predatory expeditions by which they terrorized the neighboring islands; and only women and boys remained to defend their homes. This much was ascertained from several women and a boy, who were captured, and who were able to communicate with them, although imperfectly, through one of the Indians who had been to Spain and returned on this voyage.



EVIDENCES OF CANNIBALISM.

Much alarm was occasioned by the tidings that the captain of one of the caravels was missing, together with eight of his men. Every effort was made

to find them; and when search proved unavailing, signal guns were fired to attract their attention. They did not make their appearance for several days; when they told a pitiful story, confirmed by their haggard looks and exhausted strength, of being lost in the impenetrable forest, and wandering about, unable to find their way back until they at last reached the shore; and by following that for a considerable distance, had come within sight of the fleet. Although the account which they gave of their sufferings was evidently true, Columbus ordered them to be placed under arrest; for they had left their vessel without leave and it was necessary to maintain the strictest discipline if the order of the expedition was to be preserved.

While the fleet had been waiting their return, several women, who were captives of the fierce Caribs that inhabited this island, had sought shelter from their harsh masters in the ships of Columbus, and had found sympathy and assistance. These were on board when he set sail Nov. 10; and he had agreed to return them to their homes.

Off the island, to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz, a number of Spaniards, who had been sent on shore to procure water, and to get such information as they could, were attacked while returning to the fleet, by a canoe-load of natives. The white men endeavored to protect themselves with their bucklers; but the long arrows of the Indians pierced these shields through and through, and two of the Spaniards were wounded by the shafts.

Approaching that island now known as Porto Rico, he learned that it was the native country of most of those who had sought refuge on board his ships. He landed and spent two days here; but the natives had fled in terror as soon as they saw the squadron, and it was exceedingly difficult to persuade them to return. Finally, after cruising for some days among these islands, Columbus and his captains proceeded toward Hispaniola, which was to be the end of their voyage. Here they would find their comrades who had elected to remain in the New World; and here they would find what progress had been made in trading with the natives.

They arrived off the eastern extremity of the island Nov. 22, and followed the shore for a short distance before any attempt was made to land. Then a boat was sent ashore, the crew of which had been detailed to bury the body of a sailor who had died of a wound received during the skirmish which has been mentioned. Here also a number of natives came on board, inviting Columbus to land, and promising to procure him all the gold which he might desire. He was only anxious, however, to reach La Navidad, and dismissed them with presents and kind words.

Arrived at the gulf now called Semana, he sent ashore one of the Indians who had accompanied him to Spain, and who was considered converted to Christianity, having been baptized. The native was loaded with trinkets of all kinds, and instructed to make friends with his countrymen in the name



of the white men, and induce them to meet the Admiral in council at La Navidad; but whether he forgot the promises made while a captive, when once he had regained his liberty, or whether he was robbed of all his wealth of trinkets, and perhaps murdered was never known; for nothing more was seen or heard of him.

As several of the mariners were ranging along the coast, they found the bodies of a man and a boy, but so far decomposed that they could not tell if they were Spaniards or natives. The next day, however, their worst doubts were confirmed; for two other bodies were found, one of which was certainly a European, as was seen by the beard.

What had happened to the fortress and garrison of La Navidad? The frank and fearless manner of the natives, who came in numbers to visit the vessels, forbade the supposition that they had been massacred by the Indians; yet he could not explain the finding of these two bodies in the wild forest.

Arriving late on the evening of the 27th opposite the harbor of La Navidad, he was obliged to cast anchor for the night, on account of the dangerous reefs, which he feared to pass in the darkness. But he determined to communicate at once to the garrison the glad tidings that their friends had arrived. He accordingly ordered two cannon to be fired, hoping to hear an answering report from the shore. But as the echo of his own guns died away, there was only the breaking of the waves to be heard through the stillness of the night.

About midnight, a canoe approached the Admiral's vessel, and after the Indians in it were sure that Columbus was on board, they entered the ship. One of them who said that he was a cousin of Guacanagari, brought as a present two masks ornamented with gold. He informed the Admiral that several of the Spaniards had died of sickness; others had fallen in a quarrel among themselves; and others had removed to another part of the island, and married Indian women. Guacanagari had been attacked by Caonabo, the cacique of the fierce tribe that inhabited the gold-bearing region of Cibao; the friendly chief had been wounded, his village had been burned, and he now lay, helpless by reason of his injury, in a neighboring hamlet.

Some difficulty was experienced in making out the story of this Indian; for the only interpreter, the sole survivor of those Indians who had made the journey to Spain, was a native of another island, and spoke another dialect of the language common to many tribes. But this news relieved the mind of Columbus of one fear: whatever had happened to the garrison of La Navidad, Guacanagari had not been treacherous, but was worthy of the confidence which the Admiral had reposed in him.

The Indian envoys departed in the night, after making many promises that Guacanagari would visit the Admiral in person in the morning; and the mariners anxiously awaited the dawn, that they might learn how many of the garrison remained at the fort.

They waited in vain for the promised visit from the cacique; and no other Indians in their canoes thronged the harbor, as they had been wont to do when the Admiral first sought shelter from his wrecked vessel here. Finally, Columbus sent a boat ashore to reconnoiter; the crew at once sought the fortress. The ditch had been partially filled with the debris of the ruin; the palisades had been beaten down; here and there, among the charred remnants of the walls, they found broken chests, spoiled provisions, and the ragged remains of European garments. Now and then they caught sight of an Indian in the distance, watching them from his lurking-place behind a tree; but not one approached the search party.

Fully assured that the people of Guacanagari had wrought this destruction of the fortress, the party returned and reported to Columbus. He went on shore, to see for himself what was the condition of the colony. He found that they had given a correct report; and the minutest search failed to reveal any traces of a human body in the ruins. Returning to the vessel, he gave orders that guns should be discharged at regular intervals; for he thought that if they had found shelter anywhere in the neighborhood, they would be attracted to the shore by these sounds.

But not one came. Further search revealed the bodies of eleven men, buried in different places, at some distance from the fort; which were known by their clothing to be Europeans. These men had been dead for some time, for the grass was beginning to grow upon their graves.

The Indians, after hovering timidly at a distance for some time, were finally induced to approach nearer, upon assurances that they would be allowed to depart when it pleased them. From them the story of the first European colony in the New World was learned by degrees. Scarcely had the Admiral sailed away, that the men whom he had left behind forgot his prudent counsels, and surrendered themselves to their vices. The avaricious seized upon the ornaments of the natives wherever they were found; the sensual were not content with the privileges allowed them by Guacanagari, but gave their passions loose rein; and they quarreled among themselves with such fierceness that the wondering Indians, who had thought them the children of Heaven, came to have an entirely different idea about their origin.

Nor did they obey those wise orders of the Admiral, that they should maintain a military discipline, and keep within the bounds of the territory governed by Guacanagari. The two lieutenants sought to make themselves equal with the commander; and failing in this, withdrew from the fortress, and set off for Cibao. This part of the island was governed by the Carib chief Caonabo, who had invaded the country, and finally settled there with his fierce followers. He was held in great fear by the peaceable natives; but he knew very well that his reign of terror would be over if the white men, with their arms of thunder and lightning, should establish themselves in the island.

Accordingly, no sooner had these rebels ventured into his territory, than he went upon the war-path, captured them, and put them to death.

Having full information of the original strength of the garrison, and knowing what proportion of the men had fallen at the hands of his tribe, Caonabo resolved to attack the fortress. He made a league with the cacique of Marien, who dwelt to the westward of Guacanagari; and arrived in the vicinity of the friendly chief's village without his presence being suspected. Only ten men were in the fortress; the others were scattered around in various houses of the village; and even the handful who remained at their post maintained no guard.

The Caribs are supposed to have migrated from the mainland of North America; and we find this attack upon the Spaniards much like the attacks upon English colonies within the bounds of the present United States. There was a sudden burst of frightful yells; and before the startled sleepers realized what had happened, the whole place was trapped in flames, every point of egress barred by a phalanx of painted savages. Eight of the Spaniards rushed toward the sea; with what intent, we know not; but plunging into the waves as a refuge from their savage foes, they were drowned. The others were massacred.

Guacanagari and his people suffered for having been friends to the whites; their village was attacked at the same time as the fortress; their huts were burned to the ground, several of his people killed, and the cacique himself wounded.

Columbus visited the wounded cacique at his place of refuge, and the chief himself repaid the visit by coming to the fleet. The fact that although he claimed his wound was very painful, no external evidence could be perceived, excited the suspicions of some of the followers of Columbus; and Guacanagari, seeing that he was not regarded with full confidence, as on previous occasions, returned to shore, and disappeared, with all his followers, during the night. This gave new force to their suspicions; and Guacanagari was generally regarded as the traitor and the destroyer of the fortress.

The crowded condition of the ships made it necessary for the Spaniards to land as soon as possible; but the associations connected with this beautiful point were not such as to make them desirous of rebuilding La Navidad. They accordingly weighed anchor, intending to proceed to a point at some distance; but, compelled by the weather to put in at a harbor about ten leagues to the east of Monte Christi, the Admiral was struck with the advantages and beauty of the situation, and gave orders to begin the building of a fortress and residences.

It was the middle of December; but in that land where there is no winter, the trees were in leaf, and the birds were singing as in spring. To the men who had been shut up on board ship for nearly three months, the beauty of

this teeming plain must indeed have appeared almost heavenly. An encampment was at once formed about the point of land, protected on one side by the impervious forest, and on the other by a natural rampart of rocks; and the various artificers who had been brought from Spain busied themselves in erecting the houses of the new city, Isabella.

Streets were laid out, and the plaza, that indispensable part of a Spanish town, was marked out. A church, a public storehouse, and a residence for the Admiral, were begun, all built of stone. Private houses were built of reeds, wood, plaster, or any other material which ingenuity might suggest. For a short time, they all worked with feverish energy. Then the enthusiasm ran its course, and work became more distasteful. Many of them had suffered much from seasickness, having never been accustomed to the sea; and these needed rest and relaxation, rather than unremitting labor. Others, again, had been victims of scurvy, having lived so long upon salt provisions and mouldy sea-biscuit. Another source of disease was found in the unwanted exposure, since everybody could not be housed at once; and in the rank exhalations of that moist, warm earth which produced such luxuriant vegetation.

Ill in body and dispirited in mind, finding that gold was to be obtained only in small quantities and by dint of hard work, the adventurers were disheartened at the very outset. Columbus himself did not escape the prevailing evils, but was stretched on a sickbed for several weeks. There is nothing like necessity, however, for calling forth the best powers of the mind; and conscious that the success of the expedition lay almost entirely in his hands, Columbus felt that he must succeed. Thus, although the cares and responsibilities and distress regarding the destruction of the fortress weighed far more heavily on him than on any other, he did not give up; but continued, with indomitable energy, to direct from his sickbed the building of the city, and to give a general supervision to the affairs of the expedition.

But this was not all that he had to think of. He had expected that when he returned to Hispaniola, he would find that the garrison of La Navidad had collected a considerable amount of treasure by trading with the natives; or that, at least, they would have ascertained where the richest mines lay, and where were the sources of wealthy traffic. The destruction of the fortress had of course ended all such hopes; but there were the ships, waiting to make the return voyage, and there was for their cargo no such store of treasure as his royal patrons expected to receive. There was nothing to send in them.

He decided that the island should be thoroughly explored; convinced that Cibao was but another form of the name Cipango, he was sure that there must be rich and populous cities somewhere in the interior; and this terrible cacique, Caonabo, whose name signified "The Lord of the Golden House," was the very potentate from whom these stores of gold must be obtained.

As leader of the exploring party he chose Alonzo de Ojeda, a Spanish cavalier who had gained a great reputation for courage during the Moorish wars; but whose bravery seems, to the dispassionate eyes of the nineteenth century, rather foolhardy daring than true courage; for true courage does not court danger; it only faces it calmly when unavoidable.

To such a man, however, this expedition into the interior was extremely alluring; and the more that was told him about the terrible reputation of Caonabo, the better pleased was he to see him in his mountain fastnesses.

Many difficulties, resulting from the nature of the country, were encountered before they reached the mountains; but they were not molested by the natives. The Indians, on the contrary, appeared to welcome them with kindness; the dreaded Caonabo was absent in some other part of his dominions, and only women and children were left to receive the strangers.

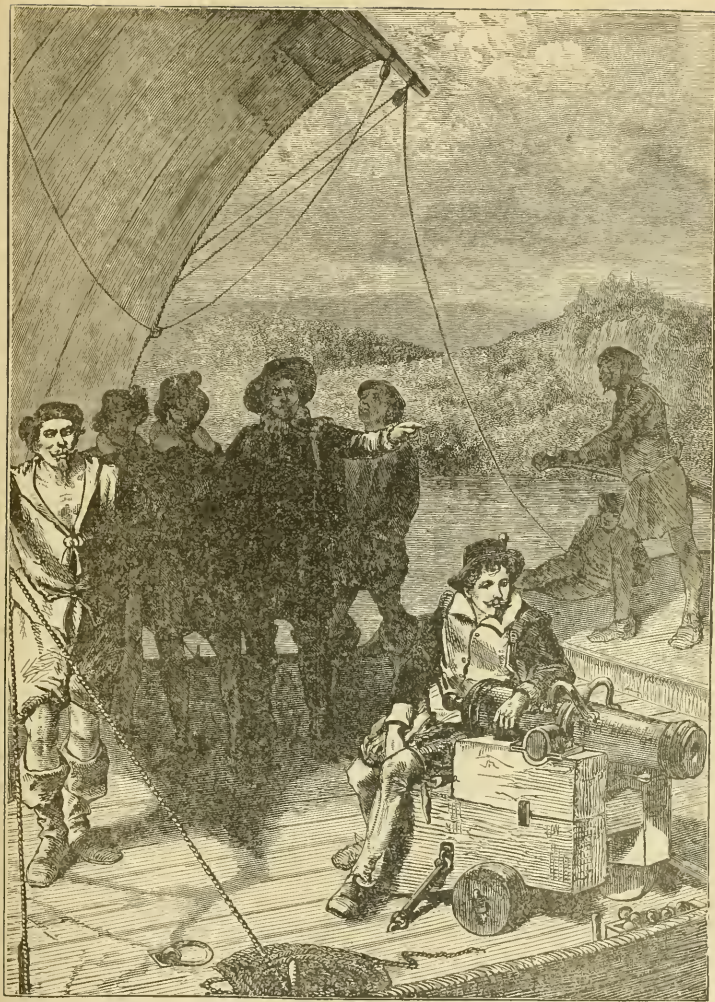
Of course, they found no traces of the rich and magnificent cities which they had expected to behold; but they saw what seemed to them unmistakable signs of the vast wealth of these regions. The sands of the mountain-streams glittered with particles of gold; nuggets of considerable size were sometimes found in the beds of these rivulets; and rocks were discovered, richly seamed and streaked with the yellow metal.

While Ojeda was absent on this exploring expedition, Columbus had sent another party, on a similar errand, in another direction, under the leadership of a young cavalier named Gorvalan. Both parties returned about the same time, bringing glowing accounts of the riches of the island. Columbus now felt assured that it was only necessary to explore the mines of Cibao thoroughly, in order to open up inexhaustible sources of wealth, and his sanguine expectations were fully shared by his followers.

He dispatched twelve of the vessels of his fleet to Spain, sending such specimens of the wealth of the island as had been obtained; and also, specimens of all the fruits, or plants which appeared to be valuable, or were particularly curious. The natives captured in the Caribbee Islands were also sent, with a recommendation that they should be carefully instructed in the Spanish language and the Christian faith.

Columbus asked that further supplies might be sent him; as their provisions were already growing scanty, and much of their wine had been lost through the badness of the casks. The colony was also in need of medicines, clothing, and arms. In addition to these, workmen skilled in mining and smelting and purifying ore would be required if the teeming mines of Cibao were to be worked; while horses were needed to use on the public works and in tilling the ground, and also for military service; for the Indians, unaccustomed to any but the smallest quadrupeds, showed the greatest fear of the immense beasts, horses and horned cattle, which the Spaniards had brought in their wonderful ships.





SAILING AMONG THE ISLANDS.

Columbus had devised a scheme for furnishing the island with live stock which appears to us simply inhuman; to him, devout Christian as he was, wishing for nothing more strongly than to advance the interests of the Church, to free the Holy Land from the domination of the infidels, and to bring the whole world into the Christian fold, its advantages seemed to be so great that there was no question of right or wrong to be considered. He proposed that an exchange should be established, by which Spanish merchants were to send live stock direct to Isabella, and receive in payment therefor slaves captured from the Caribs. A duty was to be levied on every slave so traded, for the benefit of the royal purse.

The Admiral, thinking that he had reached the opulent countries of which Marco Polo had told, had long promised his royal patrons a large revenue from them. Trusting in these promises, they had incurred great expense in fitting out the second expedition. It was doubtful whether, at least during his absence, they would continue to grant money to pay expenses, where they had hoped to derive an income. He felt bound to suggest some way in which an income could be derived from the new countries, without a long and tedious waiting till the mines should be developed. This was one reason which he had for making this suggestion.

But it was not the one which made it seem right to his own mind. To many persons of that time, an observance of the forms prescribed by the Church appeared to be enough; it mattered little what the course pursued in the ordinary transactions of life might be. Columbus was one of these persons; to him, as to thousands of others, it seemed that if the Indians received a certain amount of instruction, and were then baptized, they would become by that fact Christians, and would be assured of Paradise. If, then, these savage islanders, who were in their own country only a perpetual menace to their peaceable neighbors, could be taken to Spain, even as slaves, and there taught the doctrines of the Christian Church, and be brought within its fold by baptism, surely the good that was done would far outweigh the evil which lay in slavery.

Besides, it must be remembered that slavery was not then regarded as it is now. One great source of the revenue which Portugal derived from her African possessions was the sale of slaves, captured on the coast of that continent. Columbus had doubtless made many voyages to Africa, had perhaps engaged in this very traffic; and did not regard a human chattel as a thing of which humanity cannot approve.

The fleet sailed February 2, 1494. It was the intention of Columbus to explore the island in person as soon as possible; but at the time that the twelve vessels departed he was still confined to his bed. He was busily making arrangements for the expedition, however, in spite of being thus disabled; when his attention was engrossed by affairs of more pressing importance.

The men who had worked with much ardor at first upon the new city soon found their enthusiasm considerably cooled; and every day's work after that increased their discontent; yet so strict was the rule of the Admiral that they were compelled, unless actually sick, to keep on with their task. They had also expected to find gold much more readily than they had done; and were correspondingly disappointed at the news that the mines lay some distance in the interior, and would have to be carefully and laboriously worked. The departure of the fleet at this time brought home to them the idea of their own country, and although obliged to serve out their term of enlistment, they were already sick of their bargain.

When such a state of general dissatisfaction with the "powers that be" exists in any community, there is sure to be a leader ready. In this case it was Bernard Diaz de Pisa, who had come out as comptroller with the fleet, and who was so puffed up with his own importance that he had more than once questioned the authority of the Admiral, and had met with the result which might have been expected. Sore at such insults to his importance, he readily found followers among the dissatisfied; and proposed to them that they should seize upon the five remaining ships and return to Spain. Once there, they could easily explain their desertion, for the Admiral, as they all knew well, was overbearing and unjust, and had grossly misrepresented the wealth of these islands in the reports rendered to the sovereigns. Among these malcontents was an assayer named Fermin Cedo, who obstinately insisted that there was no gold in the island; or at least none in such quantities as to pay for the working. He refused to be convinced by the specimens that he saw, declaring that the large grains had been melted, and in some cases represented the accumulations of several generations; and that the largest pieces were far from being pure. This opinion of an expert, in which many of them, from sheer discontent against the Admiral, were ready to concur, would justify them, as they considered, in their complaint that Columbus had procured their enlistment by false representations, and was still endeavoring to deceive the sovereigns; and Diaz de Pisa boasted loudly that he had sufficient influence to obtain them a hearing at court.

Fortunately, this conspiracy was discovered before it had made dangerous headway. The ringleaders were at once, by the orders of Columbus, arrested, and a general search for incriminating evidence instituted. In this search, they found, concealed in the buoy of one of the ships, a memorial in the handwriting of Diaz, full of the grossest misrepresentations of the Admiral.

Although the conspiracy was thus proven, Columbus did not take harsh measures. He punished some of the inferior mutineers, but not as severely as their mutinous conduct had deserved; Diaz was confined on board one of the ships, until it should be convenient to send him to Spain for trial.

But while thus lightly passing over a very grave offense, Columbus did not

fail to take measures to prevent it from being repeated. He had all the guns and naval munitions taken out of four of the vessels and stored in the fifth, which was placed under the charge of men in whom he had entire confidence.

Mild as was the punishment, and grave as was the offense, this occurrence was the beginning of much of Columbus' future misfortune. Whatever might be the extent of his services to science, or however highly he might be regarded by the sovereigns, he was still, to these narrow-minded Spaniards, a foreigner. He stood alone; but every man that he punished had relatives and friends in Spain, who thenceforth lost no opportunity of defaming the great discoverer.

March 12, having attended to the punishment of those concerned in the mutiny, and set affairs to running smoothly again, Columbus set out on his journey to Cibao. His brother, Don Diego, was left in command of the settlement; but the force at his disposal was but a weak one. Every healthy person who could possibly be spared accompanied the Admiral; for he expected to form an establishment for working the mines, and besides, needed an escort sufficiently strong to assert the rights of the Spanish monarchs against the possible protests of the warlike savages who ruled Cibao.

Columbus penetrated to a point about eighteen leagues from Isabella, where he decided to build a strong fortress of wood, for the protection of such workmen as might be employed in the mines about this point. This fortress he named St. Thomas, intending the name to be a rebuke to those who declared that they would not believe in the golden treasures of Cibao until they had seen and touched them. While the Admiral remained to superintend the building of this fortress, he sent a young cavalier, with a sufficient party, to explore the neighboring country. Having received a most favorable report from Luxan, the leader of this party, he placed Pedro Margarite in command of St. Thomas, with a garrison of fifty-six men, and returned to Isabella, which he reached March 29.

He received here the most favorable reports of the results which their labor in tilling the ground had produced. All were alike astonished at the ease with which a large crop was produced, and at the shortness of the time required to bring things to maturity. But while thus encouraged by the condition of affairs at Isabella, the Admiral received a message from Pedro Margarite to the effect that the Indians had changed in their behavior, and were threatening the safety of St. Thomas. Caonabo, it was said, was assembling his warriors, and preparing for an attack. This, however, did not occasion any special uneasiness in the mind of Columbus; he contented himself with sending Margarite a reinforcement of twenty men; believing that the Indians could be readily repulsed with the increased force, guns and horses adding to the advantages possessed by the white men.

A greater source of anxiety was the condition of the colony. Very many



of the men were suffering from something like malaria, the effect of living in such heat and humidity, surrounded by undrained marshes and extensive forests. Their stock of medicines was exhausted; and, to add to the general discontent, flour began to get scarce. Grain they had in plenty; for wheat sown in January had ripened at the end of March; but their only contrivance for grinding it was a hand-mill; a process too slow and laborious when so large a quantity was required, and so few workmen to prepare it.

The Admiral decided that a mill and some other works important for the welfare of the community must be erected at once. But many of the workmen were sick, and it appeared that it would be a long time before these buildings could be completed. In this emergency, since the gentlemen of the colony required food as much as the laborers, the ruler directed that each one, no matter what his rank, should share in the work for the common good. This was considered a cruel degradation by the proud young Spanish nobles, and they tried by every means to escape it. But discipline was strict, and Columbus was the supreme authority in the island; they were obliged to obey.

In order to prevent the evils which arise from lack of occupation, Columbus determined, as soon as the pressing difficulty about food was settled, to send all the available force on an exploring expedition into the interior. Every healthy person, not absolutely necessary for the care of the sick, was accordingly put under arms; they numbered nearly four hundred, including the officers; and under the command of Ojeda, set out for St. Thomas. Here Ojeda was to remain in command of the post, while Margarite was to conduct the main body of the troops on a military tour, for the thorough exploration first of Cibao, and then of the other parts of the island.

Written instructions were sent to Margarite, to treat the Indians kindly and justly, but to deal rigorously with any who were detected in theft; all required supplies were to be purchased, not taken by force. A strict discipline was to be maintained among his men, and they were not to be suffered to wander from the main body.

It was the intention of Columbus to make another voyage of discovery in the bays and channels to the west of their present situation. For this purpose he would need no more than the force required to man the vessels which he intended to take. Having made arrangements for the government of the colony during his absence, by appointing a junta of which his brother Don Diego was president, he set out upon this voyage.

The two largest ships were left at Isabella, as being unfit for purposes of exploration; the others, of light draught, and therefore able to penetrate where the others could not go, were chosen for the purpose. He intended to visit Cuba, reaching it at about the point where he had discontinued his explorations on his first voyage, and following its coast-line until he should



reach—if it were indeed the extremity of the continent of Asia—the wealthy and populous lands described by Polo and Mandeville.

Had he kept to this intention, he would of course have found that Cuba was an island; but he was attracted by the appearance of Jamaica, and sailed toward that body of land, being assured by the Cubans that gold was to be found there. He reached the western extremity of the island, when the wind changed, and became unfavorable for further advance. He accordingly returned to Cuba, where he endeavored to learn from the people something of its extent. Several caciques assured him that it was endless; an assertion which he was quite willing to believe. At last, one of them told him that he could learn more from the inhabitants of a country to the west, called Mangon. The word was welcome to his ears; for was it not the same as Mangi, the name of the richest province of Cathay? To add to the certainty, this cacique informed him that the people of Mangon had tails like those of animals; and wore long garments to conceal the deformity. He at once recalled a story told by Sir John Mandeville, of a people of the far east who could imagine no reason for their neighbors' wearing clothes, unless they had something of the kind to hide; and who accordingly circulated the report that these neighbors had tails. As for the garments, it was a well-known fact that the subjects of the great Khan wore long flowing robes of richest texture.

But they found themselves involved in narrow and shallow channels, almost choked with sand, where they found it impossible to proceed until they saw that they could not get out any other way. Their vessels had received considerable injury, having run aground often, and had to be helped along by the use of the capstan. Their cables and rigging were worn, their provisions scanty and becoming unfit for use, and the crews worn out by incessant labor. Still they had not found any sign of a civilized people; and they demanded that the vessels should be turned toward Isabella. It was certain, they said, that this vast body of land could not be an island; for they had already coasted three hundred and thirty-five leagues, and yet saw no sign of any end to the land. Columbus, anxious to prove that this was the view of all on board, sent a notary around to every person on board the vessels, from the master to the cabin-boy, to ask each if he had any doubt that this land was not an island; if he had the slightest, he was at once to declare it, and the reasons for it, that the matter might be investigated at once, and forever set at rest. Each one declared, under oath, that he believed this to be a part of the mainland of Asia. Many experienced navigators, and others well versed in the geographical knowledge of the day, were on board, and this opinion was on their part, the result of careful study of their charts, and mature deliberation.

Yet at the very time that these affidavits were made, they were almost within sight of the group of islands to the south; beyond which, after an hour's

sail, they might have seen the open sea. Two or three days' advance would have proved to Columbus that this belief that Cuba was a part of the mainland was a mistake; but this proof was never given him; he died in the belief that this was the extremity of the Asiatic continent.

Losing sight of the eastern extremity of Jamaica August 19, they sailed toward Hispaniola. But on the way thither, Columbus was seized with a strange sickness. The hardships and privations which he had shared with his men, joined to the anxieties and responsibilities which were his alone, had proved too much for his years; for he was now past sixty, and his life had been so full of cares and adventures and hardships that his years pressed heavily upon him. While his vessels were struggling to make their way through perilous and unknown channels, he was ever on the alert; for their safety depended on his watchfulness. While there was still an immediate prospect of reaching the territories of the Khan, excitement kept him up. But when this hope was abandoned for the present, and the caravels rode in a calm and well-known sea, he gave way, and sank into a deep slumber which closely resembled death.

His frightened crew hastened toward Isabella, followed by the two other caravels, arriving there Sept. 4. The unconscious Admiral was conveyed on shore to his residence, and the utmost available skill exercised to effect a cure.

When he became conscious of his surroundings, what was his surprise to find his brother Bartholomew at his bedside! This was the brother who had undertaken to lay before Henry VII. of England, the great project of a western route to India. Captured and plundered by a corsair, he was delayed in reaching his destination for several years. Arrived at London, he submitted the question to the King, who acted more readily than Ferdinand and Isabella. Bartholomew was bidden to return to Spain, to bring his brother to England, that final arrangements might be made. On reaching Paris, he learned, for the first time, that the tardy Spanish sovereigns had provided the armament for which his brother had asked, the great discovery had been made, and the two vessels had returned in safety.

The Admiral was the darling of fortune at the Spanish court; and his brother felt his reflected glory even in Paris, distant as it then was from Madrid and Barcelona; for the distance between the two places is to be reckoned, not by miles, but by the time required to reach one from the other. But although the brother of the greatest man then living, he was short of money. This, however, was easily remedied; and no less a personage than the King of France furnished money to defray the expenses of his journey from Paris to Seville.

He reached Seville just as the Admiral had departed on his second voyage. Repairing at once to the court, he was well received; and Ferdinand and Isa-

Isabella, understanding that he was an able and experienced navigator, gave him three vessels, freighted with supplies for the infant colony, and sent him to his brother's aid. Again he arrived just too late; reaching Isabella a few days after the expedition for the exploration of Cuba had sailed.



BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

Columbus now had his two brothers at his side. "I have never had any better friend," he wrote to his sons, "on my right hand and on my left hand, than my brothers." Diego was of a gentle and retiring disposition, scarcely fitted for the command of men; but Bartholomew more closely resembled his brother Christopher.

The Admiral accordingly determined to relieve himself, during his present ill-health, of the cares of state; and appointed his brother Bartholomew Adelantado, or lieutenant-governor. This appointment was much resented by

the sovereigns, when they heard of it; as they considered that officers of such high rank ought to be appointed by them only. This was one instance in which the star of Columbus began to wane; henceforward, we find many such cases, until it sets at last, in obscurity, disgrace, and death.

We have seen the departure of Pedro Margarite from St. Thomas, with his little army of about four hundred men. He disregarded the instructions of Columbus almost from the start; and succeeded in making enemies of the gentle and peaceable natives. He was reprov'd by Diego Columbus and his council; but disregarded the reproof, refusing to acknowledge their authority. He found a willing lieutenant in his defiance in Friar Boyle, or Buil, as the name is sometimes written; who was the head of the religious fraternity, a member of the council, and apostolical vicar of the New World. It is not easy to find why this priest should have been so determined an enemy of Columbus; but throughout the history of the colony he had thrown difficulties in the way of the Admiral, and now joined himself with the rebel Margarite.

They decided to return to Spain; and seizing upon the vessels which had brought out Bartholomew Columbus, they set sail, accompanied by those who were discontented with their residence in the colony and displeased with the rule of Columbus. The departure of Margarite left the army without a head; and the soldiers scattered in small bands over the country, indulging in all kinds of excesses. The Indians had become changed, by the treatment received at the hands of the Spaniards, into vindictive enemies; and whenever they met small parties of soldiers, attacked and slew them. Success made them bolder; and Guarionex, one of the caciques, put to death ten Spaniards who had quartered themselves in his town, and followed up the massacre by setting fire to a house in which forty-six of their countrymen were lodged. He then threatened to attack a small fortress which had been built in his neighborhood; and the garrison was obliged, through fear of him, to remain shut up until reinforcements could reach them.

A more formidable enemy still was Caonabo, who had been enraged by the erection of the fortress St. Thomas within the very center of his dominions. He assembled an army of ten thousand warriors, and stole through the forest, hoping to find the fortress but slightly guarded. But Ojeda was not the soldier to be destroyed because he felt too secure; his forces were drawn up within the stronghold, and Caonabo saw that an attack by his naked warriors would be hopeless.

Still he did not despair; but surrounding the fort, and shutting up every path through the forest by which relief might come, proceeded to reduce it by famine. The siege lasted for thirty days, and the garrison was reduced to great distress. It was now that Ojeda showed a nobler courage than even his daring feats during the Moorish wars had indicated; constantly leading his men wherever opportunity offered for a successful sally, he wrought great

havoc in the ranks of the enemy, and finally wore out the patience of the savages. The siege was raised and Caonabo retired.

But the cacique did not despair of reducing the white power in the island; he formed the design of securing the assistance of the other caciques—there were five principal rulers in Hispaniola—and making a concerted attack upon Isabella, the weakness of which was well known to him. But this design proved impracticable by reason of Guacanagari's fidelity to the Spaniards. His territories lay nearest the town; and without his assistance, or at least connivance, they could not hope to accomplish their end. The angry savages made several attacks upon him, hoping to force him to yield; and inflicted various injuries upon him and his people; but he remained firm in what he considered his duty to the strangers; and for a while the Spaniards were safer than, as a whole, they deserved to be.

Columbus, although still unable to leave his bed, was obliged to take active measures to undo the mischief that had been done during his absence. He received a visit from Guacanagari, and cemented a friendship with the faithful Indian. He took measures to punish the tributary cacique who had massacred the Spaniards at Fort Magdalena, managing at the same time to avoid war with his superior chief, Guarionex; and to establish a fort in the very midst of his territories.

But the most formidable enemy of all was Caonabo, who was yet untouched by any negotiation. Ojeda requested the privilege of trying to capture him, and Columbus readily assented.

The cavalier chose ten followers, of whose courage he was well assured; and set out for the territory of the cacique. Approaching him with much deference, he represented himself as an envoy from the Grand Cacique of the Spaniards, sent to treat with the great Chief Caonabo on equal terms. The savage, greatly flattered at the idea, received him kindly and entertained him handsomely. There was no one whom Columbus could have sent who would have been received with more respect; for Caonabo had tried Ojeda's skill and courage as a warrior, and looked up to him accordingly.

The cavalier's skill in all the manly exercises practiced by the knights of that day excited still further the admiration of the cacique; and what was apparently a warm friendship sprang up between them. But one was wily as the other; the cavalier was waiting to entrap the chief: and the chief was determined to outwit the cavalier.

At last, Ojeda broached the subject of a treaty between his host and the Spaniards, and begged the cacique to go to Isabella to conclude one with Columbus. The chief hesitated; one inducement after another was offered; and finally Ojeda promised him the bell of the chapel. This bell was regarded by the Indians as possessed of magical powers; they had seen the Spaniards hurrying to mass at the sound of it, and were accustomed to say that it could



talk. They called it *turey*, a word which they frequently applied to the belongings of the strangers, and which really meant in their language, heavenly. The idea of possessing the *turey* talking bell was too much for Caonabo's persistence; he agreed to go to Isabella and make a treaty of peace with Columbus.

Ojeda congratulated himself upon his success; and anxiously awaited the day set by the cacique for their departure. It came, and with it Caonabo, attended by an armed force of fully five thousand warriors. Aghast at this display of power, Ojeda demanded to know why he took such a force with him upon a mere friendly visit; Caonabo replied that it did not become a great cacique like himself to travel without many attendants. Ojeda professed himself satisfied, although he feared that it was the intention of Caonabo to surprise the fortress, or make some attempt on the person of Columbus, and Ojeda was well aware of what would become of the colony without the Admiral at the head of its affairs.

As they journeyed onward, he revolved in his mind various schemes to obtain possession of the person of Caonabo without exciting the suspicions of his men. At last he hit upon one. Having halted one day near the Little Yagui, the cavalier produced a pair of brightly burnished steel handcuffs, and displayed them to the wondering chief. In reply to his question as to their purpose, Ojeda gravely informed him that they were a kind of bracelet worn, on state occasions, by the Spanish King; and that these had been sent as a present to the great cacique Caonabo. He proposed that the chief should go to the river and bathe, after which he should be invested with these bracelets, and set upon Ojeda's horse, so as to astonish his people by assuming the state of a Spanish monarch. Caonabo was quite ready to assent; pleased as a child at the idea of mounting the horse, he was by no means disappointed when Ojeda explained that of course he would himself ride in front, and guide the animal; for the bravest of the Indians were still somewhat afraid of the strange beasts.

The program was carried out, as Ojeda had planned it. Caonabo repaired to the river and bathed—probably the fastidious cavalier had good reason to insist on this preliminary—was assisted to mount behind Ojeda, and the gyves were adjusted on his wrists, and closed with a snap. Proudly he sat, as they rode into the presence of his assembled men; and proudly he called their attention to the *turey* bracelets of shining white metal, unlike any that they possessed. The Indians gazed admiringly, while Ojeda, telling Caonabo that the Spanish monarchs were accustomed to ride in circles about their subjects, gave reign to his horse, and rode about the Indians. So absorbed were they in watching the new grandeur of their chief that they did not notice how Ojeda's men had withdrawn from their midst, and had in fact quite disappeared. Wider and wider grew the circles, until they carried the riders quite

out of sight. Suddenly, Caonabo saw himself surrounded by Ojeda's men, and was told that death would be the result if he made any outcry. His own followers were out of sight and hearing; and, a helpless prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, he was taken to Isabella.

Curiously enough, this exploit did not diminish the liking or respect which Caonabo entertained for Ojeda; it rather increased his respect, since the cavalier had daring and cunning enough to carry off a chief from the midst of his warriors, without provoking a battle. He manifested much more reverence for his captor than for the Admiral, saying disdainfully that Columbus had never dared come to his home personally and seize him.

The great enemy of disorder being thus helpless, and only awaiting the departure of a vessel to be sent to Spain for trial, Columbus was at full liberty to attend to other needs of his colony. Much of the existing distress was allayed by the arrival of four ships; which brought not only the necessary supplies, but also a physician and an apothecary, and workmen of various trades.

The letters received by this fleet were of the most gratifying kind; expressing, as they did, the royal approval of all that Columbus had done; and informing him that arrangements would be made to dispatch a caravel each month from Spain, and directing that one should sail from Isabella at the same interval. A letter addressed to the colonists collectively bade them obey Columbus implicitly, threatening punishment for each offense against the regulations he might enact.

Eager to send home such evidences of the wealth of the country as he could, Columbus collected all the gold possible, and with specimens of other metals, various fruits, and valuable plants, he freighted the vessels. But these innocent articles of commerce were not all. Five hundred Indian captives were sent to be sold as slaves in Seville.

The capture of Caonabo had not put an end to the Indian league, as the Spaniards had hoped. The leadership was taken up by the brother of the cacique, Manicoutex, and by the neighboring cacique Behecio, whose sister, Anacaona, was the favorite wife of Caonabo. Columbus learned that the Indian force was assembled in the Vega, but two days' journey from Isabella; and that they intended marching upon the settlement, and overwhelming it by pure force of numbers. He hastily assembled his little army—two hundred infantry, and a cavalry force of twenty, the latter under the leadership of Ojeda. His soldiers were armed with cross-bows, swords, lances, and the heavy arquebuses then in use; which were so unwieldy that they were usually provided with a rest, and sometimes were mounted on wheels. His men were clad in steel and covered by their great bucklers; and thus equipped, formed a force which could with safety attack twenty times their number of naked savages. They had another assistance in their fight—they were accompanied

by about twenty blood-hounds, which, at a word from their masters, would spring upon the enemy, drag them to the earth, and tear them to pieces.

March 27, 1495, Columbus issued from the gates of Isabella and proceeded toward the Vega with his little army. The Indians were hid in the forest which on all sides surrounded this beautiful open plain; but they sent their scouts to count the enemy. They had but little skill in arithmetic, and had no word in their language for a higher number than ten; they were accustomed, however, to give accurate reports of the force brought by an enemy, by allowing a grain of corn for each warrior, and displaying the number to the cacique. In the present case, it was a mere handful; and the Indians felt confident of victory.

By skillful maneuvering, Columbus managed to get his enemies all into one body, on a plain interspersed with clusters of forest trees, near the spot where the town of St. Jago now stands. By the advice of Don Bartholomew, he divided his force into several detachments, and advanced upon them from several directions at once.

The sudden clamor of the drums and trumpets alarmed the Indians; and almost at the same moment that these were heard, a destructive fire was poured from the groups of trees. It seemed that thunder and lightning had been brought down from heaven for their destruction; and upon the miserable frightened wretches poured a steady rain of arrows. The cavalry dashed in upon them, hacking and hewing as they rode them down; and the terrible blood-hounds were let loose, seizing the naked savages by the throat and dragging them to the earth, to be literally torn to pieces. Such was the warfare of a Christian nation at the end of the fifteenth century; at the end of the nineteenth, the process is simpler and more refined; a machine-gun is brought up, and volley after volley of shot poured upon the enemy; or a shell is sent shrieking through the air, to explode in the midst of the camp.

Well satisfied with the decisive victory thus obtained, Columbus returned to Isabella; and almost immediately set out upon a military tour of the island, to reduce the other inhabitants to subjection. All the caciques except Behecio were brought to sue for peace; and he retired with his sister, to the distant part of the island which was his by right.

Columbus had at first dreamed of ruling these people as their benefactor. The wrongs done them by his own followers had prevented the possibility of this; and he now must rule them as a conqueror. He accordingly demanded that they should pay him tribute. In the regions of the mines, each Indian above the age of fourteen was required to pay, every three months, a hawk's bell full of gold-dust—an amount equivalent, at the present day, to about fifteen dollars of United States money. Those who lived where gold was not obtainable, were required to furnish, instead, twenty-five pounds of cotton each, and at the same interval of time. Copper medals were struck, different

for each quarter of the year; and given as receipts to the Indians who had paid their tribute, to be worn suspended around their necks. The caciques were required to pay a much larger personal tribute, of course, than their subjects.



SPANIARDS SETTING DOGS ON INDIANS.  
(From an Old Engraving.)

The fortresses already built were strengthened, and others were erected, in order to keep the Indians in subjection, and enforce the payment of this tribute. It was not paid without protest. Guarionex represented to Columbus that there were no mines in his district; that the only gold was in the grains washed down by the streams, which his people were not skilled in collecting. He offered, instead of this tribute, to cultivate a strip of ground from sea to sea, and pay the grain in place of the gold; but although, according to the calculation of a contemporary historian, this was enough, in one year, to have

fed the whole population of Castile for ten years, the proposition was rejected. Columbus, however, compromised with the cacique, agreeing to accept one-half the quantity which had been originally demanded.

A patient people may bear tyranny a long time; but there is a point beyond which patience not only ceases to be a virtue, but to be a possibility. The Indians had now reached that point; they could not pay the tribute which was demanded; and they resolved to rid themselves forever of the white men.

They had tried war, and found themselves beaten. They now resolved to starve the Spaniards out. But in making this effort, they seemed to forget that they too must suffer; and in fact they did suffer far more than the Spaniards did. Many thousands of them perished miserably, of hunger, or disease produced by privation, or exhaustion brought on by exertion under such conditions. The remnant of them crept back to their homes, submitting humbly to the harsh rule of the conquerors.

While these things were going on, Margarite and Friar Boyle had reached Spain, and laid their case before the court. They accused Columbus of deceiving his royal patrons regarding the wealth to be derived from the islands, which they declared would always be a source of expense rather than of profit; and they declared that he had treated his followers harshly and cruelly; laying especial stress upon the indignities which he had heaped upon the gentlemen of the colony. It was the signal for the sovereigns to withdraw their favor from Columbus; and gradually from this time forth, we find them holding him in less esteem. Fortunately for him, however, the representations of Margarite and his reverend accomplice had hardly reached the royal ear when the ships commanded by Torres arrived in Spain, bringing information that Columbus had returned from his voyage of discovery to Isabella, and was fully assured that Cuba was a part of the mainland of Asia. The effect was immediately apparent; instead of leaving the appointment of a commissioner to investigate affairs in Hispaniola to Fonseca, almost an open enemy of Columbus, the King and Queen took the matter in hand themselves, and appointed Juan Aguado. He had accompanied Columbus to Hispaniola, and on his return to Spain had been strongly recommended to royal favor by the Admiral. It was generally thought, then, that Ferdinand and Isabella had acted directly in the interests of Columbus by appointing this man to inspect the affairs of the colony.

As to the Indian prisoners who were sent to be sold as slaves, the Queen did not altogether approve of the idea. A royal order had been issued permitting the sale; but within five days thereafter it was suspended, until the sovereigns could inquire into the matter, and learn from wise and pious theologians whether they might with a clear conscience allow the sale to go on. The priests differed much upon the subject; and the Queen finally decided it



for herself. She ordered that the Indians should be sent back to Hispaniola, and that only the gentlest means should be used in the effort to convert them to Christianity. Thus amid the temptations of a queen-regnant's position did Isabella of Castile keep her faith unspotted from the world, and decide a vexed question in accordance with the true teachings of the religion which she professed.

Aguado arrived at Isabella while Columbus was still absent on his tour through the island. His arrival was the signal for disorder of all kinds; for he gave out that he was come to right every wrong that had been done by the Admiral. The report was circulated that the downfall of Columbus and his family was at hand; Aguado refused to acknowledge the authority of the Adelantado; and a report was actually circulated through the island that a new Admiral had arrived; and that the old one was to be put to death.

Undoubtedly there were evils existing in the colony; some of them were brought about by the officials, some by the colonists; some of them had arisen without much fault on either side. But whether it was the misdeeds of the colonists, the neglect of the orders of Columbus by the minor officials, or any other cause which produced them, the ungrateful Aguado, "dressed in a little brief authority," displayed his weakness of head and heart by blaming all upon Columbus. Nor was this all; he interfered in the government; ordered the arrest of some persons; called to account the officers appointed by the Admiral; and refused to respect any of his regulations. He finally insinuated that the prolonged absence of Columbus was due to fear of the royal commissioner's investigation.

Columbus returned, having heard of the arrival of Aguado and of his behavior. Much to Aguado's disappointment, he behaved with grave and punctilious courtesy; and ordered the letter of credence which the envoy had brought to be publicly proclaimed the second time, that all might hear the will of the sovereigns. Aguado had hoped that he would indulge in violent language, which might be construed as disrespectful to the royal authority; but Columbus was too wary for this.

Everywhere, however, Columbus was looked upon as the setting, and Aguado as the rising sun. Even the Indians, hoping something from a change of masters, brought their complaints against the Admiral, as the author of all the wrongs that they had suffered. Aguado considered that he had collected enough testimony to ruin his benefactor, and prepared to return to Spain, to lay it all before Ferdinand and Isabella.

Columbus resolved to return, also; knowing that he had no friends at court, but many enemies. But just as they were ready to depart, a terrible hurricane, such as the Spaniards had never before seen or heard of, and more destructive than any that the Indians had ever witnessed, swept over the island. The four caravels of Aguado were completely destroyed; also two



AN ABORIGINAL RACE WORKING IN MINES.

others, which were in the harbor with them. The *Nina* was the only vessel that survived the storm; and it would have been foolhardy to attempt the voyage in her alone. Columbus at once gave orders that new vessels should be constructed from the fragments of those destroyed.

During the delay thus occasioned, welcome tidings reached the settlement: mines of great importance had at last been discovered. The discovery was brought about by singular and romantic means. A young Spaniard, Miguel Diaz, had wounded a comrade in a quarrel, and fearing the punishment which would be meted out to him by the Adelantado, he fled into the wilderness. He was accompanied by five or six comrades, who, like himself, had "left their country [or colony] for their country's good." Kindly received by the Indians who were settled near the mouth of the Ozema, governed by a female cacique, they remained there for some time. Diaz and the cacique loved each other, and she became his wife by the simple Indian ceremony. But he grew homesick for civilization; and she, fearing to lose him, resolved to devise some means of enticing the Spaniards to that part of the island. She told him of rich mines in the neighborhood, and urged him to invite them to leave the unhealthful situation of Isabella, and settle near the villages of her people. He caught at the suggestion; and finding upon investigation that the mines were indeed rich, he set off to Isabella, about fifty leagues away through the trackless forest. The guides with which his wife had furnished him, however, found their way; and he brought the welcome tidings to the Admiral, just at the time when such news was more welcome than ever it would have been before this time of trial.

Assured that the wounded man had recovered, that no punishment awaited him, and that he had rendered a great service to the Admiral, as well as to his sovereigns, it was with a light heart that young Diaz set out on the homeward journey, as the guides of the Adelantado.

Bartholomew Columbus returned with a most favorable report, and valuable specimens of gold which had been found with little difficulty. He reported also that there was some evidence that the mines had been regularly worked in some former time, though the Indians now contented themselves with such gold as could be separated from the sands of the river by the simplest process of washing. With his usual splendor of imagination, Columbus at once jumped to the conclusion that these were the ancient mines of Ophir, whence King Solomon had derived the vast amount of gold used in the temple.

But whoever had worked the mines in the past, the fact that they had been discovered in the present was enough to gild all the dreams of Columbus, and to make him sure of a more favorable reception at court than he might otherwise have been granted. As soon as the second caravel was completed, they made ready to depart; Columbus in one, Aguado in the other; and March 10, 1496, they set sail from Isabella for Spain.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE LAST VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

Arrival at Cadiz—Reception at Court—"Gold in Bars"—A Thoughtful Queen—Third Voyage of Columbus—Departure from Spain—La Trinidad—The Continent Discovered—The Land of Pearls—The Earthly Paradise—Building of San Domingo—Conspiracy of Indians—Roldan's Rebellion—Dangers of the Government—Indian Insurrection—Guarionex Captured—Roldan's Luck—Terms Made with the Rebels—Bobadilla in Hispaniola—His Course—Uncertainty of Columbus—Return to San Domingo—Columbus in Chains—His Brothers Arrested—The "Reward of Services"—Embarkation of Columbus—Arrival in Spain—Ferdinand's Jealousy and Distrust—Ovando Appointed Governor—Wrongs of the Indians—A Great Fleet—Columbus Plans a Crusade—Ferdinand's Substitute—Fourth Voyage of Columbus—Sails from Spain—Ovando Refuses Shelter—His Ships—The Predicted Storm—Results—Cruising—Adventures on Land—A Daring Messenger—Reaches Jamaica—Courage of Mendez—Anxiety of the Castaways—Mutiny of Porras—Columbus Predicts an Eclipse—Terror of the Natives—An Insolent Messenger—The Mutiny Ended—Assistance Arrives—Columbus Reaches Spain—Death of Isabella—Illness of Columbus—Assistance of Vesputius—Ferdinand's Delay—A Compromise Proposed—Rejection—A Last Glean of Hope—Death of Columbus—His Burial—Ceremonies Attending the Removal to Havana.

THE two vessels had expected to purchase food from the natives of the neighboring islands; but in this they were disappointed. In consequence there was nearly a famine on board before the end of the voyage was reached; and the firmness and determination of Columbus alone saved the half-starved sailors from killing and eating the Indian prisoners, among whom was Caonabo.

After many delays, they arrived at Cadiz June 11. Columbus found in the harbor three caravels ready to sail with supplies for the colony; and the letters which were to have been delivered to him at Isabella were put into his hands at Cadiz. Sending careful instructions to his subordinates in accordance with the wishes of the sovereigns, as here expressed, he proceeded to notify the King and Queen formally of his arrival.

Their reply reached him July 12; it congratulated him on his safe return, and invited him to repair to court when he should have recovered from the fatigues of his journey. The tenor of this letter was a surprise to Columbus, who had expected, after the behavior of Aguado, to find that he was in deep disgrace at court. Surprised and delighted to find that Ferdinand and Isabella retained their appreciation of the services which he had rendered, and were apparently not influenced by the efforts of his slanderous enemies, Columbus proposed to them a new enterprise.

But Ferdinand was then engaged in extensive military operations, the ob-



COLUMBUS PROTECTING THE INDIAN PRISONERS.



ject of which was to add to his dominions the kingdom of Naples; he was also busily arranging such marriages for his children as would be likely to extend his empire. Both enterprises took time and money; and it was only after considerable delay that Columbus obtained a grant of six millions of maravedis—equivalent, in present value, to about fifty-four thousand dollars in United States money—to fit out the squadron which he had requested.

But money granted is not money secured. Just as "the law's delay" seemed to be over, and Columbus was definitely promised this sum from the royal treasury, Pedro Nino, a captain of the fleet with which Columbus had sailed to Hispaniola, arrived at Cadiz with three caravels, freighted, he said, with gold in bars. Instead of making a formal report as soon as he landed, he went straight to his home in Huelva, to visit his family.

The report of the "gold in bars" raised the wildest expectations, not only in the people, but in Columbus and the sovereigns. To the King, especially, the news was welcome; and he appropriated, for the purpose of repairing a fortress, the sum which had been granted to Columbus, arranging that the Admiral should draw the equivalent amount from the cargo of Nino's vessels.

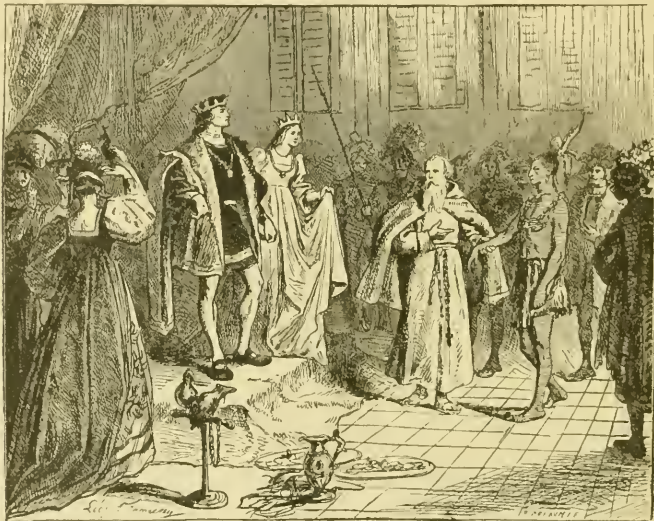
Meanwhile, all were upon the tiptoe of expectation, to see the first great amount of treasure which had been brought from the New World. Columbus readily understood whence it had come; the newly discovered mines of Hayna, the ancient Ophir, were beginning to yield up their vast stores of yellow metal; and since this came so soon after their opening, it was evident that the quantity of gold there to be found was something wonderful, incalculable.

Nino returned to his vessels; and then the truth was made known. He was a miserable maker of jokes; the "gold in bars," the rumor of which had created such excitement, was represented by the Indians whom he had brought, and who were expected, when sold as slaves, to furnish gold in considerable quantities.

The ready money which was to furnish the ships had been spent on the frontier fortress, and there was nothing for Columbus to do but to wait until another grant had been made. The King had never been as favorably disposed toward the enterprise as the Queen had shown herself; and his mind was now more readily poisoned against Columbus. He did not see any proofs of the great wealth which the Admiral had promised, and he scarcely believed that there was any foundation for these golden expectations. Isabella, however, seems to have been actuated by different motives; less narrow-minded than Ferdinand, she saw that, whether the colony continued to be a source of expense or not, much was ultimately to be gained by supporting it, and by furnishing Columbus with the means to prosecute his plans. But the Queen's resources were limited; the treasury of Castile had furnished a marriage-portion to the Princess Juana, and had liberally endowed Prince Juan, the

heir to the throne, when he married an Austrian princess in the spring of 1497. The Princess Isabella was now betrothed to the young King of Portugal, the successor of King John; and a marriage-portion must be found for her.

Still, the Queen considered carefully the question of how these vessels were to be furnished; until her attention was distracted from state affairs by the death of her son, a few months after his marriage. Even in her grief, she was not unmindful of Columbus; his two sons had been pages in the household of the prince; she now ordered that they should hold a similar office in her own.



"GOLD IN BARS."

There was no danger then, that Isabella would forget the great discoverer and the services which he had rendered. The difficulty was, as we have seen, for her to find the money; and she at last actually took it from that which had been set aside as the marriage portion of the Infanta Isabella.

This was finally arranged in the spring of 1498; and on May 30 of that year, Columbus sailed with his squadron of six vessels on his third voyage of discovery. He proposed now to take a different route from that which he had before pursued, sailing much farther south; for he believed that under

the equator he should find much rarer and richer productions than anywhere else; and this belief was supported by the opinion of Jayne Ferrer, an eminent and learned lapidary, who had traveled much, especially in Asia, and was well versed, as the learning of the time went, in geography and natural history.

For two months after they sailed from Spain, they did not reach the western land. Part of the time they were becalmed in the midst of such intense heat that the tar melted from the ships, and the seams opened, causing much leakage. Their meat had spoiled; the wheat was parched as if by fire; and there was not more than a single cask of water in each vessel. Columbus had vowed that if he were permitted to find the land which he expected, he would name it in honor of the Trinity; what was his surprise, then, when the lookout, about noon on the last day of the year, declared that he saw three mountains rising out of the water. The ships drew nearer, and it was seen that the mountains were united at the base. With pious exultation, Columbus bestowed upon it the name which it still bears—La Trinidad.

The ships cast anchor and obtained a supply of water. While coasting along this island, Columbus observed, to the south, low-lying land, stretching more than twenty leagues. He named it La Isla Santa, supposing it, like the other land that he had discovered, to be an island. It was in fact that portion of South America which is intersected by the mouth of the Orinoco. Thus he felt assured that Cuba was a part of the main land, and named a portion of a continent as an island.

Casting anchor on August 2, near the southern point of Trinidad, they saw approaching them a large canoe, containing about twenty-five young Indian warriors. Thinking to attract them by music and dancing, when gestures of friendship and offers of trinkets had failed to do so, Columbus ordered that some of the musicians whom he had brought should play, while one man performed a dance on the deck of his vessel. But the Indians mistook this demonstration for a war-dance, and let a shower of arrows fly at the dancer and his comrades. This was answered by a discharge of a couple of crossbows from the ship, and the entertainment being concluded, the spectators paddled rapidly away.

The whites had some difficulty in communicating with the natives, for the latter generally fled as soon as they saw the strangers approaching; but at last, about a week after they first saw land, they succeeded in doing so. The Indians readily told them that gold was to be obtained on a highland to the west, but added that the people living there were cannibals, and the road was infested by venomous animals. The attention of the Spaniards, however, was arrested by the sight of the great numbers of pearls which the Indians wore as ornaments; and which, they learned, came from the coast of La Isla Santa.

Columbus found that in his own ship, which was a vessel of one hundred tons' burden, and required three fathoms of water, he could not sail freely among the islands, as he still considered the land which he had just discovered. "Late at night," he writes, "being on board of my ship, I heard as it were a terrible roaring, and as I tried to pierce the darkness I beheld the sea to the south heaped up into a great hill, the height of the ship, rolling slowly towards us. The ships were lifted up and whirled along so that I feared we should be engulfed in the commotion of the waters: but fortunately the mountainous surge passed on towards the entrance of the strait, and after a



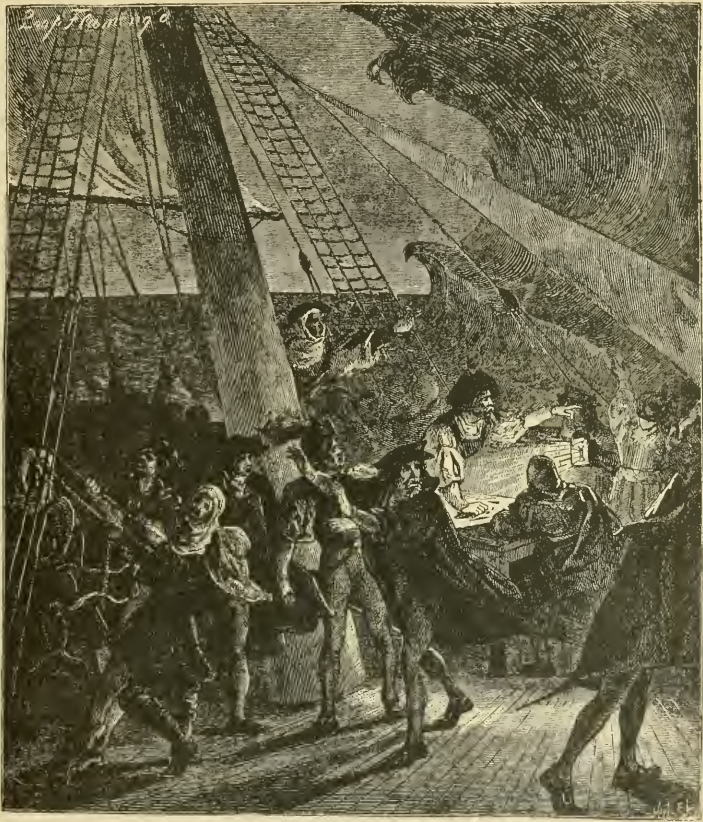
THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS AT TRINIDAD.

contest with the counter-current gradually subsided." He sent a caravel to see where there was a channel between these islands by which he might reach the ocean beyond. The caravel ascended the Paria River for some distance, and returning, reported the discovery of a circular basin, but informed him that all the land which he had seen was connected. Still he does not seem to have realized that this was a continent; according to the best maps of Asia obtainable, it ought to be an island; and an island he was determined to consider it.

But there was danger that the supplies for the colony which the vessels had on board would spoil in this tropical climate; and the sea stores of the ships.



besides, were almost exhausted. In addition to this, Columbus suffered much from the gout, and was afflicted with an affection of the eyes, which rendered him nearly blind. He accordingly decided to sail for Hispaniola, and rest and



THE TIDAL WAVE.

recruit his health there; and to send his brother the Adelantado—upon whom that title had now been formally conferred by the sovereigns—to complete the exploration of this new group of islands. Several large and valuable



pearls had been secured, to send to the sovereigns as indisputable proof of the wealth that had now been discovered; and many smaller ones were obtained in exchange for hawks' bells and similar valuable articles of European manufacture.

Prevented by his infirmities from taking any part in the navigation of his vessels, Columbus had ample time to reflect upon the nature of the country whence they had just sailed. He remembered that the channels, as he had thought them, were fresh water, but slightly affected by the saltness of the sea; there was a current perceptible; and finally he came to the conclusions that these channels were in reality rivers. Streams of such size must drain a country of considerable extent, larger than any island. The land surrounding the Gulf of Paria must be a portion of an almost boundless continent, as yet unknown and uncivilized, and therefore clearly the property of its discoverer's patrons, the rulers of Spain.

Columbus went farther in his meditations, and decided that he had made yet another discovery. It was now generally received that the earth was spherical in form; but the various experiences through which he had recently passed, led him to believe it was really more the shape of a pear, one part much more elevated than the rest, and rising decidedly nearer the skies. He supposed this part to be under the Equator, in the interior of the continent which he had just discovered; and he concluded that this was the true earthly paradise; that the northern part of South America, to translate his speculations into language more intelligible to the latter part of the nineteenth century, was just outside the gates of heaven.

Immediately after the departure of Christopher Columbus for Spain his brother Bartholomew had begun work to develop the mines whose existence had been revealed by Miguel Diaz. The first step was to build a fortress near by, to which he gave the name of San Christoval, but which was popularly called the Golden Tower.

He was in the midst of difficulties caused by shortness of supplies of food, when the caravels which were ready to sail when Columbus arrived at Cadiz reached the island. They brought reinforcements of men; but many of the stores had spoiled on the voyage. Letters from the Admiral, brought by these vessels, directed the Adelantado to build a town near the mouth of the Ozema, for the purpose of being near the new mines.

The site was chosen, and the proposed city christened San Domingo, it being the germ of the present city, and having given name to the greater part of the island. The fortress was completed, and a garrison of twenty men placed in it; then the Adelantado set out to visit Behechio, the cacique who had not yet acknowledged Spanish sovereignty.

Behechio received him at the head of a considerable army of naked warriors; but the Adelantado had adopted his brother's method, and traveled

in state, with a large escort, and a guard of honor of his cavalry. Behechio saw that it would be worse than useless to provoke a battle; and explained the force of warriors by saying that he had been engaged in reducing some rebellious villages. For two days the Adelantado and his escort were entertained by the cacique; and then the real business of the visit was entered upon. Behechio was informed that he must pay tribute, as the other caciques did; it was in vain he urged that there was no gold in his dominions; the Adelantado demanded that the tribute should be paid in cotton, hemp, and cassava bread. The cacique thankfully accepted this provision; and thus the tribe was brought into subjection without striking a blow.

But there were many difficulties to be overcome at Isabella, and the Adelantado found that he must give considerable time to the settling of affairs there. These were of the usual nature, complaints that there was not enough food to be had, when the complainants would not exert themselves in any way to obtain a crop, and had so outraged the natives that these kindly and generous creatures would no longer furnish them with the fruits and flesh which they desired. While the Adelantado was busy here and at San Domingo, the garrison at Fort Conception was threatened by an Indian league.

By the exertions of two missionaries, the cacique Guarionex had been brought to profess the Christian faith. Scarcely had they succeeded in doing so, when an injury inflicted upon his favorite wife caused him to renounce indignantly the religion professed by one who was capable of committing such an outrage. The missionaries removed to the territories of another cacique; first erecting a small chapel for the use of one of their converts, and furnishing it with an altar, a crucifix, and other images.

Scarcely had they departed, when a number of Indians, it was said by the order of Guarionex, entered the chapel, defiled the altar, and breaking the images in pieces, buried them in a neighboring field. The act was reported to the Adelantado; he caused the arrest of the Indians, and ordered their trial for sacrilege.

Offenses against the Church were then punished by inhuman barbarities; all heresies and acts of sacrilege must be expiated at the stake. The Indians were duly tried and convicted, and burned alive. Guarionex was still further angered by this assumption of power within his dominions and the inhuman death of his subjects. He allowed himself to be drawn by the other caciques into a league against the Spaniards, their immediate object being to rise and massacre the garrison at Fort Conception.

Their purpose was by some means betrayed to the garrison, and a messenger was sent to implore aid from the Adelantado, who was then at San Domingo. He marched against the dusky enemy, attacked the various caciques at the same moment, by dividing his force; and captured Guarionex and his brother

chieftains. The two latter were put to death; but the Adelantado, knowing what provocation Guarionex had received, and finding that it was only with difficulty that the others had induced him to join the conspiracy, released him, and thus subdued him by unexpected clemency.

Scarcely had this been attended to, when the Adelantado was summoned to receive the tribute which had been collected by Behechio. There were such vast stores of cotton and cassava bread that he was obliged to send to Isabella for one of his newly built caravels to transport them; and this vessel was a source of great wonder to the Indian cacique and his people. His sister, particularly, the wife of Caonabo, who appears to have shared his authority since her return from her husband's dominions, was anxious to entertain the white men and make them all the gifts that she could command.

In the meantime, the men of the colony at Isabella were not living any more peaceably. Always dissatisfied, since they could not realize the golden dreams with which they started out, they found now a leader in Francisco Roldan, an alcalde, or justice of the city. This man had been raised by Columbus from poverty and obscurity; he had at first been employed as a servant; but had gradually been promoted to higher positions, until he reached at last this official eminence. He performed his duties in this position so well that, on his departure for Spain, Columbus made him alcalde mayor, or chief judge of the island.

It might be thought that such a man would have been inalienably attached to his benefactor, and to those whom that benefactor loved; but there are some base natures who think that, if those above them be pulled down, they themselves can rise higher. It was so with Roldan. He was deeply jealous of the authority of the two brothers of Columbus; and soon made a party among the idle, daring, and dissolute of the community.

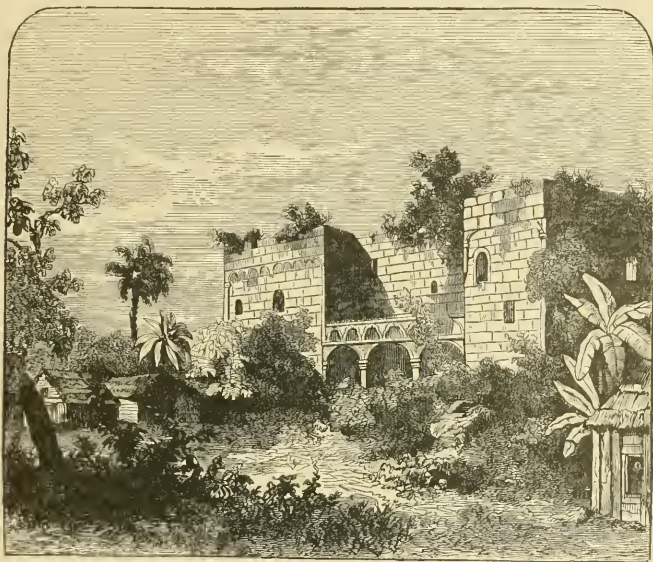
He began by sympathizing with the hard treatment which they had experienced; and having won them in this way, he suggested that their rulers were foreigners, intent only on enriching themselves. With no respect for the pride of a Spaniard, the two Genoese adventurers, left here by their equally selfish brother, treated the gentlemen of the community as mere slaves, compelling them to labor on the public works or to swell their state as they marched about the island, enriching themselves at the expense of the caciques.

By these means, he brought their feelings to such a height that they had, at one time, formed a conspiracy to assassinate the Adelantado; but the opportunity for which they waited did not occur, and the plan was consequently abandoned.

While Don Bartholomew was absent collecting the tribute of Behechio, the conspirators judged the time ripe for action. Roldan's plan was to excite a

tumult by underhand means, interpose in his official character, throw the blame upon the injustice and oppression of the two Columbuses, and seize upon the reins of power himself, in order to promote the peace and welfare of the island.

A pretext was soon found. When the caravel returned with her cargo of cassava and cotton, and was unloaded, she was drawn up on the beach. Roldan pointed out this circumstance, and told his followers that it was to prevent its being used by them to send word of their distress to Spain.



RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF COLUMBUS AT SAN DOMINGO.

The people now insisted that the caravel should be launched and sent to Spain, to ask for further supplies. Don Bartholomew pointed out to them that it was unfit for so long a voyage; it was rigged only for coasting trips about the island, and equipped for short voyages only. But they persisted. Roldan then advised them to rise against the tyranny of these would-be masters, to launch and take possession of the caravel, and dispatch her to Spain for the supplies so sorely needed, and at the same time to make complaints of the tyrants. He pointed out that if this vessel were in their hands, with its possibility of being the bearer of their complaints, even should they

not choose to send it, they might lead a life of ease and pleasure in the island, employing the natives as slaves, and sharing equally all that was gained by barter.

Don Diego, who was in command at Isabella at this time, his brother being absent, feared to come to any open rupture with the *alcalde*, and sent him, with forty men, to the *Vega*, on the pretext that there were certain Indians there who needed to be taught respect for the Spanish arms. He hoped by thus employing the energies of the seditious upon lawful business, they might be brought to submit cheerfully to the rule of his brother and himself.

But Roldan simply strengthened his own hands by making friends and partisans among the *caciques* who were dissatisfied with Spanish rule, and secured the devotion of his soldiers by indulging them in every possible way.

On his return, Don Bartholomew having returned also, he openly demanded that the caravel should be launched; but received the same reply that had been given to the demands of his followers. He was afraid to attempt any open rebellion at Isabella, but departed into the wilderness, hoping to overcome the garrisons one by one and attach them to his standard, when he would openly revolt against the rule of the *Adelantado*.

His movements threatened a siege of Fort Conception; and the commander, alarmed, sent for reinforcements. Don Bartholomew marched at the head of the relief, and held a parley with Roldan. The *alcalde* now boldly avowed that he was in the service of his sovereigns, defending their innocent subjects from injustice and oppression. The *Adelantado* demanded that he should submit himself to superior authority, or else surrender the office with which it had invested him. He refused to do either; and withdrew, with his forces, to the province of Xaragua, the realm of Behechio.

He suddenly marched to Isabella, intending to take possession of the caravel, and sail in it to the selected part of the island. Don Diego withdrew his forces into the fortress when he found that the enemy was too strong; but could do no more. Roldan found that he had not sufficient force to launch the caravel, or to assail the fortress; and dreading lest the *Adelantado* should return, and he be crushed between the soldiers of the two brothers, he proceeded to make preparations for the expedition to Xaragua. Pretending to act in his official capacity, for the relief of the oppressed subjects of the King and Queen, he broke open the royal storehouse and helped himself to the supplies of arms, ammunition and clothing there; and drove off such of the cattle as he judged necessary for his purpose; causing others to be killed for present use.

The *Adelantado* was unable to take any decisive step, for he knew that many of his men were disaffected; and he feared lest they should go over to the enemy. Another danger lay in the position of the Indians. They had been rendered hostile by the cruel treatment experienced from many of the Span-



iards, and the tribute exacted by the Admiral did not make them any less so; always watchful, they now saw that their enemies were divided among themselves; and only awaited the most favorable time to strike a deadly blow at the colony and its dependencies.

Such was the situation when news was received that two vessels were approaching the island. These were under the command of Pedro Fernandez Coronal, and brought a reinforcement of soldiers, and supplies of all kinds. It also brought the news that Don Bartholomew had been confirmed in his title and authority as Adelantado; and that the Admiral was in high favor at court, and would soon arrive with a powerful squadron.

Desirous of restoring the island to peace before the return of his brother, and feeling that his authority was not now likely to be disputed by any but the ringleaders among the rebels, Don Bartholomew proclaimed an amnesty for all past offenses, on condition of immediate return to allegiance. But Roldan knew too well of what he had been guilty; and despite these promises, feared to venture within the power of the Adelantado. He accordingly refused to hold any communication with those who were sent to receive his allegiance, and prevented his followers from speaking with them. He then immediately set out on his journey to Xaragua, not waiting to hear that the Adelantado had proclaimed him and his men traitors.

The Indian rising, which had been instigated by the idea that the whites were quarreling among themselves, now took place. The night of the full moon was fixed upon as the time that they were to attack the various parties of soldiers; but fortunately for the Spaniards, one of the caciques proved to be careless in his observations, and led his men against Fort Concepcion a night before the proper time. His attack was repulsed, and other garrisons prepared to receive the foe in time.

Guarionex, who had been a principal mover in this insurrection, now betook himself to the mountains, and made occasional sallies upon the villages of those who remained at peace with the Spaniards. The Adelantado resolved to put a stop to this, and resolutely marched against the cacique and those who had sheltered him. Both were captured; and were still in prison at San Domingo when the Admiral arrived in the island, after an absence of nearly two years and a half.

One of the first acts of Columbus was to issue a proclamation approving of the course pursued by his brother, and strongly condemning Roldan and his associates. But the rebel had been favored by an unexpected streak of good luck. Three of the caravels of the Admiral's squadrons had been carried by the current outside of the path pursued by their companions, and had reached the coast of Xaragua before they knew where they were. Roldan told their commanders nothing of his rebellion against the Adelantado; and being a man in an important official position, they did not hesitate to grant all his re-

quests for supplies. He thus procured many military stores; and his men cunningly circulated among those on board the vessels the story of the oppressions of the Adelantado, and of the various hardships endured by the colonists at Isabella and San Domingo, while they did not fail to enlarge upon the ease and plenty and pleasure of the life which they led in Xaragua. Many of those on board were convicts, who had been permitted to commute their sentence into exile to the New World; and they listened eagerly to the men who defied the law. Much mischief had been done in the three days before the captains of the ships discovered the real character of Roldan.

They then endeavored to dissuade him from the position that he had taken, and to induce him to return to the settlement and submit to the Admiral's authority; but their arguments were in vain. In the meantime, contrary winds rendered it impossible for them to proceed; and the captains, finding that there was danger of their crews becoming corrupted, resolved to send the artificers who were important, to the service of the colony overland, under the leadership of Juan Antonio Colombo, a relative of the Admiral's, and much devoted to him.

Forty of them were selected, and they set out; but scarcely had they landed, before thirty-two of them deserted to the enemy. Appeals, remonstrances, threats, promises, were all in vain; and Colombo returned to the ships with his eight faithful followers.

The ships stood out to sea, and finally made their way to their destination. Columbus was greatly troubled when he heard the report regarding the rebels in Xaragua; he resolved that steps must be taken at once to prevent their gaining any further headway; and with a view of getting away from the island all those who were discontented, and who might therefore be expected to join Roldan, he announced that five ships would sail for Spain at a given time, and that any one desirous of returning would be given free passage.

The ships sailed October 18, bearing letters from Columbus and from Roldan, giving both sides of the story in detail. Before they sailed, however, the commandant at Fort Conception had, at the desire of the Admiral, held a conference with Roldan, and again proffered him pardon. It was contemptuously refused, and demands of a highly insolent nature made. Again, after the departure of the ships, Columbus wrote to Roldan, offering him pardon if he would submit even then; and after much treating between the outraged authorities and the rebels, terms of capitulation were finally agreed upon; they were to be furnished with two ships, fully equipped for the voyage to Spain, within fifty days from the time that this agreement was reached; and Columbus made liberal concessions regarding their pay and privileges.

Obliged to give a certificate of good conduct to Roldan and his followers, Columbus felt that he had deceived his patrons; and wrote by a confidential person who was to sail in one of the vessels a letter to the sovereigns stating

the whole circumstance, and saying that he had been obliged to do this to save the island from utter confusion and ruin. Every day that Roldan remained in the island, whether in open rebellion or pretended submission, weakened the authority of Columbus among those under his command.

Insolent as the demands of Roldan had been, no sooner had they been granted than he resolved to make others. Not all of his men were to depart; but those who chose to remain were to receive certain lands for their maintenance. Further, it must be proclaimed that everything which had been charged against him and his party had been grounded upon false testimony, and the machinations of persons disaffected to the royal service. It was further provided that Roldan himself should be reinstated in his office.

Hard as these conditions were, and they were accompanied with the stipulation that if he failed to keep them, the rebels might compel him to do so, Columbus accepted them; only inserting a clause in the treaty that the commands of the sovereigns, of himself, and of the officers appointed by him, should be obeyed.

In the meantime, the reputation of Columbus was being constantly assailed by his enemies in Spain. He says of himself that he was "absent, envied, and a stranger." His son Ferdinand gives a vivid picture of the lengths to which the returned colonists went in accusing him to the authorities:—

"When I was at Granada, at the time the most serene Prince Don Miguel died, more than fifty of them, as men without shame, bought a great quantity of grapes, and sat themselves down in the court of the Alhambra, uttering loud cries, saying, that their Highnesses and the Admiral made them live in this poor fashion on account of the bad pay they received, with many other dishonest and unseemly things, which they kept repeating. Such was their effrontery that when the Catholic King came forth they all surrounded him, and got him into the midst of them, saying, 'Pay! Pay!' And if by chance I and my brother, who were pages to the most serene Queen, happened to pass where they were, they shouted to the very heavens, saying: 'Look at the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland, of that man who has discovered the lands of the deceit and disappointment, a place of sepulcher and wretchedness to Spanish hidalgos!' Adding many other insulting expressions, on which account we excused ourselves from passing by them."

When the King was thus compelled to listen to the complaints of these persons, is it not fair to suppose that privately his ears were filled with more decorous allegations against the Admiral? Such was the constant clamor against him, that Ferdinand and Isabella seriously considered the question of suspending him from the exercise of his high office; he had himself requested that some one might be sent out to administer justice in the colony courts; and they simply decided to send such a person, but to enlarge his authority by giving him civil as well as judicial functions.

But they certainly acted with deliberation. March 21, 1499, they directed Francis de Bobadilla to "ascertain what persons have raised themselves against justice in the island of Hispaniola, and to proceed against them according to law." Two months later, they conferred upon this officer the government of the island, and signed an order that all arms and fortresses in the Indies should be given up to him. But still Bobadilla was in Spain, and no news of this action had reached Columbus. Not until the first part of July was the supplanter permitted to sail; he arrived at Hispaniola August 23.

The Admiral was at Fort Conception when he arrived; but he at once took possession of his house at Isabella, and sent him the letter of the sovereigns. It read thus:—

"DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, Our Admiral of the Ocean:—

"We have commanded the Commendador Francis de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, that he speak to you on our part some things which he will tell you; we pray you give him faith and credence, and act accordingly.

"I the KING.

I the QUEEN.

"By their command,

"MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN."

But Bobadilla did not wait for Columbus to appear before him. There had been a conspiracy to murder Columbus and Roldan, who had been active in the pursuit of some of his late companions and followers in rebellion; and Columbus, who saw that lenity was mistaken for weakness, resolved to take stern measures. Some of the offenders were executed; others were thrown, chained, into prison. Bobadilla at once demanded the release of these; and when Don Diego and his officers represented that these men were imprisoned by order of the Admiral, and could only be released by his order, the new envoy took matters into his own hands, and forced open the doors of their prison. He then seized all the property of Columbus, even his most private papers, and spoke publicly of him in the most disrespectful terms, saying that he was empowered to send him home in chains, and that neither he nor any of his family would ever be permitted to rule in Hispaniola again.

Columbus could not believe the reports that he heard; he would not believe that this man was really accredited by the sovereigns to whom he, Columbus had rendered such great services. It must surely be some adventurer, who had possessed himself of the fortress, and was usurping the government of the city.

When he learned the contents of the letter which Bobadilla bore, he did not know what to do; but of one thing he was sure, and that was, that the sovereigns had never intrusted him with such powers as he claimed; they had sent him out, in accordance with the Admiral's request, to perform the duties of a judge, and had armed him with provisional powers to make inquiries into the disturbance, of which Columbus himself had complained. He there-

fore wrote to Bobadilla, welcoming him to the island, and cautioning him against hastily granting licenses to collect gold. Bobadilla did not answer; and Columbus, hearing on all sides of the license which the newcomer practiced, published his belief that his own powers were granted to him in perpetuity, and that Bobadilla could not supersede him in the government. Then Bobadilla sent him the letter of credence, which we have copied above; and Columbus forced himself to yield to the usurper, and departed, almost alone, for San Domingo.



RIVETING THE FETTERS UPON COLUMBUS.

What authority had Bobadilla to act against the Admiral? It was contained in a letter of instructions from the sovereigns, which authorized him to "seize the persons and sequester the property of those who appeared to be culpable, and then to proceed against them and against the absent, with the highest civil and criminal penalties." This was clearly directed against Rodan and his followers, whom the King and Queen supposed to be still in rebellion; but as no names were mentioned, Bobadilla took advantage of its being so indefinite to make this language apply to the highest official of the New World.

Columbus arrived at San Domingo; and Bobadilla at once gave orders to arrest him, put him in irons, and confine him in the fortress. For a time, it



seemed that no one would obey this order, so shocked were even his enemies at the idea of offering such indignities to so old a man, who had rendered such services to their sovereigns, and who had been honored by them in every possible way. Finally, one of his own servants undertook the task of fettering the great Admiral; "a graceless and shameless cook," according to Las Casas, who was nearly a contemporary of Columbus, "who, with unwashed front, riveted the fetters with as much readiness and alacrity as though he were serving him with choice and savory viands. I knew the fellow, and I think his name was Espinosa."

What was the charge against him? "I make oath that I do not know for what I am imprisoned," Columbus wrote to a Spanish lady of rank who had been the nurse of Prince Juan. In another letter, he says that he was seized and thrown into prison, without being summoned or convicted by justice. It is probable that Bobadilla had no formal charge to make. There were many individual complaints, but they would scarcely bear investigation as charges against the Admiral; for the evils from which the colonists suffered so much were either unavoidable, or were brought about by their own faults. The great mistake which Columbus had made was in sending, and in permitting others to send, Indians to Spain to be sold as slaves. This had first distressed, and then angered Isabella; and in whatever way the slavery might be excused, by representations that these Indians were prisoners of war, or had committed grave offenses against the laws, she could not forget that these were her subjects, and that she owed them the same privileges that she gave to those of Castilian birth. Isabella was offended at the persistence of Columbus in treating the Indians as deserving slavery; Ferdinand had lost confidence in his promises of riches from these new lands; and thus Bobadilla was given the power which he used for the humiliation of the Admiral.

Bobadilla now had Columbus and his brother Diego in his power; but the Adelantado was in Xaragua, in pursuit of some rebels, and had a considerable armed force at his back. The new governor had evidently heard of his determined spirit, and feared the result that would ensue from sending to arrest him. Columbus was accordingly enjoined to write to his brother, requesting him to repair peaceably to San Domingo. He readily complied, and exhorted his fiery brother to submit to the authority of the person appointed by the sovereigns, and to endure all wrongs and indignities patiently, under the full hope that when they arrived in Castile, all would be remedied.

Thus it was that Don Bartholomew Columbus came quietly to San Domingo and rendered himself up; instead of marching at the head of his army to assault the place, rescue his brothers, and put the new governor in their place, as he doubtless would have much preferred to do. Like his brothers, he was put in irons; and they were removed from the fortress to one of the caravels, where they were confined separately, not being permitted to hold

any conversation with each other, or to be visited by any one from the city.

We need not describe the condition of affairs in the town, where every one who had a complaint to make against the late government was regarded as a patriot and a hero who had suffered at the hands of a tyrant. The vessels made ready to sail, Alonzo de Villejo being appointed to take charge of the prisoners. He was, says Las Casas, "An hidalgo of honorable character, and my particular friend." When he arrived with a guard to conduct the Admiral from the fortress to the ship, he found him in chains, silent and depressed. When he saw the officer enter with the guard, he thought that it was to conduct him to the scaffold; for though he had not had any trial, and did not know the charges against him, the treatment which he had received had been such that he could not tell where it would end.

"Villejo," said he, mournfully, "whither are you taking me?"

"To the ship, your Excellency, to embark," replied the officer with true manly respect for the misfortune of another.

"To embark?" echoed Columbus, catching at the word; "Villejo, do you speak the truth?"

"By the life of your Excellency," was the reply, "it is true!"

Such was the conversation between them, as narrated by the historian whose description of Villejo has been quoted; and doubtless Las Casas heard from the lips of his "particular friend" himself the words which passed between that friend and the great Admiral.

The caravel sailed early in October, 1500. Villejo and Andreas Martin, the master of that in which Columbus was ordered to be confined, although they were both supposed to be attached to the enemies of Columbus, were deeply grieved at the treatment which had been accorded him, and did all in their power to show, by their profound respect and assiduous attention, that they had not chosen their office as his jailers. They desired to take off his irons:

"No," he replied proudly, "their majesties commanded me by letter to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name; by their authority he has put upon me these chains; I will wear them until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will preserve them afterward as relics and memorials of the reward of my services."

And he kept his word; for, says his son Fernando: "I saw them always hanging in his cabinet, and he requested that when he died they might be buried with him."

The arrival of Columbus in Cadiz produced very nearly as great a sensation, as his return from his first voyage, though of a different kind; then, no honor could be too great for him; now, he was fairly hooted by the mob, an object of contempt to all. But the friendship of Martin had one good effect upon the fortunes of the Admiral; he permitted him to send off that letter to the nurse of Prince Juan by express, as soon as the vessel landed; while the re-



COLUMBUS RETURNING TO SPAIN IN CHAINS.

port of Bobadilla was sent by more formal and dilatory messenger. This letter was at once shown to the Queen; and was the first intimation she received that Columbus had not been treated with the respect due to him. The tide of royal and of public opinion changed at once; the enemies of Columbus had defeated their own ends by the violence with which their agent had acted. Orders were at once sent to Cadiz that the prisoners should be released, and treated with all distinction. They then wrote a letter to Columbus himself, expressing their grief that he should have been offered such indignities, and inviting him to come to court at once. Two thousand ducats were sent to pay the expenses of his journey.



HOOTED BY THE MOB.

He reached the court, and was received with marked kindness by the sovereigns. He saw tears in the eyes of the gentle Queen; and unable to suppress the feelings which this sign of sympathy called forth, he threw himself on his knees, and sobbed aloud.

The King and Queen raised him from the ground, and endeavored to encourage him by expressing their deep sense of his services. When he had regained his self-control he entered upon a vindication of his loyalty; but none was needed; the very excess of his enemies' anger showed that they were in the wrong; and the rulers disavowed the proceedings of Bobadilla, asserting that the expressions in their letter had never been meant to apply to Columbus and his brothers; and declared that he should be recalled at once.

The report of Bobadilla had not yet been received. In fact, although it must have been duly delivered, there is no record that it was ever considered. Columbus was assured that his grievances should be redressed, his property restored, and that he should be reinstated in all his privileges and dignities.

And these privileges and dignities were very dear to his heart; he considered them the real reward of his services. In his will, he directs that his heir shall call himself, and sign himself, simply "The Admiral," no matter what other titles may be bestowed upon him; for this was of all others the greatest, being the recognition of the services of Columbus in discovering the western route to India. He hoped and expected that, since the sovereigns were fully convinced that he had suffered unjustly, they would at once reinstate him as viceroy, and send him back to govern the island. But this hope was doomed to be long deferred, until, indeed, he grew sick at heart.

There is no doubt that Ferdinand repented having appointed Columbus to such high offices, as soon as it was discovered how great was the extent of the New World. Every succeeding proof of the greatness of these discoveries then only tended to make him more jealous of that foreign-born subject who had been made Admiral and Viceroy of them all. He never intended to keep the fair promises which he joined with the more sincere Isabella in making at this time, but deliberately planned to put off the fulfillment of them from time to time, by such excuses as might present themselves, until Columbus should succumb to the weight of the years which had long been pressing heavily upon him.

Although Bobadilla was recalled, Ferdinand represented to Columbus that, such was the state of the island, it would be better to have some disinterested person appointed to take his place for a certain time, although no one should ever acquire the rights which had been granted to Columbus. It is probable that this promise deceived Isabella as well as Columbus; and that she died, thinking the great Admiral was again to govern the New World which he had given to Castile.

Bobadilla's successor was Don Nicholas de Ovando; but his departure was delayed for a considerable time after his appointment. In the mean time, Bobadilla's system of government was showing its results. He had changed the rule established by Columbus, that one-third of the gold obtained should



belong to the Crown; and exacted only one-eleventh; yet the amount paid to the royal officials was more than under the old system. This enormous increase in the product was secured by exacting the labor of the natives. At first, the caciques had been compelled to set aside a certain portion of the ground for grain to be raised by the Spaniards; then the chiefs were obliged to furnish the labor required to cultivate it; then the produce of the earth was demanded as tribute; and now, the unfortunate Indians were compelled to labor at whatever task their self-constituted masters might choose to assign them.

The result may be imagined. The natives of these islands had never been obliged to work before the coming of the strangers; the soil and climate are such that food in abundance for the sparse population was produced almost spontaneously. Nor were they used to the hardships which beset so many of the Indians of North America. For these gentle, peace-loving people, there were no dangers of the chase to be encountered; there were no days spent on the war-path, no creeping through the forest upon the unwary enemy, no lying in ambush through night and storm. Every simple want supplied by nature, they seemed relieved from that burden of labor laid upon our common father Adam; they were free to dream their lives away in sweet content.

How was this now changed! Bobadilla caused a census of the Indians of Hispaniola to be taken, and distributed them among the colonists, to serve their pleasure; labor in the fields and in the mines was the least part of what they endured; the inhumanity with which they were treated may be inferred from a single example: Las Casas, who visited the island at the close of Bobadilla's term of office, says that he has seen Indians who were compelled to bear the litters or hammocks which their arrogant and upstart masters preferred to the saddle, and their shoulders were raw and bleeding from the task.

The abuses of this government reached the ears of the sovereigns; and the increased amount of gold, which could not but elicit the wonder and pleasure of Ferdinand, did not make Isabella insensible to the wrongs inflicted upon her distant subjects. In order to preserve the rights of the Indians, she allowed negro slaves to be taken to Hispaniola; and thus shifted the burden from the shoulders of one miserable set of creatures to those of another.

Ovando was further ordered to consider the interests of Columbus. All the property which Bobadilla had confiscated was to be restored; and his brothers were to be indemnified for whatever losses they had sustained by reason of their imprisonment. An agent was appointed to look after the affairs of the Admiral, and it was ordered that he should receive the arrears of his revenue, and that it should be paid punctually for the future.

Such was the bright side of the orders. On the other hand, as regards the condition of the natives under the new government, they were permitted to

be employed in the royal service; it is true that according to instructions they were to be engaged as hired laborers, and regularly paid; but they might be compelled to do this work, and this left room for nearly as many abuses as under the old system.



OVANDO'S FLEET SHATTERED IN A STORM.

Again, in a government so far removed from the mother country, and where there is no degree of representative rule, the character of the administration depends entirely upon the character of the man at the head of it. Ovando was vested with an authority which was supreme over the island; he was responsible only to the sovereigns of Spain, and in case there were any complaints to make, it would require about four months to receive an answer.

Thirty vessels formed the fleet which was to convey this potentate to his dominions; they set sail February 13, 1502. But it was not destined to reach port without difficulty; they were hardly out of sight of land when a terrible storm was encountered; and one of the ships went down with all on board. The others were compelled to throw overboard so many articles that

the coast of Spain was literally strewed with them and with wreckage for many miles; and it was reported that all the vessels had foundered. The King and Queen shut themselves up for eight days, to grieve for the loss of their fleet. After the storm, however, the remaining vessels assembled at the Canaries, and again turned their prows westward, arriving at their destination the middle of April.

Meanwhile, Columbus was considering a project which had long been in his mind. It has already been recorded that he desired to find a new route to Cathay, not in order to enrich himself, but that a sum sufficient for the purchase of the Holy Land from the Mohammedans might be realized from the commerce with these countries. At some time after the discovery, whether on his first or second return from the New World to Spain cannot be told definitely, he had made a vow to furnish, within seven years from the time of his discovery, fifty thousand foot-soldiers and five thousand cavalry for a Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and to furnish a similar army, if this should not have been successful, within five years thereafter. That this vow had not been fulfilled, was his great trouble; and there is still in existence a letter written by him to Pope Alexander VI., about the time that Ovando sailed, which explains why the vow had not been fulfilled.

To Columbus, ardent and devout as he was, and filled with the old crusading idea that the Holy Land must, at any cost of blood or treasure, be recovered from the infidel, it must have been a great grief that this vow had not been fulfilled. Since he had first set eyes on San Salvador, almost ten years, freighted with cares and labors and anxieties, had passed away; and he seems now to have felt, at last, that his desire to recover the Holy Sepulchre by his own means was utterly hopeless.

But he remembered that in laying his plans before Ferdinand and Isabella, he had proposed this as one of the objects of the enterprise; and he now proceeded to arrange the arguments by which he hoped to induce them to undertake this holy war. The Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, and all that class of literature which was held in high esteem by the Church, were all ransacked to show that there were three events destined to take place in rapid succession. Of these, the first was the discovery of the New World; the second was the conversion of the Gentiles; and the third was the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. These arguments were embodied in a manuscript volume, and transmitted to the King and Queen, accompanied by a letter in which he eloquently urged this project which now seems so visionary upon the attention of the bigoted Ferdinand and the devout Isabella.

But Columbus knew, by sad experience, how long the decision of the Spanish sovereigns was likely to be delayed when a new and important enterprise was presented for their consideration; possibly he felt that should he gain new laurels by the discovery of yet richer countries, his recommendations

would carry more weight with them. Perhaps, too, the wandering nature that was in the Genoese sailor impelled him ever to be seeking new lands; and he was roused to emulation by the achievements of Vasco de Gama and Cabral, the former of whom had recently, for the first time in the history of the world, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and sailed from Portugal to India.

His anxiety regarding the Holy Sepulchre was set at rest sooner than he had hoped. Ferdinand was a bigot, and valued highly the title of Most Catholic King, which he had won by his wars against the Moors of Spain; but while he was quite ready to wage to its bitter end a war which was in a measure forced upon him, and which, besides being a holy war, was necessary for the preservation of his kingdom, he was yet a hard bargainer, and not insensible to the advantages of a peaceful settlement of difficulties. Instead, therefore, of raising an army for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, he proceeded in what, to us of the nineteenth century, seems a much more business-like and much more Christian way: he concluded a treaty with the Grand Soldan of Egypt, under whose rule Palestine then was, which adjusted all the old difficulties between the two powers, and made arrangements for preserving the Sepulchre and protecting the pilgrims who wished to visit it.

The great discoverer, then, was entirely free to give all his attention to thoughts of new discoveries, which would not only go far beyond those of Gama and Cabral, but would eclipse his own former achievements. It was his wish to explore the coast of Cuba, which, as we have frequently shown, he believed to be a portion of the main land of Asia, and find the channel which lay between it and the islands, and which would enable him to reach those coasts, trade with which was so rapidly enriching Portugal. Many advisers of the Crown protested against his receiving the necessary grants of ships, men, money, and authority to do this; but Ferdinand, who did not trust the ability of Columbus as a governor, and who was besides jealous of the authority which he himself had joined in giving to the Admiral, knew him to be a remarkably skillful navigator; and was entirely willing that his time and attention should be so occupied with rendering new services to the Crown that he would have no time to insist upon the reward for the earlier services; and Isabella felt that it would be ungrateful, after Ovando had been given so large a fleet merely to transport him in suitable state to his post of office, to refuse a few ships to Columbus, that he might continue his discoveries.

Four caravels, ranging in size from fifty to seventy tons' burden, were given him; and one hundred and fifty men enlisted in his service. His brother, Don Bartholomew, and his second son, Fernando, a boy of thirteen, were to accompany him. His son Diego was to remain in Spain, and all the affairs of the father were to be left to his management. He had asked permission to touch at Hispaniola for supplies as he sailed past it to the coast of

the main land; but this permission was refused, on the ground that the island was still, probably, in great agitation, arising from the change of governors, and that the Admiral had many enemies in the island. The sovereigns, however, graciously allowed him to touch there briefly on his return voyage.

The voyage across the Atlantic occupied a little more than a month; the squadron sailing May 9, and arriving at one of the Caribbee Islands June 15. Sailing along by Dominica, the fleet passed along the south side of Porto Rico, and then steered for San Domingo. The Admiral was thus acting directly contrary to the expressed orders of the King and Queen; but one of his ships was such a poor sailer that it delayed the others, and he had determined to ask in exchange for it one of Ovando's vessels, or else to buy one of the trading vessels which were now permitted to ply between the two coasts of the Atlantic.

The fleet in which Ovando had reached the island was prepared for the return voyage when, June 29, Columbus approached the mouth of the river, and dispatched the captain of one of his caravels to ask permission to enter the harbor, as a storm was approaching. The request was refused by Ovando.

It seems incredible that Columbus should be refused permission to shelter his vessels in the chief harbor of that New World of which he was the discoverer; but the action of Ovando can be justified by many reasons. In the first place, the weather was not at all threatening; to the ordinary eye, there was no indication whatever that a storm was to be expected. To the Spanish Governor, then, who probably had received instructions not to permit Columbus to enter the country under his rule, it probably seemed that the Genoese navigator was only seeking an excuse to disobey the commands of the sovereigns, and to interfere in the government of the island. Added to this there were many persons in San Domingo who were bitterly adverse to Columbus; had he landed by permission of the Governor, and had these persons been able to wreak their vengeance upon him, the Governor would justly have been held responsible.

The answer was returned to Columbus; but in the meantime, the indications of an approaching storm had become, to his practiced eye, even more certain; although the pilots of the vessels could not see them. He again sent his messenger to Ovando, begging him not to allow the fleet to depart. The pilots and seamen of these vessels, as of his own, did not believe that any storm was threatened; they were anxious to put to sea; and laughing at the prophecy of the old Admiral, declared that he was a false prophet.

But Columbus had been a sailor for more than fifty years, and had acquired such weather-wisdom as few, even of those who have served the ocean so long, have been able to learn. He sought shelter in a wild harbor, and finally cast anchor at a point near the shore, but sufficiently distant from San Do-



mingo to keep his presence there from being discovered. The fleet of thirty vessels, bound for Spain, sailed out of the harbor of San Domingo. One of them, on board which was Bobadilla himself, bore the largest nugget of virgin gold that had yet been found in the New World, as well as that immense amount which had been collected, during the administration of Bobadilla, as the revenue of the Crown. It was the hopes of the tyrant that this treasure would, in the eyes of the King, atone for much of his evil government; he does not seem to have taken the Queen into account.

Within two days after it was uttered, the prophecy of Columbus regarding the storm was fulfilled. It swept over the ocean, and the thirty sail were exposed to its full fury. They had just reached the eastern end of Hispaniola when the tempest burst upon them. That proud vessel which bore Bobadilla and his ill-gotten gains, with which he hoped to bribe the conscience of a king; Roldan, the rebel against the authority of the great Admiral; and many others of his most inveterate enemies, who were going to Spain for the good of Hispaniola, were swallowed up by the angry waves; and the treasure wrung from the oppressed natives sunk with those who had thus procured it to the bed of the ocean. Other vessels were lost, besides this principal one; others were so injured by the storm that they were obliged to put back to port; only one, the weakest and least sea-worthy of all when they had left San Domingo, was able to continue the voyage to Spain. The superstitious historian, in recording this fact, does not fail to call attention to the circumstance that the favored vessel had on board four thousand pieces of gold, the property of Columbus, which his agent, recently appointed, had recovered or collected, and was forwarding to Spain; and to emphasize the statement that the most inveterate enemies of Columbus were in the vessel which perished utterly, before any others of the fleet were seriously injured.

The vessel commanded by Columbus remained close in shore, and escaped injury. The others of his squadron were driven out to sea, and so seriously injured that the whole fleet was obliged to go to Port Hermosos for repairs.

Repairing the vessels, allowing a little time to his sailors for necessary rest and recreation, and the avoidance of another storm, prevented Columbus from sailing for the mainland until July 14. Threading his way among the islands to the south of Cuba, he landed on one of a group which he named *Isla de Pinos*, from the circumstances that it was covered with very lofty pine-trees; but which island has always retained its Indian name of *Guanaja*. While they were here, a canoe eight feet wide and as long as a galley, and rowed by twenty-five men, landed, having evidently come thither on a trading expedition. The appearance of the natives, the clothing which they wore, the articles which they had brought with them, all showed a much higher degree of civilization than that which prevailed on the other islands. They told him, by signs, that they had come from a rich and populous country to the

west, and tried to induce him to visit it. Had he listened to their persuasions, he would have reached Yucatan, and thence Mexico, with the boundless stores of wealth of which Cortez became possessed a generation later. These treasures would have fulfilled the wildest dreams of the Spaniards, and Columbus, their discoverer, would again have been the favorite of the nation. But he considered that this country might be visited at any time, while, for the present, he was bent on exploring the southern coast of Asia, which would yield far greater treasures than any to which these Indians were likely to show him the way.

For sixty days after they had been refused shelter at San Domingo, the four little vessels constantly encountered storms, which only the best of seamanship enabled them to weather. The Admiral's health had long been uncertain, and now he should have taken rest; but the almost ceaseless succession of storms left him no choice; his skill and experience were constantly required; and he had a small cabin constructed on the high stern of his vessel, whence, even though confined to his bed, he could keep an outlook and direct the course of the ships. If genius be, as some one has defined it, the capacity for taking infinite pains, surely no one ever better merited to be called a genius than did Columbus.

He now steered along the coast of Honduras, and encountered, on September 12, a cape which he named Gracios a Dios, in pious thankfulness because the land there took a southerly turn, so that the east winds which had hitherto delayed him were now favorable. In October he entered several bays on the southern coast of Central America and the isthmus, but, naturally enough, could get no information from the natives of the channel which he was seeking.

The natives were generally inclined to be friendly; but in one case, being obliged to moor his vessels close by the shore, he was attacked. They fled, however, when the artillery was brought into use; like the Caribs, they could not contend with a people who were armed with the lightning.

Nor was this the only dreadful thing about these strange white people who came in the great winged canoes. At a conference held between Columbus and the natives at some point along the coast mentioned, a notary attended, to take notes of the conversation. The savages seem to have had no idea of writing; they considered its practice a kind of magic, and were not satisfied until they had burned some kind of fragrant powder between themselves and the Spaniards, to destroy the baleful influence of the spell.

December 5, they encountered a tropical cyclone, which proved so terrible that it afterward seemed a miracle that their frail vessels had lived through it. At last, after tossing about on the waters for eight days, they gained the mouth of a river which the Admiral named the Bethlehem, because he entered it on the Church festival of the Epiphany. In this neighborhood

was a powerful cacique, whom they found to be the owner of rich gold mines. He offered to supply the Spaniards with guides to conduct them to these mines, but privately instructed these guides to convoy them to the mines owned by a neighboring cacique. Here, however, in spite of the trick which had been played them, they acquired, by barter and actual discovery, a large quantity of gold, more, said the Admiral, than he had seen in Hispaniola in four years.

Columbus determined to found a settlement here, as a preliminary to working these rich mines and sending the product to Spain. By the end of March, 1503, a village of huts had been built, sufficient to shelter eighty men; here the Adelantado was to remain, with this number; while his brother, the Admiral, returned for supplies and tools.

Rumors reached the Adelantado, however, that the natives intended to attack the village; he marched promptly upon them, and seized the tricky chief, whom he held as a hostage. But the cacique, although bound hand and foot, managed to spring overboard and make his escape, swimming under water to the shore. Under his leadership, the angry natives attempted to burn down the village, by shooting flaming arrows upon the roofs of the huts; and a boat's crew of eleven Spaniards, who had gone some distance up the river, were attacked by the natives in canoes. One out of the eleven escaped to tell the story. The boat, the only one that they had that was sea-worthy, was of course the prey of the victors.

The weakest of the four vessels had been left with Don Bartholomew, as being scarcely fit for the homeward voyage; and the other three, with the Admiral in command, were in the offing, awaiting a favorable wind. But the dry season had made the river so shallow that it was impossible for the remaining caravel to cross the bar at its mouth, and as they had no boat that could be trusted to encounter the surf, it seemed that they were doomed to perish. At last, Ledesma, a bold pilot of Seville, encouraged by the example of some Indians who had escaped, when captured, by swimming to shore, made up his mind that he could do what they had done. He swam from the caravels, reached the shore, three miles away, in safety, and communicated with the Adelantado; and then conveyed to the Admiral the news of how things stood on shore.

In a few days the wind changed, and the would-be settlers embarking on the three vessels, the caravels stood out to sea. That one which was inside the bar had to be abandoned; and at Porto Bello the Admiral was obliged to give up another caravel as no longer sea-worthy. Leaving the coast of the main land May 31, he steered toward Cuba; but while on this part of the voyage, a collision between his two remaining ships damaged them very seriously. The small vessels, "as full of holes as a honey-comb," so worm-eaten were they and injured by the storms and accidents which they had sus-

tained, reached the southern coast of Cuba about the middle of June. Shaping his course thence for Jamaica, Columbus, finding that his ships would no longer float, ran them on shore, side by side, and built huts on deck for housing the crews.



COLUMBUS' CARAVELS AGROUND.

Diego Mendez, the lieutenant of Columbus, and a Spaniard who had shown himself, during this voyage, the boldest of his officers, undertook and performed the difficult task of establishing a regular market in which the natives traded their fruit, cassava-bread, fish, and game for such articles of European manufacture as the Spaniards possessed. But how could they communicate with their countrymen on Hispaniola! A journey to the eastern end of

Jamaica would be fraught with danger, for it would be through the midst of tribes which were not at peace with each other; so that the Spaniards would find the friendship of one a cause for dreading another. But even were that point reached in safety, they knew that there were forty leagues of rough water between the two islands; and they had no vessel in which the European sailors would risk such a voyage.

It was a case of necessity, however; and with the truest kind of courage, Mendez, having carefully considered the case, and knowing very well the dangers, volunteered to undertake the voyage around Jamaica and across to Hispaniola in a native canoe. But one other Spaniard of like courage was found to accompany him; and with six Indians, the two white men set out.

While they were detained by rough weather at the easternmost point of Jamaica, they were attacked by a number of savages, and, by sheer force of numbers, overpowered and carried off as captives. But Mendez had taken with him some beads and other trinkets to use in barter with the natives; and while the captors were quarreling over this rich spoil, the captives escaped, and, managing to reach their canoe, returned in safety to their comrades at Santa Gloria.

Mendez was ready to try it again; but he stipulated that a sufficient force to guard against such accidents must accompany him to the most eastern point of the island. His courage was not without result, for, because of the example which he had set, a dozen of his comrades volunteered to try the dangerous voyage; and in two canoes, with an armed escort on shore commanded by the Adelantado, the intrepid lieutenant again set out.

The two canoes reached the shore of Hispaniola in safety; and Mendez, leaving his companions, proceeded alone to San Domingo, to ask for the help which was needed. The Governor had left for Xaragua; and Mendez made his way alone, through a hundred and fifty miles of wild forest country, to deliver the message of the Admiral.

Ovando received him with great kindness. He could not find words to express his trouble at hearing of the situation in which Columbus was placed. Certainly he would send the help which was asked, only at present it was impossible, because there were no vessels of sufficient burden at San Domingo. And thus, for seven weary months, he put off, from day to day, and from week to week, the request of Mendez. At last, Mendez received permission to go to San Domingo and await the arrival of certain ships which were expected, one of which he might perhaps purchase for the use of the Admiral. He at once set off, on foot, although the distance was more than two hundred miles—for he had followed Ovando from place to place—and the path was neither safe nor easy.

While Ovando was thus temporizing, ashamed to refuse help, and afraid to give it, the castaways at Santa Gloria did not even know if their envoys had



reached Hispaniola or not. It might have been supposed that they would not blame Columbus with what had occurred; that they knew too well that their misfortunes were the work of the elements. Nothing of the kind; the Admiral was responsible for all that they had suffered; it was the business of the Admiral to take them back to Spain. The murmuring grew louder and louder, until it reached the ear of Columbus himself.

Francesco Porras was chosen as the leader of the mutineers; and one day in January he went to the Admiral, who was confined to his bed by the gout, and stated plainly the intentions of the people. The Admiral, said Porras, was evidently afraid to return to Spain; but the people had determined that they would not remain to perish; they intended to depart at once. The followers of Porras had pressed close upon his heels, even into the sick-room of the commander; and as these words were spoken, they shouted, as with one voice:—

“To Castile! To Castile! We follow!”

It was useless for the Admiral to tell them, as he tried to, that there was great danger in leaving the island in the canoes which were the only vessels which they had; and that they were blind indeed if they could not see that his interest was the same as theirs. They would not listen; but seizing upon all the canoes, the mutineers set out; only such as were sick remaining with Columbus and his brother.

Porras and his followers made several attempts to cross to Hispaniola, but were prevented by storms. Thus foiled, they proceeded to roam over the islands, committing every excess that imagination could devise, and in every way making themselves objects of hatred and terror to the natives.

Unable to distinguish between just and honorable men, such as the Spaniards under the rule of Columbus had seemed, and the ruffian horde of Porras, when both classes were white and apparently of the same kindred, the Indians showed contempt and hatred for the few remaining at Santa Gloria; food could no longer be obtained from them; famine stared the Admiral and his followers in the face.

It was in this dilemma that he determined to pit his science against their superstition. He knew that an eclipse of the moon would take place on a certain night. Of course, the Indians, who lived in the open air, had frequently witnessed such phenomena; but eclipses appear at such irregular intervals that the unlearned natives could not know with what certainty these obscurations can be foreseen. He accordingly assembled the caciques and their principal subjects, and assuming that Mendez had reached his destination, thus addressed them through an interpreter:—

“The God who protects me will punish you. You know what has happened to those of my followers who have rebelled against me, and the dangers which they encountered in their attempt to cross to Hayti; while those who

went at my command made the passage without difficulty. Soon, too, shall the divine vengeance fall on you; this very night shall the moon change her color and lose her light, in testimony of the evils which shall be sent upon you from the skies."



COLUMBUS AND THE ECLIPSE.

The natives listened, but little impressed by what was said. But as the shadow began to creep over the face of the moon, they became less scornful; and as the dimness increased, they drew together in affright. Now one set up a cry; it was echoed again and again; and the most doleful howls filled the air. They crept to the very feet of Columbus, and begged him to intercede for them; he should want for nothing, only let the threatened danger be averted. As a proof of their sincerity, they hastily collected such food as they could readily lay their hands upon, and brought it to him.

Columbus pretended to turn a deaf ear to their solicitations; but finally, at the time when he knew that the eclipse must soon begin to pass off, he relented, and promised to intercede for them. He retired to his cabin, where they supposed that he performed some kind of strange rite, which caused the shadow to pass from the face of the moon, in token that their repentance and promise of better things were acceptable to the white man's God. Hence-

forward the castaways suffered no more hunger, but were most abundantly supplied with food.

Since the mutiny of Porras and his companions, Columbus had gradually won back many of the rebels to his side; but there was constant dissatisfaction, and soon another mutiny was on the point of breaking out. Before it had quite come to a head, however, a ship was descried standing toward the harbor; how eagerly it was watched by these poor shipwrecked creatures, who had almost lost hope of seeing home again, we can scarcely understand.

The vessel was of small size, too small to have been sent to convey them to Hispaniola or to Spain; but there might be messages of cheer borne by it. They watched a boat lowered over the side, and rowed toward the land. As it approached, they saw, seated in the post of honor, Diego de Escobar, a man whom Columbus had condemned to death for participation in the Rolandan mutiny, but who had been pardoned by Bobadilla. Coming alongside the ships, Escobar put aboard a letter from Ovando and a cask of wine and a side of bacon, which two last articles he said that Ovando intended as a token of his esteem and good will for Columbus; and withdrew to a distance, so that communication must be kept up by shouting aloud. Columbus was assured that Ovando greatly regretted the fact that he had no vessels of sufficient size to afford the relief desired; but that one would be sent as soon as possible. The messenger requested that any letter to the Governor might be written as soon as possible, for he was in a hurry to be off. Columbus accordingly prepared an answer to the letter which he had received, and Escobar immediately put to sea.

The choice of a man well known as an enemy of Columbus to act as messenger in this instance shows that Ovando was not well disposed toward the Admiral; but Columbus made the best of it; and assured his followers, who were much disappointed that the vessel should sail off so quickly, that Escobar had been sent to convey to Hispaniola a portion of his command; but that he, the Admiral, had refused to leave any of his followers behind him, on a wild and inhospitable coast like that of Jamaica. There is no evidence that they quite believed these assurances; but they could not contradict them, since only the Admiral knew the contents of the letters; and Escobar had not permitted any communication between his men and the castaways.

Columbus sent half the bacon and wine as a peace-offering to the mutineers, with whom he was anxious to make terms; but his overtures were scornfully rejected; and Porras persuaded his followers that Escobar's caravel, which they had all seen, was nothing but an apparition conjured up by the magic arts of Columbus; for a man who possessed such strange instruments, and was so learned about the stars, and could foretell storms when there were no signs that any one else could see, and could find his way about the waters like this man, must of course be a magician or a sorcerer.

There was good reason why Porras should have thus persuaded his followers; for he was even then planning a descent upon the ships, to seize the few remaining stores and capture the Admiral. The Adelantado received information of this; and placing himself at the head of fifty men, all that the little force could furnish, marched against the mutineers, attacked them, and ended by defeating them and carrying off their leader as a prisoner.

The mutineers at once submitted unconditionally to the Admiral, who pardoned them for their revolt against his authority; reserving the ringleader for future punishment. His offense was, according to the laws of every nation, then as now, a capital one; and Columbus, as Viceroy and Admiral, was certainly empowered to try such offenders and pronounce and execute sentence when they had been found guilty; but he judged it best to defer this action until he had other spectators than a handful of men who had either been lately brought back under his authority, or who had been on the point of rebelling against it, though they had not actually done so.

June 24, 1503, the two weather-beaten vessels had found shelter at Santa Gloria; June 28, 1504, two caravels arrived to convey them to Hispaniola. One of these had been sent by the tardy Ovando; the other by the faithful Mendez.

The voyage was a long and stormy one; and the vessels did not reach San Domingo until the 13th of August. Much to the surprise of Columbus, Ovando received him in state, proceeding to the harbor, attended by a numerous suite, for that purpose. But this was only an empty show of respect; he soon announced that he intended to institute a general inquiry as to the affairs which had taken place in Jamaica, in order to decide whether Porras and his associates had been justified in their rebellion against the Admiral's authority; and he insisted upon releasing Porras.

"My authority as Viceroy must have sunk low indeed," remarked Columbus, sadly, "if it does not enable me to punish those of my officers who mutiny against me."

But Ovando possessed the actual power, and Porras was released. Columbus determined to return to Spain; and set sail, in the caravel which Mendez had sent to Jamaica for him, a month after his arrival at San Domingo. It seemed that storms pursued him wherever he went; for twice his little vessel nearly foundered; twice, in successive tempests, her masts were sprung. Disease laid her hand yet more heavily upon him than ever before; and it was a man who possessed neither means, nor health, nor favor with the sovereigns, nor hope of any better things to come, who landed from the frail and battered vessel at Seville, Nov. 7, 1504.

Through all his troubles, since he had first found an advocate in the person of Juan Perez de Marchena, he had had one powerful friend; at times, her ear had been poisoned by the reports of his enemies; but always, when

she heard the truth, or even when, without hearing any other side of the story, she reflected upon the service which Columbus had rendered, and thought what manner of man he was, Isabella of Castile had shown her true greatness by her appreciation of the great Admiral. But now, even this friend failed him. The death of her son, of her grandson and heir, of her favorite daughter, and the insanity of her remaining daughter, combined to make the great Queen one of the most unhappy of women. A deep melancholy settled upon her; and when Columbus arrived at Seville, it was well known that she had not long to live.

He was too ill to go to court, even had he been certain that he would be well received; and he sent his son Diego to manage his affairs for him. But he heard no news from there; couriers are arriving every day, he says, but none for him, though he would desire to have news every hour.

Nov. 26, the Queen died; and the noblest epitaph that has been written upon her is contained in a letter of her greatest servant, written to his son Diego, in haste and brevity, just as he received the news:—

“The principal thing is to commend affectionately, and with great devotion, the soul of the Queen our sovereign to God. Her life was always catholic and holy, and prompt to all things in his Holy service; for this reason we may rest assured that she is received into His glory, and beyond the cares of this rough and weary world.”

During the remainder of the winter and spring, Columbus remained at Seville, too ill to bear a journey; but, active in mind, directing the efforts which were made to obtain a recognition of his services and a redress of his wrongs from Ferdinand. One of the persons employed by him in his missions to the court was Americus Vesputius, who is described by Columbus as a worthy but unfortunate man, who had not profited as much as he deserved by his undertakings, and who had always been disposed to render him—Columbus—service. It was expected that Vesputius could prove the value of the latest discoveries of Columbus, since he had recently touched at the same coasts.

Not until May was Columbus able to make the short journey that was required. His applications made by proxy had been listened to coldly; and no sign had been given that those in authority thought that the Viceroy of the New World had any right or interest in its concerns. Columbus himself cared little for the revenues that he should have derived from mining and commerce; but he was exceedingly anxious that his dignities should be restored. He cared not to be a rich man, or to leave his heirs a vast accumulation of money; but he was, by solemn agreement with the sovereigns, Admiral of the Ocean and Viceroy of India; these titles, according to that same agreement, were to descend to his children; and he desired that Ferdinand should recognize his own action of previous years.





DEATH OF COLUMBUS.

This the King was in no hurry to do, however; the causes of delay have already been given. He did not refuse absolutely; for the breach of faith would have been too flagrant; but he delayed as long as he could, and ended by referring the matter to the Board of Discharges of the Royal Conscience.

The title of this august body sounds like it might have originated in one of the novels of Dickens; but there was actually such a board in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century; it had been appointed since the death of the Queen, to superintend the fulfilling of her will. Two consultations were held regarding the affairs of Columbus; but the Board was placed in a delicate position; nominally appointed to carry out the will of Isabella, they knew very well what she would have wished; but the King was a living power, and they were just as sure of his wishes as of hers. Nothing was settled in regard to this difficult question.

Columbus endeavored to console himself with the idea that the King was but waiting to consult his daughter Juana, who was her mother's heir, and who was daily expected to come from Flanders with her husband; but Juana's coming was rendered uncertain by her frequent attacks of insanity, which deranged all the plans made for her. In fact, however, Ferdinand had no intention of consulting any one; he knew that Columbus was fast sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, and he was determined to delay his decision until the great man should be placed beyond all reward.

Still he was profuse in his compliments to Columbus, though showing him no signs of real favor. Finally, not having been able to exhaust the patience of Columbus entirely, he offered to compromise the case by giving him, in place of his New World dignities, titles and estates in Castile. The offer was rejected with indignation by the Admiral, who justly considered his proudest title to be that which linked his name with the history of his discoveries. And at last he despaired. He wrote to his friend, Diego de Deza:—

“It appears that his majesty does not think fit to fulfill that which he, with the Queen, who is now in glory, promised me by word and seal. For me to contend for the contrary would be to contend with the wind. I have done all that I could do. I leave the rest to God, whom I have ever found propitious to me in my necessities.”

Yet, even after writing thus, he felt one last gleam of hope; it might be that Queen Juana and her husband, when they came to take possession of the throne of Castile, would hear him. They had arrived in Spain; but Columbus was again utterly prostrated, and could not go to Laredo to present his suit. His faithful brother, the Adelantado, undertook the mission. He was received with respect, and listened to graciously; the claims of the Admiral received due attention from the young sovereigns of Castile, and there was every reason to believe that there would be a speedy and prosperous termination of his suit.

But even while hope was thus dawning anew, darkness was approaching, like a storm at morning. The great discoverer had made many voyages; first to every part of the known world, and then to mark out a path to the New World; he was now about to set out on that last journey, to—

“That undiscovered country from whose bourne  
No traveler returns.”

As the spring of 1506 progressed, it was seen that his malady was gradually assuming a worse form than ever. He set his house in order, making a military testament May 4, and supplementing this by a formal will drawn up about two weeks later. Providing for the maintenance and perpetuity of his family and dignities, he ordered his heir to build in Hispaniola a chapel where masses might be said daily for the repose of the souls of himself, his parents, his wife, and all who died in the faith. He provided that his heir was to call himself always The Admiral, no matter what other titles might be given him; and directed that measures should be taken to insure his remembrance in Genoa, the city of his birth. Provision was also made for the payment of various debts and rewards for services.

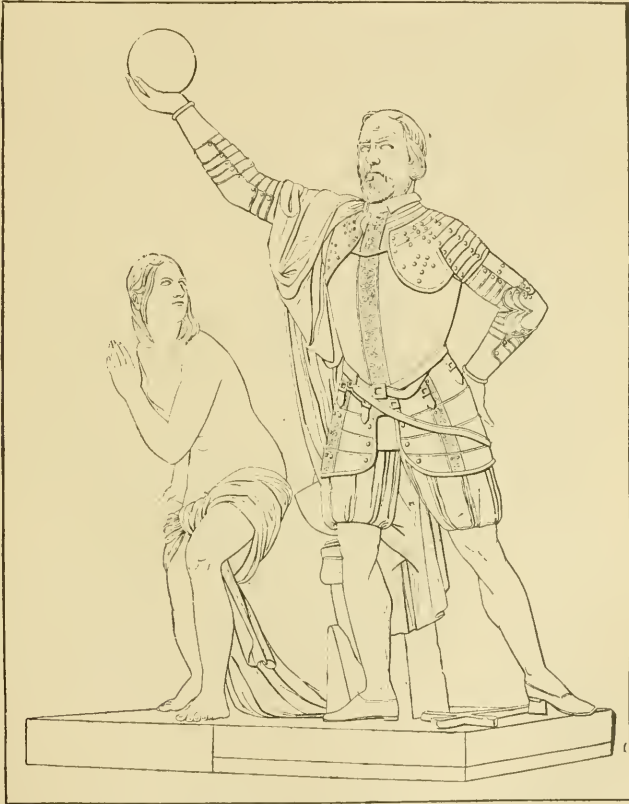
Having attended to every claim upon his loyalty, affection and justice, Columbus turned his thoughts from earth forever, and received the last sacraments of that Church of which he had been so devout a member. As death drew near, he murmured the words, sanctified by so many associations:—

*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*—“Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;”—and passed quietly away.

His body was at first deposited in the convent of San Francisco, but in 1513 was removed to the Carthusian monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville. Twenty-three years later, his remains, with those of his son Diego, who had been buried beside him, were removed to Hispaniola, and re-interred in the principal chapel of the cathedral at San Domingo. But, a wanderer throughout life, even his dust was not permitted to rest in peace; and toward the close of the eighteenth century, all the Spanish possessions in Hispaniola having been ceded to France, Spain retained possession of the ashes of her greatest servant, and removed them to the cathedral at Havana. The removal was performed with all the pomp and ceremony befitting the funeral services of the Admiral and the Viceroy of the Indies.

“When we read of the remains of Columbus, thus conveyed from the port of San Domingo, after an interval of nearly three hundred years, as sacred national relics, with civic and military pomp, and high religious ceremonial; the most dignified and illustrious men striving who most should pay them reverence, we cannot but reflect that it was from this very port he was carried off, loaded with ignominious chains, blasted apparently in fame and fortune, and followed by the revilings of the rabble. Such honors, it is true, are nothing to the dead, nor can they atone to the heart, now dust and ashes, for

all the wrongs and sorrows it may have suffered: but they speak volumes of comfort to the illustrious, yet slandered and persecuted living, encouraging them bravely to bear with present injuries, by showing them how true merit outlives all calumny, and receives its glorious reward in the admiration of after ages."— *Washington Irving*.



STATUE OF COLUMBUS ON THE PORTICO OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.

Is "America" an Indian Word?—A City of Merchants—The Vespucci Family—Education—A Family Misfortune—Americus in Spain—Connection with Columbus—First Voyage of Vesputius—South America Discovered—An American Venice—Attacked by Natives—An Inland Visit—Friendly Natives—Repairing the Vessels—A Mission of Vengeance—A Desperate Conflict—Return to Spain—Disputes about the Voyages of Vesputius—Marriage—Visit to Court—Ojeda's Expedition—Second Voyage of Vesputius—Off the Coast of South America—Gentle Cannibals—Landing of the Spaniards Disputed—A Village of Giants—A Filthy Habit—Return to Spain—A Flattering Offer—His Third Voyage—A Stormy Passage—Land at Last—An Earthly Paradise—An Invitation Accepted—Murdered by Cannibals—Revenge Forbidden—Vesputius becomes Commander—Off the Coast of Africa—Return to Portugal—The Fourth Voyage of Vesputius—Misfortunes—An Anxious Condition—South America Again—A Colony Planted—Return to Lisbon—To Spain—Preparations for New Expedition—Causes of Delay—New Tasks Proposed—Appointed Chief Pilot of Spain—Visits Florence—His Death—His Family—Foundations of His Fame—Accusations—Original Application of the Name America.

THERE has been some effort made, of recent years, to show that the name America is really derived from an Indian word; and that the man whose name heads the present chapter derived it, as a surname, from the fact that he journeyed to the new-found continent, and wrote much about it. It is possible that in some of the languages or dialects of the various tribes of Indians there is a word, resembling in sound the name of America, which was applied to their country, or even to land in general; the western continent being the only large body of land with which they had any acquaintance; but Vesputius certainly did not derive his name from any circumstance connected with his explorations or writings; for a letter written by him in 1478 is signed "Amerigo Vespucci."

Dismissing this theory at the outset, then, we proceed to study the life of the man from whom the New World received its name. He belonged to a noble family which had originally lived a few miles from Florence, but under the government of that city. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, the representatives of the Vespucci established themselves in the city itself; and from that time they have remained identified with it.

Florence was in many respects a peculiar city. Rich and powerful, its nobles were proud of their long descent, of their stainless honor, of their patronage of the arts and sciences, of their high station and the estimation in which they were held by others. In these things they resembled the nobles of other nations. But unlike others, they saw no shame in engaging in commerce; the city was a city of merchants, and her rulers were among the most successful of the great mercantile families.



Anastasio Vespucci, Secretary of the Senate of Florence, was the head of the family in 1451, and lived in a stately mansion, now occupied as a hospital for the poor, near the gate of the city now known as Porta del Prato. The Vespucci coat of arms appears over the doors of many houses in this quarter



AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.

of the city, indicating that the family was not without a share of this world's goods; their wealth seems to have been acquired by an ancestor, some time before the date specified; and Anastasio had but little besides his palatial dwelling and the salary attaching to his high office. Yet the name was a well-known one in Florence; for the wealthy ancestor had built more than one

hospital for the suffering poor, and a magnificent chapel, where his own and his wife's remains still repose.

March 9, 1451, the third son of this official was born, and duly christened Amerigo when three days old. The name had descended to him from an ancestor who had filled a high office in 1336; how much older it was, or how many had borne it during that century, we do not know.

Almost from his cradle, the boy was destined to become a merchant. This did not mean that he was early to be confined to the drudgery of the counting-house; he must first receive such education as Florence could give to the son of an old and distinguished family. His father's brother, a monk of the Order of San Marco, was a distinguished scholar; and before the birth of Americus had become famous as a teacher of the noble youths of the city. To this school went the future navigator.

Mathematics, astronomy, cosmography, and the classics, seem to have comprised his principal studies; and he became especially interested in geography. It was his ambition to excel as a geographer; and with this aim, it is not to be wondered at that he sought the society of the great Toscanelli, that cosmographer to whom Columbus submitted the first draught of his wonderful scheme, and who so warmly approved the idea of the Genoese adventurer.

Americus seems to have remained a student under his uncle's direction for a number of years. His studies were interrupted in 1478, when the plague appeared at Florence and the Vespuccis sought safety in the country. He appears, however, to have resumed them on his return to the city, after the pestilence had run its course.

Just when it was that he fulfilled the wishes of his father, and entered upon mercantile pursuits, we have no record; but it is certain that he did so at some time between the year 1478 and 1490. But however busily engaged in commercial operations he may have been, he never lost his early interest in geography; all the best maps, charts and globes obtainable were bought by him, however high the price; and we have already noted that for one map he paid a sum equivalent to five hundred and fifty-five dollars of United States money.

About the year 1480, his elder brother, Girolamo, had left home to seek his fortune in foreign climes, and had established himself in business in a city of Asia Minor. As time went on, the entire family contributed of their means to increase his capital; for he was very prosperous, and needed only to increase his operations to become immensely wealthy in a short time. Things went well with him until one day, while he was at church, thieves broke into his house and robbed him of all that he possessed.

The circumstances that made it possible for the thieves to secure so much booty are not clearly described; we are interested only in the result of the robbery. The family was so impoverished that Americus determined to leave

Florence, to retrieve his brother's losses by making greater gains elsewhere; and he selected Spain as the scene of his future labors.

Many young nobles from other countries were then in Spain, under the banner of Ferdinand and Isabella; for the war which these sovereigns were waging against the Moorish kingdoms in the southern part of the peninsula was regarded as a holy war, a Christian crusade against the Infidel; and reputation and military experience were to be gained by engaging in it. Of course, this made many wants to be supplied by merchants and bankers; and Italian business men were quick to take advantage of the situation. Vespucci went as the agent of one of the Medici, the ruling family of Florence; he was commissioned to deal with Berardi, an Italian who had already established himself in Spain; and the esteem in which he was held in his native city is shown by the fact that a number of young men accompanied him, to see the world of business under his supervision.

At the beginning of 1492 he was associated in business with one Donato Nicollini; but he was also closely connected with Berardi, who, after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, was commissioned to furnish and equip four armaments, to be sent out to the New World at different times.

Some writers have supposed that Vespucci accompanied Columbus on his second voyage; but the probabilities are against his having done so. The acquaintance of Columbus and Vespucci probably began after the great discoverer returned from his first voyage. The merchant was greatly excited by the reports of the discoveries of Columbus and had eagerly investigated them; but he arrived at very different conclusions from those supported by Columbus. He thought, for one thing, that Columbus, Toscanelli, and other geographers of the time were greatly mistaken in their estimate of the distance from the western coast of Europe to the Eastern coast of Asia; and, while we cannot positively say when the idea was first formed, he shows, by his letters, that he had a very clear notion that Cuba was not the main land, as Columbus supposed it to be, long before that great island was circumnavigated.

Juan Berardi, the head of the mercantile house with which Vespucci had connected himself on first coming to Spain, died in December, 1495, and the management of affairs devolved upon the junior partner. But he wearied of seeking the favors of fortune; he determined to abandon mercantile affairs, and direct his attention "to something more laudable and stable." It is thus, in a letter directed to an old schoolmate, that he speaks of visiting the various parts of the world.

Contrary to the agreement which had been made with Columbus, the sovereigns, after his second voyage, permitted private adventurers to prosecute discoveries in the West Indies; and even assisted in fitting out fleets for other leaders than the Admiral. One of these leaders was that Ojeda

who had done so much to subdue the natives of Hispaniola; and his squadron consisted of four vessels. Americus Vesputius was one of those who accompanied him; according to some accounts, as one of the principal pilots; according to the explanations of others, as a sort of agent of the sovereigns, having a voice in the direction of the ships, and thus classed as a pilot and captain.

May 10, 1497, they left Cadiz; and after reaching the Canaries, sailed so rapidly that at the end of twenty-seven days they came in sight of land. This they judged to be a continent, although he does not tell us what were the grounds for supposing it to be so. They anchored, and attempted to hold some intercourse with the natives; but the Indians proved so shy that they sought a more secure anchorage.

This difficulty in communicating with the natives lasted for some days; but finally they managed to get near enough to the inhabitants to display the articles which they had brought for the purpose of making presents or trading; and won the good-will of the savages by gifts. The news of the strangers' generosity spread along the coast, and for some time, wherever they went, they were well received.

Coasting along the shore of South America—for they were right in supposing this to be a continent—they came upon a village, which, much to their surprise, was built after the Venetian fashion; the houses, upon piers in the water, had entrances by means of draw-bridges; so that the inhabitants, by leaving the bridges down, could traverse the whole town without difficulty.

In allusion to the city which this village resembled, they called it Venezuela; a name which has endured to the present day. At the first sign of the newcomers, the inhabitants had shut themselves up in their houses, and raised the draw-bridges; and as the ships came nearer, the savages embarked in their canoes and rowed out to sea.

Twenty-two of these small vessels approached the larger ones from across the water; and the Spaniards made every sign of friendship that ingenuity could suggest, inviting the Indians to come nearer. As the invitation was disregarded, they thought to go toward them; but at the first indication of this intention, the Indians turned their canoes toward the land, and hastened away, making signs for the Spaniards to wait where they were, for their return.

They came back, bringing with them sixteen young girls, as if these would be the means of making peace. So impressed were the Europeans by the trust which the Indians evidently reposed in them, that their suspicions were not awakened by the sight of numbers swimming toward the ships.

Suddenly, they noticed that some of the women, at the doors of the huts, were wailing and tearing their hair, as if in great distress. While they were

wondering what this meant, the girls, as if by one impulse, sprang from the boats which they had entered from the canoes, and the Spaniards discovered that every man in the canoes had a bow and arrows, and every man swimming around them in the sea had a lance. Hardly had they noted this, before they were furiously assailed.

The Spaniards not only defended themselves, but took the offensive. They overturned several of the canoes, killed fifteen or twenty, and wounded many more; taking two girls and three men prisoners. "Conscientious scruples," a rare thing among these old navigators, prevented them from burning the town, and they returned to their ships, where the three men whom they had captured were put in irons. However, morning showed that this latter precaution had been ineffectual in one case; for, during the night, the two girls and one of the men "escaped in the most artful manner in the world."

The next day, keeping their course continually along the coast, they came to anchor about eighty leagues from this New World Venice, and saw a throng of about four thousand persons gathered on the shore. These, however, did not wait to receive them, but fled to the woods as the Spaniards let down their boats.

The white men followed them, and found their camp, where two of them were engaged in cooking iguanas, an animal which the early discoverers and explorers were accustomed to describe as a serpent, and to regard with much horror as an article of food, until some one of them found himself virtually compelled by circumstances to taste it; and found the flesh so delicious that he never again hesitated to eat of it. The two cooks fled, of course; but the whites, in order to reassure the natives, disturbed nothing in the camp, but left many of their own articles in the rude tents.

Efforts to make friends with them proved more successful the next day; and when the Indians saw the two prisoners that the Spaniards had taken, they were doubly friendly; for these men belonged to a tribe with which they were at war. They finally informed the whites that this was not their dwelling; that they had merely come here for the fishing; and invited the strangers to go with them to their villages, for they wished to receive them as friends.

This invitation seems to have been received with no great satisfaction by the whites; for Vespuceius says:—

"They importuned us so much, that, having taken counsel, twenty-three of us Christians concluded to go with them, well prepared, and with firm resolution to die manfully, if such was to be our fate."

After remaining for three days at the fishing-camp, they set out for the interior; where they visited so many villages that they were nine days on the journey, and their comrades on board the vessels grew very uneasy about them.



They were escorted back by a great number of the savages, both men and women; and their guides were so eager to serve them that they were not permitted to fatigue themselves at all. Did a white man seem tired of the walk? A hammock was ready, slung on the shoulders of strong and willing Indians. Did one of them find it impossible to carry the presents which had been given him? Another hammock was at hand, and the presents stowed in that; while the bearers proved absolutely honest. Was there a river to be crossed? For every white man, there was a stout Indian back, ready to receive this burden.

Arrived at the shore, their boats were almost swamped by the number of those who wished to accompany them; while swarms who could not get into the boats swam alongside to the ships. So many came aboard, that the mariners were quite troubled; not being quite secure against sudden treachery. As the savages were naked and unarmed, however, they subdued their fears; contenting themselves with an effort to impress the natives with a sense of their power, by discharging a cannon. This so frightened them, says Vespuccius, that many of them leaped into the seas as suddenly as frogs sitting on a bank plunge into the marsh at the first sound that alarms them. Those who remained were reassured by the mariners; and took leave of them with many demonstrations of affection.

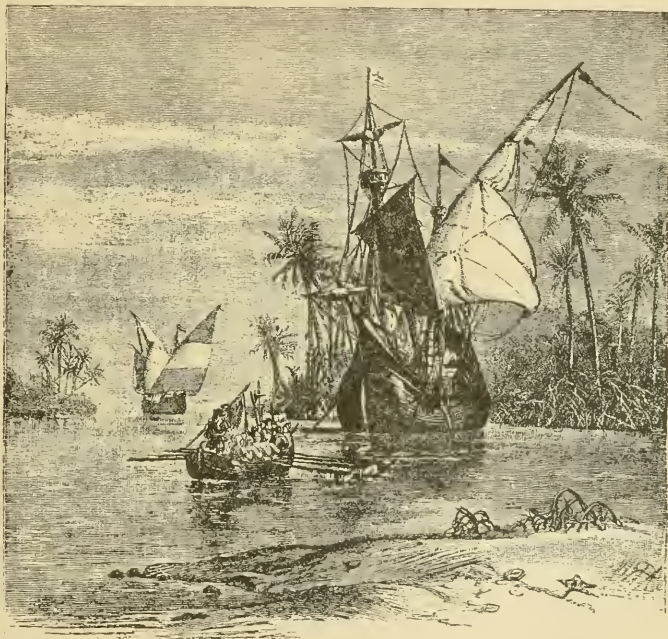
They had now been thirteen months at sea, and the ships and rigging were much worn. By common consent they agreed to careen their vessels on the beach, in order to calk and pitch them anew, as they leaked badly, and then to return to Spain. They made a breastwork of their boats and casks, and placed their artillery so that it would play over them; then having unloaded and lightened their ships, hauled them to land, and repaired them wherever they needed it.

Although they had made such elaborate preparations for repulsing any attack which the natives might have made upon them, the Indians gave no sign of hostility, but brought them such quantities of food that they consumed a very little of their own stores. This was a fortunate thing; for their provisions were so much reduced in quantity that the mariners feared they would not have enough to last them until they got back to Spain. Thirty-seven days were thus spent in repairing the vessels.

Before they set sail, the natives complained to them that at certain times in the year there came from the sea to their country a very cruel tribe, who, either by treachery or force, killed many of them and ate them; capturing others, and carrying them away as captives. Against these enemies, said the friendly natives, they were not able to defend themselves; and, when the Spaniards promised to avenge their injuries, no words could express their gratitude. Many offered to go with them; but the whites wisely rejected such offers, and permitted but seven to accompany them; these going upon the express condition that they should return in their own canoes.

Taking a northeasterly course, at the end of seven days they fell in with some islands, many of which were peopled. On one of these, which they found was called by the natives Iti, they landed; but not without difficulty.

As the boats were lowered, the Spaniards saw about four hundred men and women gather on the beach, the men armed with bows and arrows and lances, their naked bodies painted with various colors, while feathers were liberally used as ornaments. As the strangers approached within bowshot of the shore, these savages sent a flight of arrows at them, in determined effort to prevent them from landing.



VESPUCHI'S EXPLORING THE NEW COUNTRY.

So persistent were they in their efforts to prevent the Spaniards from landing, that the latter finally concluded to use their artillery. A round was fired; and the astonished Indians, hearing the thunder, and seeing some of their number fall dead, hastily retreated. Forty of the whites resolved to leap

ashore and fight with the islanders. They fought for about two hours without any decisive victory on either side; some of the Indians were killed, and some of the whites were injured. It was only when the newcomers succeeded in making it a hand-to-hand combat, where the temper of their swords counted for more than quickness or accuracy of aim, that they were enabled to beat off the Indians.

Tired out, the whites were glad enough to return to their vessels. The next day, the natives again approached the shore, making many hostile demonstrations. A force of fifty-seven men was sent ashore, Americus being then, as on the previous day, one of the fighters; this body landed without resistance, for the natives feared the cannon.

After a long battle, having killed many, the strangers put the islanders to flight, and pursued them to a village, taking about twenty-five—according to some authorities, two hundred and fifty—prisoners. They burned the village, and returned victorious to the ships with their prisoners, leaving many killed and wounded on the side of the enemy, while on their own not more than one died, and only twenty-two were wounded. They soon arranged for their departure; and the seven Indians from the continent, of whom five were wounded, took a canoe from the island, and with seven prisoners returned to their own country, with a most wonderful story to tell of the power of the white strangers. The mariners set sail for Spain, and arrived there Oct. 15, 1498, after an absence of about nineteen months.

There is some question about the first voyage of Vesputius. The belief that the expedition was commanded by Ojeda is not shared by all; some authorities stating that it was a private enterprise, in which Vesputius bore as great a part as any; while he seems to have been altogether subordinate to Ojeda on the second voyage, when he himself states that that gallant cavalier was the commander. The truth is that one early historian sought to prove that Columbus had been the first European to visit the continent; the above account, drawn from the letter of Vesputius, shows that the voyage was completed only a few months after Columbus set sail on his third voyage, the first when he reached the main land. In this effort, the historian has not hesitated to twist things to his own purpose; and has succeeded in creating some doubt about the details.

However this may be, Ojeda was certainly the leader in the second voyage which Vesputius made, if we are to trust the assertion of Americus himself. The cavalier had a strong friend at court, a relative of his being a close friend of Bishop Fonseca, to whom the management of all affairs connected with the Indies had been entrusted. Fonseca had been a bitter enemy of Columbus, ever since the great discoverer had insisted on having a larger household than Fonseca had thought necessary; and having appealed to the sovereigns, had received a decision against the Bishop. Fonseca was ready to do anything

which might annoy or injure Columbus; and it is supposed that he actually gave to Ojeda the chart which Columbus had submitted to the sovereigns, as showing the nature and extent of his discoveries, and the route which he had taken. This, of course, was a gross breach of faith; for Columbus was especially anxious to keep his course a secret as long as possible; and the chart had been committed to Fonseca's care in his official capacity, with the understanding that he was not to show it unless formally required to do so.

In the short interval between his first and second voyage, Vespucius found time, opportunity and inclination for something quite different from the study of geography. He embarked upon the sea of matrimony, with, as first and only mate, a lady of Seville, of an honorable though not wealthy family. They had been betrothed before the first voyage, but for some reason the wedding was postponed until after his return.

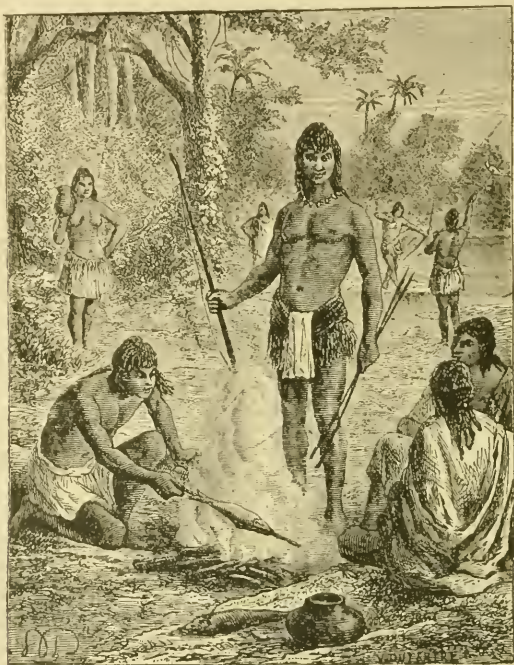
Soon after his marriage, Vespucius visited the court, where he was received with much kindness by the King and by Bishop Fonseca. He was consulted respecting the expedition which was then being prepared, and the accounts of what he had himself seen were listened to with much interest. Ferdinand was gratified to find that others besides Columbus could succeed in discovering and exploring these new lands; and begrudged the Admiral the glory of having shown these others the way. Fonseca was equally pleased to find some one willing and capable to take up the work which he was only too anxious to wrest from the hand of Columbus.

Ojeda had no experience as a mariner, and looked upon the proposed voyage rather as a marauding expedition. He was therefore desirous of securing the assistance of experienced navigators; and in this wish he was fully seconded by the King and his minister. The reputation of Vespucius as a geographer was such as to mark him as the man that was wanted; and he seems to have had some repute as a practical navigator. He was strongly urged to make one of the expedition, but was at first disinclined to leave home so soon after his return; but to his natural inclination for such a journey were added the urgings and entreaties of Ojeda and Fonseca, and the known wishes of the King; and Americus decided to visit the New World again.

It was probably due to the influence of Vespucius that so many of the rich merchants of Seville joined in staking a portion of their fortunes on the success of this expedition. A fleet of four vessels was speedily equipped; and the latter part of the spring of 1499 saw them ready for sea; many of the adventurers who had sailed with Columbus and returned in disgust from Hispaniola having been tempted to enlist in this new enterprise, in which they hoped to achieve the wealth they had vainly sought before.

They set sail from Cadiz May 18, 1499; and spent twenty days in the voyage to the Canaries. Twenty-four days later, having sailed but very little west of south, they saw land; and having given thanks to God, launched

their boats, and endeavored to find a landing-place. The shore, however, was so low, and so densely covered with the evergreen aromatic trees, that they concluded to return to the ships and try some other spot.



NATIVES OF THE AMAZON.

One remarkable thing that they observed in these seas was that at a distance of fifteen leagues, or forty-five miles, from land, they came upon a current of fresh water, from which they filled their casks. The latitude, as stated by Vesputius in his account of this voyage, does not agree with the supposition that this was the Amazon; though the description of the coast and the volume and strength of the current so far out at sea would lead us to believe that this greatest of rivers must be the stream that he meant. He adds that, as they sailed along the coast, they saw two large rivers, one four leagues wide, running from west to east, the other three leagues wide, running from south to north; and concluded that these must be the cause of that current



of fresh water; yet he says nothing of having entered an arm of the sea, or of having land on either side of the vessels.

Having prepared their boats, and put in provision for four days, with twenty men well armed, they entered the river, and rowed nearly two days, ascending it something more than fifty miles. But the land was as low as at the mouth; and the reconnoitering party, concluding that the ships could not land here, floated down the stream to the fleet again. They raised anchor and set sail, continuing in a southerly direction, and standing off to sea about forty leagues.

They now encountered that great equatorial current which sweeps along the coast of Brazil, dividing into two great streams at Cape St. Roque. This was the northern half into which their vessels came; for he says that it "ran from southeast to northwest; so great was it, and ran so furiously, that we were put into great fear, and were exposed to great peril. The current was so strong, that the strait of Gibraltar and that of the Faro of Messina appeared to us like mere stagnant water in comparison with it. We could scarcely make any headway against it, though we had the wind fresh and fair. Seeing that we made no progress, or but very little, and the danger to which we were exposed, we determined to turn our prows to the northwest."

Before, however, they quit the waters south of the equator, Vespucci made many endeavors to fix upon that star in the southern heavens which corresponds to the North Star in the other hemisphere. Many a night's sleep he lost, he tells us; but the nights were so bad, and his instruments, quadrant and astrolabe, were so primitive, that he could not distinguish a star which had less than ten degrees of motion around the firmament; so that his ambition to fix upon the South Pole Star was not gratified.

They continued on their northwesterly course until they had passed ten degrees north of the equator, when they again saw land. Arrived at this island—for such it proved to be—they anchored about a mile from the beach, fitted out the boats, and with twenty-two well-armed men, rowed to land. Many of the inhabitants were gathered upon the shore from the time that their ships first came in sight; but as the strangers landed, they took fright, and ran into the woods. It took much exertion to reassure them so that they were willing to return. Fortunately, two of them had been captured on the first landing, and one of these was employed as an envoy. These people, although he says they were of a gentle disposition, are described as cannibals; eating the bodies of those who are killed or taken in war; and Vespucci adds that the Spaniards saw the heads and bones of those who had been eaten, and that the savages did not attempt to deny this practice.

Sailing along the coast of this island, they came to another village of the same tribe, where they were hospitably received and fed by the inhabitants. From this point they made sail to the Gulf of Paria, and anchored opposite

one of the mouths of the Orinoco. Here there was a large village close to the sea, the inhabitants of which regaled the mariners with three different kinds of wine, and presented them with eleven large pearls, more than a hundred smaller ones, and a small quantity of gold.



ON THE ORINOCO.

They remained here seventeen days, feasting on the fruits and savory acorns with which the place abounded. They then continued their journey along the coast, stopping occasionally to hold intercourse with the natives.

But they soon passed the part of the country where the natives were disposed to be friendly. Vespuceius says these more hostile tribes “stood waiting for us with their arms, which were bows and arrows, and with some other arms which they use. When we went to the shore in our boats, they disputed our landing in such a manner that we were obliged to fight with them. At the end of the battle they found that they had the worst of it, for as they were naked, we always made great slaughter. Many times not more than sixteen

of us fought with two thousand of them, and in the end defeated them, killing many, and robbing their houses.

"One day we saw a great number of people, all posted in battle array to prevent our landing. We fitted out twenty-six men well armed, and covered the boats, on account of the arrows that were shot at us, and which always wounded some of us before we landed. After they hindered us as long as they could, we leaped on shore, and fought a hard battle with them. The reason why they had so much courage and made such great exertion against us, was that they did not know what kind of a weapon the sword was, or how it cuts. While thus engaged in combat, so great was the multitude of people who charged upon us, throwing at us such a cloud of arrows, that we could not withstand the assault, and nearly abandoning the hope of life, we turned our backs and ran to the boats. While thus disheartened and flying, one of our sailors, a Portuguese, a man of fifty-five years of age, who had remained to guard the boat, seeing the danger we were in, jumped on shore, and with a loud voice called out to us:—

"Children! turn your faces to your enemies, and God will give you the victory!"

"Throwing himself on his knees, he made a prayer, and then rushed furiously upon the Indians, and we all joined with him, wounded as we were. On that they turned their backs to us, and began to flee, and finally we routed them, and killed a hundred and fifty. We burned their houses, also, at least one hundred and eighty in number. Then, as we were badly wounded and weary, we returned to the ships, and went into a harbor to recruit, where we stayed twenty days, solely that the physician might cure us. All escaped, except one who was wounded in the left breast."

As they went on, they were obliged to fight with a great many people, he tells us, but always had the victory. No other adventure is detailed until they landed at an island, some fifteen leagues from the land; but he does not state its position more definitely than this. Two remarkable circumstances are stated in regard to the inhabitants of this island, one in each of the two long letters which Vespuccius wrote, describing what he had seen on his voyage. In one letter he says that, seeing no people near the shore, eleven of them landed and walked two leagues inland before they came upon a village. There were twelve houses here, but only seven persons, all of whom were women. There was not one among them, he gravely assures us, who was not a span and a half taller than himself, although he was not below the average height of men. While they were being entertained by these giantesses, and repaying the hospitality by planning to carry off two young girls as a present to the King, thirty-six men entered the town, and came to the house where the strangers were drinking. So tall were they that each upon his knees towered above the tallest of the white men standing. The travelers were not

a little alarmed at the sight of so many giants, evidently strong in proportion to their height; but the huge Indians proved as kindly as their women, and after conversing with the strangers by signs, escorted them back to their ships.

In another letter, he says that the people of this island were the most filthy and bestial that he had ever seen; but at the same time so peaceable that he was able to become acquainted with some of their customs. One of these, which particularly disgusted the fastidious Florentine, is thus described:—

“They all had their cheeks stuffed full of a green herb, which they were continually chewing, as beasts chew the cud, so that they were scarcely able to speak. Each of them wore, hanging at the neck, two dried gourd-shells, one of which was filled with the same kind of herb which they had in their mouths, and the other with a white meal, which appeared to be chalk-dust. They also carried with them a small stick, which they wetted in their mouths from time to time, and then put into the meal, afterwards putting it into the herb, with which both cheeks were filled, and mixing the meal with it. We were surprised at their conduct, and could not understand for what purpose they indulged in the filthy habit.”

Evidently, Vespuccius was nothing of a prophet, or he would have foreseen that Europeans and their American descendants would learn to indulge freely in practices just as filthy as that which he so condemns. It is probable, however, that the weed which they chewed was not tobacco, but a species of that plant so much esteemed in the East Indies, and there known as the betel. The dust was calcined oyster shells; and he discovered that the reason for indulging in this habit was found in the lack of fresh water on the island. There were no streams or springs; but the natives were accustomed to collect the dew which fell upon certain large-leaved plants, and allay their thirst with that. As this supply was of course very small, they were driven to chewing these substances to prevent thirst.

They had now been at sea about a year. Their stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and much of that which remained had been spoiled by the heat. Their ships were sea-worn and leaky, so that the pumps could scarcely keep them free from water. They decided to go to Hispaniola, from which they were, according to the pilots, about three hundred and sixty miles away; there to repair their ships, and allow the sailors some little recreation.

Reaching the only New World settlement of Europeans after a voyage of a week, they remained there for two months, refitting their ships and provisioning them for the voyage of three hundred leagues of ocean which lay between them and Castile. So Vespuccius states the distance; but our modern maps show it to have been from two to three times as great.

They were so refreshed by their stay in Hispaniola that they concluded to

make their voyage longer; and cruised for some time among the numberless small islands north of Hayti, discovering more than a thousand. This portion of their voyage was fraught with dangers, on account of the numerous shoals; and more than once they came near being lost. But the provisions which they had procured in Hispaniola began to give out; they were reduced to six ounces of bread and three small measures of water per day for each man; and the ships showed the effects of the long voyage in the torrid zone, even though they had so lately been repaired. The leaders of the expedition therefore concluded to take some slaves, and return to their home.

In accordance with this resolution, two hundred and thirty-two unfortunate natives were torn from their island homes and their pleasant, indolent life, and taken aboard the ships. Sixty-seven days were required for the voyage to the Azores, where they stopped for supplies; and as the winds were contrary when they left these islands, they were obliged to steer southward to the Canaries before they could reach Cadiz.

They arrived at the starting-point June 8, 1500, after an absence of about thirteen months. Of the fifty-seven men who had set out, two had been killed by the Indians; the others returned home. Thirty-two of the captives had died on the voyage; the others were sold. But the merchant-traveler notes that the profits of the voyage, after expenses were paid, were very small; only five hundred ducats being gained, which, divided into fifty-five shares, would give each man a sum equivalent, at the present day, to a little over fifty dollars of United States money.

But this small result, in a pecuniary point of view, did not deter him from desiring to undertake another voyage as soon as preparations could be made; nor did sickness, incurred while in the unhealthy climate of the West Indies, lessen his taste for wandering. He set to work at once to make ready a new fleet, being assisted by some merchants of Seville; and had planned to sail in September of the year 1500, or but three months after his return.

The letters of Vespucci describing the countries which he visited had been widely published; indeed, there is a dispute about the address of one of them which one of his biographers explains by the assertion that copies of it were probably sent to many prominent men of the time, as if it were a special letter to each. His letters were meant to be circulated, and this intention of the writer was carried out by the recipient. He was virtually the fifteenth-century forerunner of the modern newspaper correspondent.

By means of these letters he had gained a wide celebrity. Probably his name was, even at this early day, as closely connected with the idea of the New World as was that of its real discoverer. He had become as well known as Columbus, but had not received those sounding titles and wide-extended rights which Ferdinand and Isabella had granted to Columbus before his great discovery was made.



Such being the reputation of the man, it was no wonder that the attention of the King of Portugal had been directed to him. The Portuguese had never ceased to regret their treatment of Columbus; a nation proud above all things of its maritime discoveries and enterprise, they had seen their achievements far eclipsed by those of a sailor who had first offered his services to their king, and had them rejected. It was useless to try to win him from the service of the King of Spain; for, disgusted at the duplicity of Portugal, he had refused to listen to her before Ferdinand and Isabella had accepted his proposition. But here was a navigator of almost equal renown; he had visited the very countries at which a Portuguese fleet had recently touched; and which, by a new agreement between the two countries, now belonged to Portugal. We quote from another letter of Vespucci, written after the voyage was accomplished:—

“I was reposing myself in Seville, after the many toils I had undergone in the two voyages made for his Serene Highness Ferdinand, King of Castile, in the Indies, yet indulging a willingness to return to the land of pearls, when fortune, not seeming to be satisfied with my former labors, inspired the mind of his Serene Majesty, Don Emmanuel, King of Portugal—I know not through what circumstances—to attempt to avail himself of my services. There came to me a royal letter from his Majesty, containing a solicitation that I would come to Lisbon and speak with his Highness, he promising to show me many favors. I did not at once determine to go, and argued with the messenger, telling him I was ill, and indisposed for the undertaking, but that when I recovered, if his Highness wished me to serve him, I would do whatever he might command me.

“Seeing that he could not obtain me, he sent Julianio di Bartolomeo del Giacondo, who at that time resided in Lisbon, with commission to use every possible means to bring me back with him. Julianio came to Seville, and on his arrival, and induced by his urgent entreaties, I was persuaded to go, though my going was looked upon with ill-favor by all who knew me. It was thus regarded by my friends, because I abandoned Castile, where I had been honored, and because they thought that the King had rightful possession of me, and it was considered still worse that I departed without taking leave of my host.

“Having presented myself at the court of King Emmanuel, he appeared to be highly pleased with my coming, and requested that I would accompany his three ships which were ready to set out for the discovery of new lands. Thus, esteeming a request from a king as equivalent to a command, I was obliged to consent to whatever he asked of me.”

There must have been some reason why Vespucci was so ready to go to Portugal, and to accept the requests of the King as commands; but these cannot now be determined. It is probable, from hints that he gives through-

out his letters, that his prominence had made enemies for him in Spain; perhaps Fonseca, who seems to have been constitutionally jealous of all who succeeded, had indulged in some of his acts of petty tyranny. There was no open quarrel; and whatever hard feeling there may have been was dissipated by time.

Sailing under the authority of the King of Portugal, it was possible for them to take a slightly different course from any that had been followed by Spanish expeditions. The three armed caravels left Lisbon May 13, 1501; and after touching at the Canaries, turned to the south, and ran along the coast of Africa as far as Cape Verde. Here they rested for a while, and then set sail, directing their course "toward the Antarctic Pole."

The wind, however, was easterly, so that their course was not directly south. The voyage was a long and stormy one. From the time that they left Lisbon, they sailed "ninety-seven days, experiencing harsh and cruel fortune. During forty-four days, the heavens were in great commotion, and we had nothing but thunder and lightning and drenching rain. Dark clouds covered the sky, so that by day we could see but little better than we could in ordinary nights, without moonlight. Our nights were of the blackest darkness. The fear of death came over us, and the hope of life almost deserted us. After all these heavy afflictions, at last it pleased God, in his mercy, to have compassion on us and to save our lives. On a sudden, the land appeared in view, and at the sight of it, our courage, which had fallen very low, and our strength, which had become weakness, immediately revived. Thus it usually happens to those who have passed through great affliction, and especially to those who have been preserved from the rage of evil fortune.

"On the seventeenth day of August, in the year 1501, we anchored by the shore of that country, and rendered to the Supreme Being our most sincere thanks, according to the Christian custom, in a solemn celebration of mass.  
\* \* \* \* \* Many other things I would describe, but have studiously avoided mentioning, in order that my work might not become large beyond measure. One thing only I feel that I should not omit: it is that, aided by the goodness of God, in due time, and according to our need, we saw land; for we were not able to sustain ourselves any longer; all our provisions had failed us; our wood, water, biscuit, salt meat, cheese, wine, oil, and, what is more, our vigor of mind, all gone. By God's mercy, therefore, our lives were spared, and to him we ought to render thanks, honor, and glory."

They had reached South America at a point about a hundred and fifty miles south of where they had first touched on the preceding voyage, or about eight degrees south of the equator. Their coasting voyage was prolonged until they had reached a point on the coast of Patagonia, fifty degrees south. But they did not know that this was the same continent as that which they had previously explored; they had been so driven by the storms that, with-

out observations, it was impossible for them to be at all certain of their latitude or longitude; and the weather of course had prevented them from deriving any aid from the heavenly bodies. But the storms were not the only source of danger, as Vespucci tells us:—

“We had arrived at a place which, if I had not possessed some knowledge of cosmography, by the negligence of the pilot would have finished the course of our lives. There was no pilot who knew our situation within fifty leagues, and we went rambling about, and should not have known whither we were going, if I had not provided in season for my own safety and that of my companions, with the astrolabe and quadrant, my astrological instruments. On this occasion I acquired no little glory for myself; so that, from that time forward, I was held in such estimation by my companions as the learned are held in by people of quality. I explained the sea-charts to them, and made them confess that the ordinary pilots were ignorant of cosmography, and knew nothing in comparison with myself.”

The country was thickly inhabited by tribes who proved to be very friendly; and the mariners landed frequently as they journeyed along the coast. Their horror was excited when they learned that these savages went to war and fought with incredible fierceness, for no other reason than that their ancestors were at war with the same tribes, and the death of those who had fallen in battle must be avenged. Most of them, too, were cannibals, he declares; eating not only the bodies of their enemies, but those of their own acquaintance and even kindred.

Yet the magnificence of the vegetation, the stories which the Indians told of gold and jewels, the gorgeous plumage of the birds, the fragrance of the woods, and the strange and varied fruits and grains brought forth in the greatest abundance by the untilled soil, so excited the wondering admiration of the navigator that he exclaims: “If there is a terrestrial paradise in the world, it cannot be far from this region.”

We omit his descriptions of the stars of the southern hemisphere, which he gives, not only in this letter, but in an account which he presented to the King; judging his astronomical discoveries of equal value, at least, with the geographical results of the expedition; nor have we space for his description of the rainbow which he saw at midnight, nor of the new moon seen at mid-day.

Not all the natives, however, proved friendly. At a point five degrees south of the equator—for they had gone north a short distance—they found it impossible to attract the natives to a conference. They accordingly left a number of articles, such as bells, looking-glasses, and similar trifles, on the shore; hoping that the savage inhabitants would see by this that the strangers were well-disposed toward them.

The next morning, they saw from the ships that the Indians were making

bonfires along the coast, and thinking that this was an invitation for them to come ashore, a party of the white men landed. The natives kept at a distance, but made signs that they wished the strangers to go farther inland with them.

This was a serious matter; and the leader was at first not inclined to permit any of them to go; but two of them persuaded him to give his permission for them to make the venture; and left, having strict orders not to be gone more than five days.

Six days passed, while the men in the ships awaited the return of their comrades. Every day, some of the natives came down to the shore, but would hold no communication with the sailors. On the seventh day they landed, resolved to investigate the fate of their comrades. There were many women among the natives gathered on the beach, and they could see that the men were urging them to speak with the newcomers; but all their arguments and commands seemed to be in vain. The Europeans, thinking that perhaps the naked natives were afraid, determined to send one of their own men into their midst; and a very courageous young man volunteered for the duty. In order to encourage the natives the Europeans entered the boats while this one of their number went forward to meet the women, who advanced toward him. When he drew near them, they formed themselves into a great circle about him, touching him and looking at him as with astonishment. While all this was going on, the watchers in the boats saw a woman coming down from the mountain, carrying a large club in her hand. When she arrived where the young man stood, she came up behind him; and raising the bludgeon, struck him such a blow that she laid him dead on the spot. Immediately the other women seized upon his body, and dragged him by the feet away to the mountain.

The men then ran down to the shore, and assailed the mariners with their bows and arrows. The boats had grounded; and in the confusion of the moment, the frightened white men did not know where to turn. Terror and panic subsided, however, after a few moments; and they discharged four guns at the savages. The noise frightened them; although the aim was so uncertain that no one was hit; and they fled toward the mountain.

They now had leisure to look toward the point where the women had dragged the body of their victim; and saw that they had cut him to pieces, and were roasting him in sight of his comrades. As each bit of the horrid feast was ready, one of the hags would hold it high up, that the men in the boat might see, and then they would fall to and devour it. The Indian men made signs from a safe distance, that the same fate had befallen the other two, who had accompanied them into the interior.

Their inhuman conduct enraged the whites, and more than forty of them, among whom was Americus, determined to rush on shore and avenge their

slaughtered comrades. But the expedition was under the command of a Portuguese official, whom Vespuceius styles the Superior Captain; and he forbade this course. Burning with indignation against the cannibal slayers of their companions, they were obliged to forego the satisfaction of revenge, and sailed away from this part of the coast.

When they had been ten months on the voyage, having found no minerals in the country, although there was an abundance of valuable woods of various kinds, they concluded to take their leave of this coast and try some other part of the ocean. A council was held, composed of all whose skill as navigators might entitle them to express an opinion; and Vespuceius was invested with full command of the fleet, to pursue whatever course appeared best to him. He ordered that all the vessels should be provided with wood and water for six months; and being thus provided, gave the signal to sail February 15.



LISBON IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By April 3, they had sailed fifteen hundred miles from the port that they had left. On this day began a storm, which was so violent that they were obliged to take in all their sails and run under bare poles. The storm was so furious that all were in great fear; nor did it abate before the seventh of the month. While driven by this storm, they came in sight of new land, and ran within twenty leagues of it; finding the whole coast wild, and seeing neither harbor nor inhabitants, Vespuceius, but he lack of population to the



extreme cold, which was so great that the Europeans could scarcely endure it.

Finding themselves in great danger, and the storm so violent that they could hardly distinguish one ship from on board another, on account of the high seas that were running and the misty darkness of the weather, they agreed that signals should be made to turn the fleet about, and that they should leave the country, and steer for Portugal.

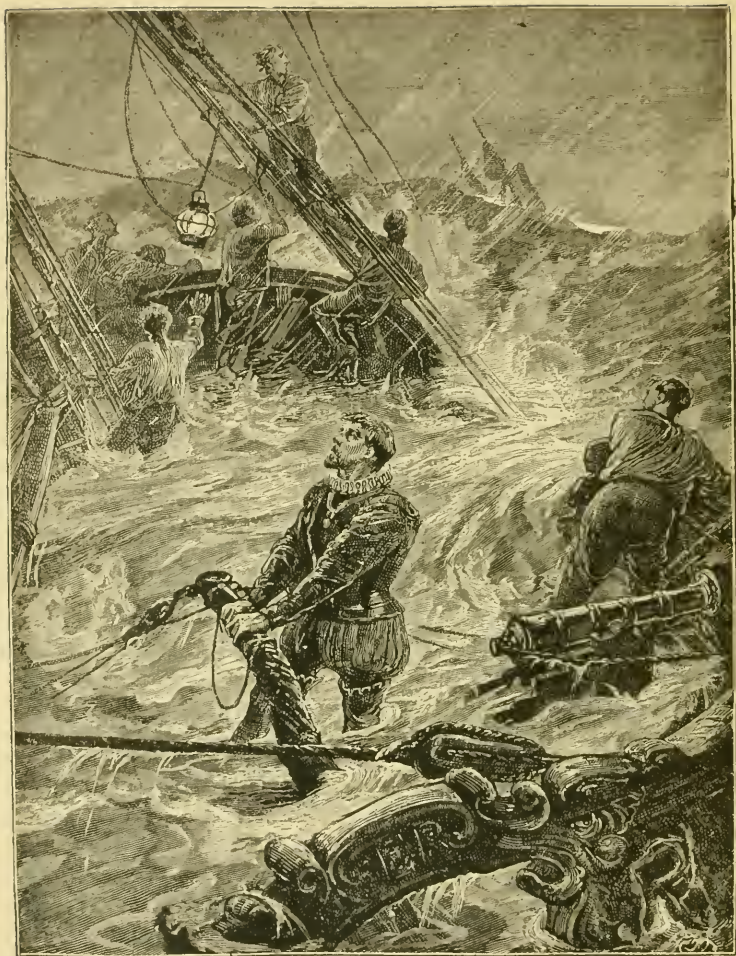
They took the wind aft, and during that night and the next day the storm increased so much that they were very apprehensive for their safety, and made many vows of pilgrimage and the performance of other ceremonies usual with Catholic mariners under such circumstances.

They did not intend to sail straight for Portugal, but first to touch at some African port. Winds and currents brought them to Sierra Leone, where they stayed fifteen days, obtaining supplies of food and other necessities, before they steered for the Azores. They arrived at these islands the latter part of July, and remained another fortnight; when they left for Lisbon. One of their vessels had been burned as unseaworthy at Sierra Leone, so that it was only two ships which entered Portuguese waters September 7, 1502, after a voyage of about fifteen months.

The adventurers were received with much joy in Lisbon; and Americus, especially, was singled out for distinction by the King. His ship had become unseaworthy, but it was broken up with much ceremony, and portions of it carried in solemn procession to a church, where they were suspended as sacred relics. Nor were the rejoicings confined to Portugal. Florence received the accounts of the discoveries of her illustrious son with much pride, and honors were bestowed upon those members of his family who still lived in the city on the Arno.

The reputation of Americus rested not only on the account which he had given of new countries, but upon his astronomical discoveries as well. He was confessedly far in advance of most other learned men of the age in the sciences of astronomy and geometry; and although his calculations are undoubtedly defective in many points, yet they agree more nearly with those of the present day than do those of any of his contemporaries. He was the discoverer of the method of obtaining longitude at sea, by observing the conjunction of the moon with one of the planets; his observation and enumeration of the stars in the southern heavens were of great value to mariners who came after him; and thus his many sleepless nights were not without benefit to mankind.

Believing that Americus would have reached India by the way of the southwest, had not his last voyage been interrupted by the severe storms which he had encountered, the King of Portugal lost no time in fitting out another expedition. Six vessels were prepared, and Gonzalo Coelho appointed to the



SHIPWRECKED.

chief command of the fleet. Americus was placed in command of one of the vessels, and was recognized as the scientific authority of the squadron.

Their destination was the "Island Malaca," which was thought to be "the warehouse of all the ships which come from the Sea of Ganges and the Indian Ocean, as Cadiz is the storehouse for all the ships that pass from east to west and from west to east by the way of Calcutta." This island is described as being situated farther east and much farther south than Calcutta, being about the third degree of north latitude; it is impossible to determine, from the accounts given by Vespuccius, whether the peninsula of this name was then supposed to be an island, or whether the name which is now applied to the main land was then given to the island of Sumatra; both answer the description, as to location, equally well.

May 10, 1503, they set sail from Portugal; making up their cargo at the Cape Verde Islands. But let Vespuccius tell the story of the voyage, in the letter which he addressed after his return to his old school-fellow, Piero Soderini:—

"Our Superior Captain was a presumptuous and very obstinate man. He would insist upon going to reconnoiter Sierra Leone, a southern country of Ethiopia, without there being any necessity for it, unless to exhibit himself as the captain of six vessels. He acted contrary to the wish of all our other captains in pursuing this course. Sailing in this direction, when we arrived off the coast of this country, we had such bad weather, that though we remained in sight of the coast four days, it did not permit us to attempt a landing. We were compelled at length to leave the country, sailing from there to the south, and bearing southwest.

"When we had sailed three hundred leagues through the Great Sea, being then three degrees south of the equinoctial line, land was discovered, which might have been about twenty-two leagues distant from us, and which we found to be an island in the midst of the sea. We were filled with wonder at beholding it, considering it a natural curiosity, as it was very high, and not more than two leagues in length and one in width. This island was not inhabited by any people, and was an evil island for the whole fleet; because, as your Excellency will learn, by the evil counsel and bad management of the Superior Captain, he lost his ship here. He ran her upon a rock, and she split open and went to the bottom, on the night of St. Lorenzo, which is the tenth of August, and nothing was saved from her except the crew. She was a ship of three hundred tons, and carried everything of most importance in the fleet.

"As the whole fleet was compelled to labor for the common benefit, the Captain ordered me to go with my ship to the aforesaid island and look for a good harbor, where all the ships might anchor. As my boat, filled with nine of my mariners, was of service, and helped to keep up a communication between the ships, he did not wish me to take it, telling me they would bring it

to me at the island. So I left the fleet, as he ordered me, without a boat, and with less than half my men, and went to the said island, about four leagues distant. There I found a good harbor, where all the ships might have anchored in perfect safety. I waited for the captain and fleet full eight days, but they never came; so that we were very much dissatisfied, and the people who remained with me in the ship were in great fear, so that I could not console them. On the eighth day we saw a ship coming off at sea, and for fear those on board might not see us, we raised anchor and went toward it, thinking they might bring me my boat and men. When we arrived alongside, after the usual salutations, they told us that the Captain had gone to the bottom, that the crew had been saved, and that my boat and men remained with the fleet, which had gone further to sea. This was a very serious grievance to us, as your Excellency may well think. It was no trifle to find ourselves three hundred leagues distant from Lisbon, in mid-ocean, with so few men.

"However, we bore up under adverse fortune, and returning to the island, supplied ourselves with wood and water with the boat of my consort. \* \* \* Having taken in our supplies, we departed for the southwest, as we had an order from the King, that if any vessel of the fleet, or its captain, should be lost, I should make for the land of my last voyage. We discovered a harbor which we called the Bay of All Saints [it still retains the name], and it pleased God to give us such good weather that in seventeen days we arrived at it. It was distant three hundred leagues from the island we had left, and we found neither our captain nor any other ship of the fleet in the course of the voyage. We waited full two months and four days in this harbor, and seeing that no orders came for us, we agreed, my consort and myself, to run along the coast.

"We sailed two hundred and sixty leagues further, and arrived at a harbor where we determined to build a fortress. This we accomplished, and left in it the twenty-four men that my consort had received from the captain's ship that was lost.

"In this port we stayed five months, building the fort and loading our ships with dye-wood. We could not proceed farther for lack of men, and besides, I was destitute of many equipments. Thus, having finished our labors, we determined to return to Portugal, leaving the twenty-four men in the fortress, with provisions for six months, with twelve pieces of cannon, and many other arms. We made peace with all the people of the country, who have not been mentioned in this voyage, but not because we did not see and treat with a great number of them. As many as thirty men of us went forty leagues inland. \* \* \* All this being performed, we bade farewell to the Christians we left behind us, and to the country, and commenced our navigation on a north-north-east course, with the intention of sailing directly to the city of Lisbon. In seventy-seven days, after many toils and dangers, we entered

this port on the eighteenth day of June, 1504, for which God be praised. We were well received, although altogether unexpected; as the whole city had given us up for lost. All the other ships of the fleet had been lost through the pride and folly of our commander, and thus it is that God rewards haughtiness and vanity."

Thus ended the last voyage of Americus Vespuccius. Wishing for repose, and perhaps disheartened by the unfortunate result of this cruise, he abandoned the idea of again going to sea, and devoted himself to writing the account of what he had already accomplished. This was to be the end of his active service, he thought at the time; although he was younger by four years than Columbus had been when the great Admiral set sail on his first voyage to the unknown west.

He remained in Portugal but a few months after the return of his ship; perhaps he was not received with such distinction as when he had brought home glowing accounts of new lands; perhaps the King regretted the loss of his four mighty ships, and thought that the disasters might have been averted, had these survivors acted differently; perhaps he was only desirous of visiting again that country where he had lived for some years, and which was the home of his wife's family. Whatever may have been the cause, we find him in Seville again in the latter part of 1504; and in February, 1505, acting as messenger for Columbus, who was prostrated by illness at Seville and desirous of laying his case before the sovereigns at Segovia.

The death of Isabella had taken place about the time that Americus returned to Spain. This was the greatest calamity which could have befallen Columbus; but historians suppose that it was of great advantage to Vespuccius. The Italian biographers of the great astronomer and cosmographer suppose that he was more of a favorite with the King than with the Queen; and one Spanish historian inclines to the opinion that King Ferdinand sent for him, that he might be informed of the plans and projects of the Portuguese government, both in regard to their expeditions to the shores of the New World, and the progress which they were making in their voyages and establishments in the East Indies.

His sudden departure from Spain and entering into the service of a rival nation was not noticed; or at least was not made the pretext for any coldness on the part of the King; for Ferdinand wished to use him. On April 11, 1505, a royal grant of twelve thousand maravedis was made him; and on the 24th of the same month, letters of naturalization on his behalf were issued, in consideration of his fidelity and his many services to the Crown.

Preparations were at once begun for a new expedition, of which Vespuccius and Vicente Nanez Pinzon were to be the commanders. Vespuccius had by this time reconsidered his determination of remaining on shore and writing the accounts of his former voyages; the old spirit of adventure and discovery



was again aroused in him; and he busied himself at Palos, consulting with his colleague and making every possible preparation for the voyage.

But since he was under royal patronage, and the ships were provided and equipped out of the royal treasury, he was dependent, to a considerable extent, upon official activity; and the state of the country at that time made the officials very anxious to act as little as possible, lest they might offend one of their two masters.

The late Queen had willed her dominions to her daughter Juana and her husband Philip. Should Juana be absent or incapacitated—for she was subject to fits of insanity—King Ferdinand was to act as regent for the little prince, Charles, the son of Juana, who afterward became the great Emperor, Charles V.

Ferdinand was so unpopular in Castile that, as soon as Philip and Juana arrived from Flanders, where they had been at the death of the Queen, he was obliged to resign his authority to them, and retire to his own kingdom of Arragon. An entire change took place in nearly all the departments of the government; and those officers who remained in their old positions found it very difficult to do anything which would not displease either King Ferdinand or King Philip, or perhaps both.

Such was the position in which the officers who had charge of the preparations for this expedition were placed. Their perplexities were suddenly ended by the death of Philip, barely two months after the arrival of the royal couple in Spain. Castile now seemed likely to suffer as much from the lack of rulers as she had lately suffered from having too many; for the Queen was insane, and her father, King Ferdinand, was in Naples, attending to the affairs of that kingdom. The country was on the verge of anarchy; and, naturally enough, the officials declined to take active steps to prepare for this expedition.

King Ferdinand returned, and sent for Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa, an experienced navigator of high repute, to come to court. They were soon engaged in consultation with the King and his ministers regarding the nautical affairs of the kingdom. The vessels which had been prepared for the voyage of discovery had been dispatched on other errands before the King's return; and the idea of the expedition seems to have been given up. The work which had been assigned to the two navigators above mentioned was of a different sort; Cosa was to take command of two caravels, which were to be fitted out and armed as convoys to vessels coming and going between Spain and the settlement in Hispaniola; for Ferdinand was afraid of the neighboring country of Portugal, and anticipated some effort to interfere with his commerce. Americus was charged with the provisioning and support of these vessels, and Pinzon was to attend to providing arms and military stores.

Shortly after this arrangement was made, Vespucci was formally appoint-

ed to the position of Chief Pilot, with a salary of seventy-five thousand maravedis a year, or about seven hundred dollars of United States money, according to present values. This high and responsible post, with many duties attached, was held by Americus for the rest of his life, and shows clearly how highly he was esteemed by the cold and wary Ferdinand.

This office did not require his unremitting attention, however; for shortly after his appointment he visited his native city. It was during this voyage that Bronzino painted the portrait from which all engravings are copied.

When he returned to Spain we have no record; but in all probability the visit to Florence was a comparatively short one. The next four years are filled up with his official duties, as showed by the entries in the Spanish archives; but of the life of the man during these years we know nothing—only the acts of the official. Whether the flame of life sank gradually, for lack of fuel, or was quenched suddenly, as by a flood of water, we know not; all that is told us is found in the warrant appointing his successor; and this states that Amerigo Vespucci had died February 22, 1512.

His wife survived him for many years. They had no children, but Americus had long cared for one of his nephews as for a child of his own. From this nephew are descended the present representatives of the great explorer; for the Vespucci, though reduced from their former wealth to poverty, still live in Florence.

The astronomical discoveries of Vespucci would never have made his name known except to scientists and seamen, and his explorations of the coast of the western continent would excite comparatively little interest, were it not for the fact that his name has become indissolubly connected with the New World; for, valuable as was the information which he brought home, he was but one of the many who visited the continent discovered at the close of the fifteenth century; and the astronomical achievements were of far more moment than the geographical knowledge obtained. But from him the vast New World derived its name.

It is often said that Vespucci robbed Columbus of his honors, and that the New World should have been called Columbia. Had the discoverer thought so, it would have been easy enough for him to have bestowed his own name upon the island which he called Hispaniola, or upon that larger island which he always thought was a portion of the continent, and which has retained its native name, Cuba. Columbus himself appears to have felt no jealousy of Vespucci, on this or any other account; but they were good friends after the voyages of both had been completed.

Americus, then, did not offensively claim the honor of having discovered this country; nor was he, in all probability, the first to give his name to it. It was a custom then, and has been the custom ever since, to call newly discovered bodies of land or water after the actual discoverer, or those who

made his journey possible, or the land from which he came. To illustrate by the continent which we know best, the map of North America, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Robert Lincoln, is dotted with names so given.

There seems to have been no effort to give a collective name to the New World for many years after its discovery; indeed, it was so long supposed to be a part of Asia that it was unnecessary. A Latin book on cosmography, however, printed at Strasburg in 1509, the work of an Italian named Ilacornilo, suggests that as this country was discovered by Americus, it should be called America.

Vespucius has been accused of trying to show that he discovered the main land before Columbus saw it; and, for this purpose, fabricating the account of the first voyage out of what he learned on the second. That is, he took but three voyages, the first setting out in 1499; and after this was over, he proceeded to write the account of four, pretending that he sailed first in 1497, and again in 1499. The points of similarity between the two give some color to this theory; but we cannot understand how, if this had been the case, he should still have been regarded as a friend by Columbus, who cared but little for the material advancement which he had gained, but was only solicitous for the honor and the glory which were justly his. If Vespucius had thus falsified the history of his life, with a view to depriving Columbus of some honor, the Admiral must have heard of it; and would not have employed him as a messenger in his suit, or have spoken of him with respect and affection.

The name America, in accordance with the custom which still obtains among geographers, was first applied, naturally enough, to the coast which Americus explored and described. But a portion of this coast was the source from which valuable dye-woods were derived, especially a kind which was called brazil, from the Portuguese word *braz*, meaning a live coal, or glowing fire; and the names America and Brazil were both used to denote the same coast. After a while, the second of these names was confined to a certain part of the coast, where the wood was actually obtained; while the other name was applied to the part north and that south of it. From this, it was but a short step to speaking of all that great southern peninsula as America; and gradually the name came to be applied to the whole western continent.

Not in the life-time of the great Vespucius, however, was it so used. As late as 1550, North America was called Terra Florida on the Spanish maps, while America and Brazil were two names given to the same coast. A writer in the *North American Review*, more than seventy years ago, thus comments upon the changes which the application of the name has undergone:—

“The fortune of the name of America itself is not a little singular, as an instance of the mutations of human affairs; which, having been first given to a single province, next spread over the whole southern continent, then passed on to the modern, and now, from being the appellation of the whole New

World, it seems about to be confined, by foreign nations at least, to our own youthful and aspiring republic."

Americus Vespucius sleeps in an unknown grave; but his epitaph is the name of a double continent. It is worthy of note that both the man who first discovered America by landing upon one of its outlying islands, and the one who later had the honor to be the earliest white man to tread the mainland of South America, were alike noble in character and aims.



INDIANS TRACKING FUGITIVES AT NIGHT THROUGH THE FOREST.



## CHAPTER VII.

### SEBASTIAN CABOT, THE DISCOVERER OF NORTH AMERICA.

John Cabot—Settles in England—His Sons—Residence in Venice—Return to England—The Cabot Boys' Interest in Columbus—Henry VII—John Cabot Goes to Court—A Patent Granted—Expedition Sails from England—Touches at Iceland—Nova Scotia Discovered—The Sailors Insist on Returning—A Second Venture—Death of John Cabot—A Colony Proposed—Mutinuous Sailors—Exploration—A King's Injustice—In Spain—Henry VIII.—Sebastian Cabot Summoned to England—To Spain Again—Grand Pilot—A Disappointment—Return to England—Voyage to America—Rebellious Followers—Summoned to Spain Again—Importance of the Moluccas—An Expedition Thither—Sealed Orders—Fault-Finding—Swift Retribution—La Plata—A Fort Built—Ascending the River—A Bloody Battle—Tracked Across the Ocean—A Polite Refusal—Pursued up the River—Cabot Defends Himself—Explorations—Innocent and Guilty Confused—The Fort Stormed—Return to Spain—Cabot's Reputation—Return to England—Grand Pilot of England—Variation of the Needle Explained by Cabot—Proposed Expedition to the Northeast—The Stilyard—Sir Hugh Willoughby—Chancellor's Success—Willoughby's Death—Cabot's Commercial Importance—Accession and Marriage of Queen Mary—Cabot Resigns His Pension—A Lively Old Man—Pension Renewed—Worthington's Unfaithfulness—Death of Cabot.

THE conflict known in English History as the Wars of the Roses lasted, with considerable intermissions, for thirty years, or from 1455 to 1485. During one of these intermissions, probably early in the reign of Edward IV, who came to the throne in 1461, a Venetian navigator, named John Cabot, settled at Bristol, England. It is probable that he was attracted to that country by the reports of the extravagance and luxury of the King; for the Venetians of that time were thrifty merchants.

At Bristol, in the year 1476 or 1477, a son was born to this foreign merchant, to whom the name of Sebastian was given. He was the second son, his elder brother being named Lewis; and another child, also a boy, was born to John Cabot and his wife, who was called Santius.

This removal did not interfere with the education of the three boys; for they received their instruction mainly from their father, who possessed considerable skill in mathematics. As soon as they were old enough, they received a thorough training in arithmetic, geography, and cosmography—the three branches of knowledge most essential to a seaman; and they acquired, while still very young, a considerable skill in practical navigation.

This residence in Venice gave rise to the belief that Sebastian Cabot was a Venetian by birth, as his father undoubtedly was; but when he had acquired a sufficient degree of celebrity to make such particulars interesting, he was

asked about it; and the answer is thus recorded by one of the earliest historians of America, Richard Eden:—

“Sebastian Cabote told me that he was borne in Bristowe, and that at foure yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father, after certain yeares, whereby he was thought to have been borne in Venice.”

While he was still a boy, his return to England took place; but we have no record of the year. He was certainly in England when Columbus returned from his first voyage, and set all Europe afire with interest in his discoveries. At that time the Wars of the Roses had ended; the King recognized by one faction was on the throne, and his wife was the heiress of the rival line. Eighty princes of the blood had fallen in battle during this dreadful war, and a proportionate number of nobles; so that there were but few to resist the rule of Henry VII., had they been so inclined. This prudent ruler had declined to engage in any wars with his neighbors, probably feeling that the country had had enough of that kind of thing; and he was anxious to extend his dominions, and increase his revenue, by any other means which might present themselves.

To the people of England, who were as sick of war as their King, but who, like him, were anxious to “hear some new thing,” the tidings of the success of Columbus brought great excitement. Particularly, we may suppose, were the three Cabot boys interested. Columbus was, like their father, a seaman; like their father, an Italian; and if he had only succeeded in making his appeal, by his brother Bartholomew, to the court of England before his offers were accepted by the sovereigns of Spain, who knows but what their father might have been captain of one of his vessels? Who knows but what he might have taken his three sons, skilled sailors as the boys were, with him?

Such were the thoughts that doubtless kindled the enthusiasm of the young Cabots, and such questions they doubtless asked each other, as they talked over the most astonishing news of the year. Of the year, we say; for there were no nine days’ wonders then; a piece of news was worn threadbare by discussion in all possible lights and circumstances, before another came to replace it.

Nor was John Cabot less enthusiastic than his sons; but his thoughts turned rather to what might be than to what might have been. Where one daring Italian had ventured, another might go; and a western route to the Indies from England might be found as readily as the same thing from Spain. Doubtless, this native of the City of the Sea loved the salt water; for he tells us: “By this fame and report, there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing;” and he seems to have turned naturally to the ocean as the avenue to success.

Henry VII., learned that Columbus had once had an idea of applying to him

for patronage, had endeavored to secure his services after his success had been demonstrated. But Columbus was faithful to the spirit of the contract which he had made with Ferdinand and Isabella; he had accepted their aid, he had been loaded with honors by them, and he would enter into the service of no other prince. But Henry VII., who loved money very well, desired to have a share in the riches of the Indies, and was not content to give it up in this way. He looked about for another navigator less eminent, but still capable of conducting such an enterprise. While he was searching for such a man, he learned that a certain merchant of Bristol was an enthusiast on the subject of the Columbian discoveries. This was John Cabot, who was exceedingly anxious to follow the example of the great discoverer, and find a northwest passage to India. The King sent for him; he found that, like Columbus, he was not willing to embark in such an enterprise without being under the special patronage of some government, as the results would be so great that no private individual could successfully manage the affairs without exciting jealousy of governments. Unlike Columbus, Cabot was amply supplied with this world's goods, and was well able, if the patronage of the King could be secured, to fit out his own armament. This suited the King exactly; for while he lost no opportunity of getting money, and even went to the verge of tyranny by reviving forgotten laws regarding the collection of taxes, he hated to pay any of it out, especially for an uncertainty, such as this enterprise must be.

March 5, 1496, a patent was granted to John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Santins, authorizing them, their heirs, or deputies, "to sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships, of what burden or quantity soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs or charges, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they may be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."

Under this charter, Cabot was empowered to set up the royal banner, and take possession of the territories discovered by them, as the King's vassals. They were required, on their return, to land at Bristol, no other port being permitted to them; and while they were to have the exclusive right to resort to the lands discovered, and trade there, the Crown was to receive a fifth part of the proceeds of such commerce.

But John Cabot was not the principal person concerned in this charter. Late researches have made it appear that he was only chosen as the one whose name came first in the grant, because he was a well-known and responsible man. He was anxious that a shorter route to the Indies should be discovered, for he was a merchant, and much of his business was connected with the In-

dian trade; but as far as discovery was concerned, he cared far less than his second son; and he naturally felt little or no interest in extending the dominions of the King of England; for although he had lived there so many years, he is described in the charter as a "citizen of Venice."



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

Sebastian Cabot was at this time but twenty or twenty-one; but it was at his instance that his father had gone to court and accepted the proposition of the King. He it was who was most, of all the family, enflamed with the desire of discovery; and he is the one who is justly dignified with the title of Discoverer of North America.

The world moved more slowly in the fifteenth century than it does in the last years of the nineteenth; and it was thought a wonderfully expeditious piece of work, when the five ships were ready to sail about a year after the patent had been granted. In the spring of 1497 they sailed from Bristol, their first landing-place intended being on the coast of Iceland.

A flourishing trade had already been established between Bristol and Iceland, so that this part of the voyage was through well-known waters. In this Cabot had much the advantage of Columbus; for although the Azores

lay farther west than Iceland, these islands were regarded by the navigators of Southern Europe as the extreme western land; while the daring Scandinavian sailors who had settled in Iceland knew of settlements which men of their race had established in Greenland, five hundred years before; and with these two stepping-stones, Iceland and Greenland, the Atlantic does not seem such a boundless extent of water.

It was supposed by Cabot that the land discovered by Columbus was—as indeed he and all other persons believed—islands fringing the coast of Asia. They thought that whatever land there might be to the south, there must be an open channel to the south of Greenland, by which the coast of Asia could be reached; and this was the passage which they sought.

Sometime was spent in Iceland before they steered to the southwest; they were not intending to visit Greenland, for terrible pestilences had swept over that cold and barren land and carried off all but a few miserable remnants of the inhabitants, who had been glad to escape to a milder country.

Through the long summer days they sailed across the ocean, not meeting with any adventure worthy of note; for the sea was as calm as the most timid sailor could wish. At five o'clock on the morning of June 24, the sailors were startled by the cry of "Land!" They had not expected it so soon; for, according to Cabot's calculations, they were still at a considerable distance from the coast of Asia, and did not suppose that there were any islands so far north. At first, he supposed it only a small island, and sought to ascertain its extent by coasting around it.

As he approached it, he found himself in a passage between two bodies of land, both of which were evidently of considerable extent. One of these he named *Terra Primum Visa*, "Land First Seen;" the other, an island of smaller extent—for he still clung to the belief that the first was an island—he named after St. John, because it was on the feast of that saint that it had been discovered.

His efforts to circumnavigate this supposed island proved unsuccessful; for it was nothing more or less than a portion of the American Continent, the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia. The island which he called St. John's was that now named Prince Edward's. He thus writes of his disappointment: "After certayne dayes, I found that the land ranne towards the north, which was to mee a greate displeasure." Such were the feelings of the man who first discovered North America, when he found that it was not a small island at which he had touched.

Cabot's followers were full of wonder at the result which had been attained, and were all for chasing the white bears and the great stags, greater than those of England, with which the country seemed to abound; but the navigator, young as he was, was too determined and persistent in his disposition to be thus allured from what he had undertaken. He steadily followed the





CABOT AT LABRADOR.

coast northward, hoping to find that passage of which he was in search. How far he went, is uncertain; in the map which he published nearly fifty years afterward, there is nothing laid down above the sixtieth parallel; but it is possible that he reached a point three or four degrees north of this.

Some of Cabot's biographers have supposed that he entered Hudson's Bay; but of this there is no certain proof. It is true that he came to a point where the direction of the coast, for some distance, was generally westward, and that he sailed with much exultation into the extensive sheet of water, which he believed to be the ocean that skirted the newly discovered continent on the north, and the passage to India which he wished to find. Ungava Bay would answer the description given, and would fall within the limits of the map drawn by him so many years afterward.

The early navigator was at the mercy of his sailors; when they chose to assert themselves, what leader could hold out against them? Columbus did so, but probably only for a few days after they were really determined to take things in their own hands; but Columbus was a mariner of tried ability; and had demonstrated to his crews that he was skilled above all the pilots on board. Sebastian Cabot was but a youth; and his father, to whose experience more deference might have been paid, had he been actually in command, seems to have gone with his son only to give occasional advice, and to superintend any arrangements that might have to be made about trading with the countries of the East, when they should be reached.

The sailors were tired of the long voyage; they were fearful that new and unsurmountable dangers awaited them if they went farther; they knew that their provisions were nearly exhausted, and they saw no prospect of obtaining any more on these cold and inhospitable shores; they urged an immediate return. Cabot had lost no enthusiasm, and was as eager in his desire to press forward as when he left Bristol; but the sailors had lost confidence, and insisted on returning. He argued, coaxed, and commanded; but with the same result. He was compelled to put his ships about, return to the point where they had first seen land, and, nearly in the track by which they had come, make his way to Bristol again.

Cabot's discovery was not received with anything like the warmth which its importance warranted. Almost the only indication which we have of the time of his return is found in an entry in the Privy Purse expenditures of King Henry VII.: "10th August, 1497. To him that found the New Isle, £10." Thus the discoverer of North America and the author of "Paradise Lost" were rewarded by exactly the same amount of money for that which rendered them famous.

But Cabot was not content to rest upon his laurels; perhaps they were as yet too few to afford a soft bed. Perhaps, too, his expenditures in the first voyage had been such that he was anxious to get some return for them; and

this could only be done by a trading venture with the inhabitants of the New Isle, as we have seen that it was then called. Accordingly, he applied for permission to undertake another voyage; and a second patent was issued, in his father's name as before. This patent, which was dated Feb. 3, 1498, allowed the Cabot's "six English shippes, so that and if the said shippes be of the bourdeyn of two hundred tonnes or under, with their appareil requisite and necessarie for the safe conduct of the said shippes." The Cabots were authorized to "them convey and lede to the lande and isles of late found by the said John in oure name and by oure commandment." The use of the expression "land and isles" shows that the King was fully aware that the continent had been discovered; so that we cannot excuse the meagerness of Sebastian Cabot's reward by supposing the thrifty Tudor to be ignorant of the extent of his services.



CABOT'S RETURN TO ENGLAND.

Yet the King, in the fitting out of this second expedition, showed himself more liberal than he had been on the previous occasion. He could well afford to venture something now, for the results were, to some degree, assured; land was known to exist at a certain distance, reached without great difficulty or danger, by English ships; and returns of some sort might be confidently expected.

What the King really contributed to fitting out this expedition, does not appear; probably one, or at the most, two ships, and a considerable amount of money. "Divers merchants of London also adventured small stocks," reasonably assured that some gain might be expected; and some mercantile adventurers exerted themselves to freight several small vessels, which were to accompany the fleet under the command of the Cabots.

Before this was ready to sail, however, John Cabot died. It shows that he was but the figurehead, when we learn that preparations were in no way interrupted or delayed by his death; but that his son Sebastian stepped calmly to the front, and became the acknowledged, as he had always been the actual, head of the expedition.

Had we such a record of the voyages of Cabot as we have of those made by Vespuccius, the discoverer of South America, the story would doubtless be full of interest. But Cabot lacked that enterprise which led Vespuccius to put himself forward as the learned cosmographer who, by voyages to unknown lands, had vastly advanced the knowledge of the world; the Florentine wrote descriptions of his voyages and the strange countries which he reached, and addressed copies of these so-called letters to all the prominent men whom he thought likely to be interested; the Venetian merchant's son sharing something of the cold pride of the island people among whom he was born, entrusted to the keeping of a few hastily written pages the results of his adventures; these were left by him at his death, nearly ready for publication; but by some carelessness they were lost.

It is only the bare outlines, then, of his adventures upon this voyage which can be given. Besides the hands required to man the vessels, he took with him three hundred men, with a view of establishing a colony on the coast which he had discovered. It will be remembered that his knowledge of the coast between Nova Scotia and the entrance of Hudson's Strait was acquired in a very few weeks beginning with the 24th of June; probably not more than two or three weeks. At this season of the year there would be few indications of the severity of the winter, and knowing that this territory corresponded, in distance from the equator, with that part of Europe which is included between the parallels just north of Spain and of Scotland, he would not expect any great difficulties from the climate. He landed his three hundred colonists on the coast of Labrador, and having instructed them to explore the country so as to find the best possible location for a colony, he sailed on in search of the Northwest Passage.

He followed the coast as far as sixty-seven and one-half degrees north, probably passing into Hudson's Bay; although this, as in the first voyage, is by no means certain. He might have crossed, from island to island, at the inner end of the strait; having no idea of the vast inland sea on the verge of which he was sailing. It is not reasonable to suppose that, had he actually



reached the bay, he would have returned without thorough investigation; since the great extent of this body of water would naturally lead him to suppose that he had found an open sea north of the continent.

Meanwhile, the proposed colony on the coast of Labrador was not progressing. Although it was the midst of summer, and "the dayes were very longe, and in manner without nyght," the settlers found it too cold for comfort; they had no shelter but their tents, and only the provisions which had been left them from the ship's stores. They missed the comforts of civilized life—such as Englishmen of the latter part of the fifteenth century knew anything about—and longed only to return to their own country. They were very far from being such stuff as heroes are made of.

They made a few spasmodic efforts to explore the country, as the young commander had directed; but nothing of any consequence in this way was achieved. The number was lessened by daily deaths; so that when Cabot returned, disappointed at not having found any open passage to the west, he received new set-backs to his enthusiasm from the colonists. They had taken no steps to form a settlement, and they boldly told him that they did not intend to remain any longer on that coast.

This being the case, Cabot had no discretion but to take them all on board again. But he was not ready to return to England. He decided that as long as nothing could be accomplished by sailing to the northward, he would try the other end of the coast; and put his ships to explore south of where he had landed.

He explored the coast as far south as the thirty-eighth parallel; and then set sail for England. What had he accomplished? No passage had been found, for his sailors had compelled him to turn back when they reached the Arctic Circle; no colony had been established, for those who had undertaken to found the settlement had refused to remain. The one thing which gives distinction to this voyage is the fact that, during its course, Cabot explored the eastern coast of North America for one thousand eight hundred miles, measured as the crow flies.

But this achievement, then unparalleled, did not satisfy the King. Good money had been paid out of the royal purse, to assist in fitting out this expedition; and nothing had been brought back. There was not even a settlement established, as a promise of future trade. Could this be reckoned as service to the Crown? Did a man who did no more than spend the King's money expect to be received with honors? Certainly not. Besides, the second patent had not been worded like the first. The first, as we have above quoted it, named John Cabot, his three sons, and their heirs or deputies, to enter on this work of discovery; the second had named simply John Cabot and his deputies. Clearly, reasoned the King and those who wished to stand well with him, since John Cabot had died before the expedition set out, Se-



bastian had undertaken more than he was entitled to attempt, when he took command in his father's place, without being formally appointed by the King.

Of such a quibble the King of England availed himself, to avoid rewarding Cabot for what he had done, and to rescind the privileges of the first patent, in which the names of John Cabot's three sons appeared with that of the father. This was a more flagrant injustice than any with which Columbus ever met; for Ferdinand of Arragon, while he might intend to cheat the discoverer of his rewards, never openly acknowledged such an intention; he contented himself with putting off the Admiral's claims from time to time, always promising justice for the future; Henry VII., less deceitful, but fully as unjust, bluntly refused to reward Cabot for his discoveries.

Yet in 1499 we find him again asking royal assistance in fitting out a fleet. Perhaps he could not realize the depth of meanness of which the King could be capable. He met, however, with "noe great or favourable entertainment," and is supposed to have fitted out the vessels from his own means, lessened as they were by the expenses of the previous expeditions.

On this voyage, we are told, he made great discoveries; but what they were worthy Master Eden does not think it worth while to say; perhaps he was not altogether sure himself, but put in one general assertion what was usually believed. Beyond this mention of a third voyage, we know nothing more of him until 1512.

We then find him at Seville, in the employment of the Spanish Government. What position he occupied is uncertain; he was probably high in the naval service, under the general direction of Vespuccius, who, however, was drawing near the close of his life. The abilities of Cabot were not recognized by the Spanish monarch until there seemed danger of his enriching some other country with the results of his daring and his labors.

Henry VII., had died in 1509, leaving a treasure of two millions sterling to his son and successor, Henry VIII., a boy of eighteen. This sum, which is now far exceeded by the fortune of several railway magnates of the United States, was then regarded as an unparalleled amount of money; and to the young King it seemed inexhaustible. For a time he seemed bent on no discovery but one; he desired to find if his father's long purse had any bottom. Gradually, however, as the various excitements palled upon him, he began to awaken to the fact that other nations had pushed their geographical discoveries and were reaping the reward in added territory and prospects of greatly increased revenues; while England had suffered these rewards of enterprise, fairly earned by a navigator in her employ, to slip through her fingers. Cabot once more became a person of importance; perhaps of more importance than he had ever been thought before; and a messenger was dispatched to Spain to summon him to England, with a view to sending him on some new voyage of exploration and discovery.

But, by the time that Cabot arrived in his native country, the King was busily engaged with some other project; and the discussion of the exploration of the New World was postponed to suit his Majesty's convenience. Meantime Ferdinand had discovered that Cabot was a man of much ability; he was assisted to that conclusion by the danger of Cabot's taking service under Henry and adding glory to the English Crown which might just as well belong to the Spanish sovereign. He accordingly wrote to Lord Willoughby, Captain-General of England, requesting him to send Cabot back to Spain; and, as Henry VIII. was not yet ready to use his services, this was done. The discoverer returned to Spain, arriving there September 13, 1512.

This was shortly after the death of Vespucci; and King Ferdinand gave Cabot nearly the same position. He was given a liberal allowance, and for a time at least his position seems to have been a sinecure, for no duties were assigned to him. In 1515, however, he was engaged in making, under royal patronage, a general revision of maps and charts—a work requiring much skill and accurate knowledge. His assistants included the best cosmographers of the age.

The same year he was chosen a member of the Council for the Indies—an unusually high honor for a foreigner not yet forty years of age. But this was not all; Ferdinand seemed to delight in heaping honors upon the man whose services had been disregarded by England; and, having determined on an expedition to sail the next year in search of the Indian Passage—for it was fully known by this time that Columbus had *not* discovered the eastern coast of Asia—he placed Cabot at the head of it.

Preparations went rapidly forward, and at the beginning of the year 1516 Cabot's lucky star seemed to be in the ascendant. In the very prime of life and strength, the favorite of a great monarch whose chief ambition was one that a man of Cabot's abilities and training could advance better than any one else could, taken from a post of great honor to be placed in one that satisfied every dream of his boyhood and manhood, what more could any one hope for, or wish for? It was literally too good to be true; for before the end of January, Ferdinand died, and, with him, the expedition for seeking the Northwest Passage to China.

His successor was the Emperor Charles V., who was then in Brussels; and it was sometime before the new King came to Spain. In the meantime all was confusion there, every one seeking to do what he imagined would best recommend him to the favor of the young sovereign; for Charles was but sixteen years old. The Spaniards, by means of one of his ministers, could get some access to him, and many of them employed this opportunity in blackening the characters and talking against the projects of their enemies. Cabot was one of those who were thus intrigued against. The favorite of a monarch is always an object of jealousy; and it would seem that Cabot had

suddenly been raised to this much envied, but really unenviable, position, from one of comparative obscurity. Added to this was all the national hatred of a foreigner. The Spaniards who endeavored to influence Charles V. against Cabot called him a foreign impostor, denied that his early voyages had accomplished anything, and even insinuated that he had not really reached land, as he claimed. All this was not without effect upon the boy-ruler; and Cabot, who seems to have foreseen this state of affairs, returned to England almost as soon as Charles reached Spain.

He was well received here, for Henry saw the mistake that he had made in allowing him to depart; fortunately for England, the death of Ferdinand had prevented Cabot from accomplishing any great service to Spain, and had sent him back ready to serve his native country. The explorer at once set about preparing a number of vessels for a new voyage, being determined to undertake on his own account that which Ferdinand had been about to do for Spain. The King of England took an active interest in the fitting out of the expedition, and furnished not only "certen shippes," but some money, and appointed Sir Thomas Perte as Cabot's second in command.

This expedition sailed from England in 1517; bound, according to some authorities, on a trading voyage to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. It is more probable, however, that these writers have confused this with a later voyage, and that Cabot was now once again in search of the Northwest Passage.

Accounts of the course pursued are considerably confused, and in the absence of any record from Cabot's hand will never be exactly determined. We find them at one time off the coast of Labrador; at another, off the coast of Florida. Most likely they sailed up and down the coasts of what are now Canada and the United States, seeking for some opening which would permit them to pass to the Pacific. This was no wild project, according to the belief of the times; and, at a later day, the settlers on the Atlantic seaboard thought they had but to cross the Alleghanies to view the Pacific.

They penetrated to the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude, and on this third voyage to the coast of North America certainly entered Hudson's Bay, giving English names to many a prominent point. But again the crew, wearied by the long voyage, suffering from privations and from the severity of the climate, insisted upon returning to England. They asserted that there was no Northwest Passage to be found; or at least that Cabot did not know where to look for it; and open mutiny was imminent.

In such a case as this Cabot should have been able to rely upon his officers; the one who stood next to him should have been particularly trustworthy; but this was the very one who failed him. Obedient to the leader, the pilots tried to convince the crews that the passage certainly existed, and that it must be found near where they then were; the sailors refused to listen to

their arguments; and Sir Thomas Perte justified them openly for so acting.

On a modern vessel, Perte would have been punished along with the other mutineers; but not so at the time of which we write. Discipline, as we understand it, was then a thing unheard of; standing armies and organized naval forces were unknown; class distinctions there were, of the broadest kind; but of official authority there was very little, especially in a wilderness three thousand miles away from the center of government. Cabot could not proceed against his lieutenant, for Perte was appointed by royal authority; and probably possessed influence enough to have ruined Cabot, had he been humiliated by him. The commander, then, whose orders were thus defied, made the best of it, and put his ships about for home.

On their return, Cabot was generally commended for the resolution which he had shown; while a contemporary writer says of Perte: "His faint heart was the cause that the voyage took none effect." But although the blame for the failure was thus justly placed, it did not alter the fact that it was a failure. The King was busy with other things, and did not choose to turn his attention to the projects of a man who had made three voyages and not found the Northwest Passage yet. Besides this indifference of the Government, the people had no heart for such enterprises. A terrible plague had desolated the country while Cabot had been away, and they had not yet recovered their energy and resolution.

Fortunately for him, however, the affairs of Spain were in a more promising condition; and there was a prospect of better things there. When Charles V. came to examine into matters, he was surprised to find that Cabot had disappeared. He knew something of the estimation in which his grandfather had held this Englishman; he knew the jealous and intriguing character of the Spaniards, and he saw that the state records bore witness to his faithfulness and services. Anxious to atone for past injustice, Charles seems to have sent for Cabot as soon as he returned from the New World. He was well received at court, and in 1518 appointed to the high office of Pilot-Major of Spain. His duties were now numerous and responsible; and for some time we find no more expeditions to the West; he had enough to occupy him at home.

But the fever of discovery could not long be repressed, when it had reached such heights as it had in the annals of Spain. A vast treasure-house of the natives had been opened in America by an intrepid Spaniard; it was in a tropical climate; all southern lands might yield just such riches; and Spain must prosecute her discoveries in the southern hemisphere. "To the South, to the South!" exclaims one of the historians of Spanish America; "they that seek for riches must not go to the cold and frozen North!"

The Molucca Islands had long been regarded as the source of much wealth; chiefly, perhaps, because of the spice which was there produced. Cabot,

following the lead of popular opinion, or perhaps directing it, advised that an expedition should be fitted out to visit the Moluccas, the route chosen being by way of the Straits of Magellan, then but recently discovered. But as soon as this proposition got wind, the Portuguese Government was up in arms. The Molucca Islands belonged to Portugal, being included in that portion of the earth which had been assigned to that country by the Pope, when the undiscovered countries of the globe were virtually divided by papal authority between Spain and Portugal.

Of course, Spain was not ready to allow this claim, and it was finally agreed to submit the question to a council of learned navigators and cosmographers, to meet at Badajos in 1524. Cabot's name heads the list of those who were summoned to this conference, showing in what high esteem he was held. The council met in April, and deliberated for more than a month. The decision, which was rendered the last of May, was to the effect that the islands in dispute lay twenty degrees within the line which bounded the Spanish dominions.

The Portuguese envoys were furious at this reversal of their claims, and retired, uttering many a threat of maintaining their rights by force of arms. These threats we leave unheeded for the present, following more closely the actions and fortunes of Cabot.

A company was at once formed for the prosecution of trade with the Moluccas, and of this Cabot, with the permission of the Council of the Indies, accepted the chief office. He received the title of Captain-General. Three ships and one hundred and fifty men were to be provided by the Emperor, who was to receive, out of the profits, a certain share, not less than four thousand ducats. The company was to supply all funds necessary for trading, and Cabot was obliged to give bond for the faithful performance of his duty.

The Portuguese found that their threats produced no effect whatever upon the young Emperor, so they resorted to other tactics. A remonstrance was made in due form, whereby they showed that an invasion of the Portuguese monopoly in trade with the East Indies would be the ruin of the country; and that the relationship between them, and the ties of marriage—for the King of Portugal had married the Emperor's sister—ought to prevent Charles from undertaking anything which would ruin his cousin and brother-in-law. The Emperor replied that he could not relinquish, for any such considerations, an enterprise which it was his right to pursue.

Threats and remonstrances being alike useless, the King of Portugal resolved to try still other means, and fitted out a squadron of three vessels, which he placed under the command of Diego Garcia, and intended especially to harass the Spaniards under Cabot.

Meantime, there was considerable delay in preparing the fleet, which the articles of agreement had arranged should sail in August, 1525. Naturally



enough, Cabot desired to appoint his own chief lieutenant, and nominated a trustworthy friend of his to that high office. The other officers of the Company, who constituted the board of managers, objected to this, and insisted upon the appointment of Martin Mendez, who had sailed under Magellan. It is quite possible that Cabot was unjustly prejudiced against this man, and that his opposition to his appointment was unreasonable; but in an expedition like this there should have been perfect concord between the chief officers; Cabot had seen one expedition, of which he was the leader, fail, because he had not been upheld by the second in command; and now the most that he could hope from a lieutenant appointed against his protest was that his orders would not be openly opposed. There could be no real agreement between them.

As if to strengthen the party of Mendez—for parties there must be under such circumstances—two brothers, Miguel and Francisco de Rojas, devoted followers of Mendez, were attached to the expedition: one of them being commander of one of the ships.

Finally, as if to make Cabot's position as dangerous as possible, without openly setting a price upon his head, sealed orders were furnished to the captain of each ship, with instructions that they should not be opened until they were fairly at sea. In these orders, eleven persons were named, upon whom, in order of succession, the command should devolve in case of Cabot's death. If all these should die, the leader must be chosen by the general vote: providing, that if there should be a tie, the candidates receiving the highest number of votes should cast lots.

It is doubtful whether Cabot knew what instructions were given until the orders were opened at sea. If he did, there is only one consideration that can excuse him for sailing under such conditions; he had contended in so many instances with the agents of the Company—for his judgment was almost invariably different from theirs—that he was unwilling to attempt to resist this last assertion of their authority, and trusted to his own resolution to prevail over their arts.

Outwardly, the course of the expedition seemed to be favored by fortune for a long time after setting out. They touched at the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands, both belonging to Portugal; but their intercourse with the islanders was as friendly as if perfect concord had existed between the rulers of the two nations. Their object was probably to complete the victualling of the ships; and from the Cape Verde Islands, when this had been accomplished, they struck boldly across the Atlantic, Cape St. Augustine being their next stopping-place.

But beneath this show of peace rebellion was constantly seething. Disputes had arisen between some of the sailors before leaving Seville, and Mendez and the Rojas began to complain that Cabot did nothing to allay

them. It was said by them that the commander had laid in no sufficient stock of provisions for so long a voyage, and that they were bound to starve before they reached their destination; when this was doubted by some who were too well-informed to accept it, the conspirators acknowledged that there might be enough provided, but that the greater part of the stores had been placed on Cabot's own ship, where it could not be reached by those on the other vessels. The men were urged to depose a tyrant, and put true men in his place.

There never was a man who had been accustomed to command who was less a tyrant than Sebastian Cabot. Those of his companions whose testimony has come down to us have spoken of him with sincere affection; many things show the gentleness of his character; and there are but few instances recorded where he exercised any severity.

But those who are determined to find fault with the proceedings of any one can generally find something on which to base their complaints; and in all considerable bodies of men there will be discovered some who are not satisfied with the rule of those in authority. Mendez and his confederates worked upon the dislike of those who had been justly punished by Cabot, or who had failed to receive from him what they considered was their due. These, in turn, influenced others, and at length the plans of revolt were fully matured.

All this was underhand work; it was not until they had sighted Cape St. Augustine, and were coasting southwardly along the shores of Brazil, that their criticisms of every order issued by Cabot became openly insolent. Should it come to formal rebellion, Cabot did not know on whom he could rely; for there were but two Englishmen in all the crews, and every Spaniard might be an enemy.

At every turn he saw lowering countenances, and heard hints of the undeserved favor which had raised him, a mere foreign adventurer, to a place which rightfully belonged to a Spaniard. He paid no attention to all this, until he was ready to act. Then, with that sharp decision which sometimes marks the mildest and gentlest character, making no attempt to argue the case or to effect a compromise, he ordered Mendez and the two Rojas brothers to be seized. The sudden and unexpected orders were obeyed, Francisco de Rojas being taken without ceremony from the vessel which he commanded. When they had been brought before the commander, he ordered two seamen, of whose faithfulness he was well assured—probably those two countrymen of his—to enter an open boat with the culprits, and put them ashore at the nearest island. He was obeyed without question, and the ships sailed on without the three men who were next in command to Cabot.

The subordinates in the plot, awed by this severe treatment of the ring-leaders, cleared the sullen frowns from their faces, and paid such respect as

they knew how to give to the energetic leader. But the loss of these officers, Cabot considered, made such a change in the personnel of the expedition as to defeat any plans which the Company might have entertained, of directing the course in accordance with the views of all the high officers; he was unwilling to take the sole responsibility of prosecuting the original enterprise. He accordingly decided to put into the mouth of the Río de la Plata for a time, and there consider what course should be taken. Perhaps he had some idea of sending back for the mutinous officers, or at least of affording them an opportunity of rejoining the vessels.

Just before reaching this point, however, he lost one of his vessels, it being wrecked in a storm which the others barely escaped. This left but two; and he decided that it would not be well, without more ships, to attempt the crossing of the great South Sea.

He therefore turned his attention to the exploration of the country about La Plata. He had been preceded in the office of Pilot-Major by Don Diego de Solis, who had come on a voyage of discovery and exploration to this very spot. Landing at the mouth of La Plata with a body of fifty men, Solis had been attacked by a large band of savages; many of his men were slain; the others were captured; and the cannibal victors feasted on the bodies of those whom they had slain in battle and of the prisoners whom they had put to death afterward.

The vessel under the command of Solis, from the deck of which the remnant of his force witnessed these horrible proceedings, without the power of avenging their comrades, returned to Spain with the account of that tragedy. The same man who had acted as pilot to Solis held a similar position on board the vessel of Cabot; and thus to these newcomers the scenes of their predecessors' melancholy fate was pointed out by one who had been an eye-witness.

Just off that point where the city of Buenos Ayres is now situated, lies a small island, called San Gabriel; and here Cabot decided to land. Their purpose was stubbornly resisted by a considerable body of natives; but the Spaniards were equally determined, and finally drove off the savages. A suitable place being found for anchoring the ships, Cabot, with most of his crew, proceeded in open boats on a voyage of discovery up the river.

They journeyed something over twenty miles in this manner, before they decided to land. They were then at the head of that wide estuary which we are accustomed to call the Río de la Plata, at the mouth of the Parana, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Uruguay. They were near an island which Cabot called San Salvador, and it was on this that they proposed to land.

But their progress up the river had been jealously watched by savages, half hidden among the trees that clothed the shores of the stream; and when these enemies saw that the newcomers were preparing to land, they concen-

trated their forces instantly, and sent a storm of arrows, from every direction upon them. Two of the Spaniards were killed, and the others were glad to retreat to their boats. The natives obtained possession of the bodies of the slain, but declared to the Spaniards that they did not mean to eat them; the flesh of Solis and his tough soldier followers had been enough.



VOYAGING UP THE RIVER.

Finding that the island of San Salvador was furnished with an excellent harbor, Cabot dropped down stream to his ships, and caused them to ascend to the safer and more retired anchorage which he had just found. Leaving them there, under the command of Antonio de Grajeda, with a small guard, he prepared a caravel and several smaller boats for an ascent of the Parana.

He found the people living on the banks of this river much less hostile than those on the sea-coast, and made friends with many of them. Notwithstanding this, he built a fort, some miles above the mouth of the Parana, which he named Sanctus Spiritus. Continuing the ascent from this point, his little force, considerably lessened by the frequent deaths which had occurred, became discontented; and it was all that he could do to hold them to his purpose. It was his idea that if this river were ascended far enough, it would lead him either to the rich silver mines of Potosi or by a new passage to the Pacific. The country through which they traveled is described as "very fayre and inhabited with infinite people."

When they reached the point at which the Parana receives the waters of the Paraguay, the explorers did not continue to follow the main stream, which here changes its course entirely, but kept straight on up the Paraguay. They found the inhabitants more highly civilized than any they had yet met; they were industrious tillers of the soil, which they cultivated to advantage; and they seemed to have a clear idea of each other's rights; but they were bitterly opposed to the invasion of their country by any foreigners; and seemed to entertain a particular hatred to the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Seeing that this was the condition of affairs, Cabot exercised great care to prevent a conflict between his followers and the natives; but care was to be rendered ineffectual. Three of the Spaniards left the boats one day, to gather the fruit of the palm-trees which hung in tempting profusion almost over the water. They were set upon by a considerable party of the natives; and being taken by surprise, and greatly outnumbered, were easily captured.

The fiery Spaniards were determined to revenge themselves on the Indians for having thus captured their comrades; and Cabot at once became a military commander. What disposition was made of his small force we do not know; but he was ably seconded in his efforts by the hardy courage of his men, who were burning to fight with the captors of their friends; and who were so accustomed by their profession to hardships that they scarcely regarded the dangers which they must now face. Ignorant of the country and mode of warfare practiced by their enemies, they fought with desperation.

The conflict lasted for the greater part of a day; and the slaughter was something terrible. Twenty-five white men and more than three hundred Indians fell before the dusky foe could be driven from the banks of the river. At last, however, as night fell, the whites saw that their valor had won the day; the enemy had retreated, leaving them in possession of the river which had been the field of battle.

Cabot at once dispatched a messenger to the commander of Fort Sanctus Spiritus, giving an account of the battle and a record of the men whom he had lost, together with an estimate of the enemy's loss. It was a severe blow to him; for not only was his force materially weakened by the death of so many men, but the spirits of the survivors were unfavorably affected. He had had considerable difficulty in keeping them to his purpose thus far; he had been obliged to hold out before them, constantly, the prospects of enormous wealth, to be acquired when they should reach the silver mines of Potosi; but now, when they had come so many miles, and had seen so many of their comrades slain before their eyes, and had no assurance that other hostile hordes of natives did not await their coming along the whole route to the mines, they felt their courage and desire for wealth vanishing together. Such was the condition of affairs when the sailors received a support, unexpected equally by themselves and by their commander.



In order to understand what this support was, we must return for a little while to the fort at Sanctus Spiritus, where the messenger with the news of the battle had just arrived. Scarcely had Cabot's letter been delivered to Grajeda, when a party was seen coming up La Plata. With his mind full of the misfortune which had already happened, and dreading worse things to come, Grajeda hastily concluded that the mutinous officers had escaped from their lonely island by the aid of some passing vessel, and had, by their false representations, secured the sympathy and assistance of its commander and crew. But it was another enemy than Mendez.

We have seen, some pages back, that the Portuguese envoys to the conference at Badajos were furious when that convocation of learned geographers and map-drawers decided that the Molucca Islands were within the meridian that bounded Spanish possessions. They uttered many a savage threat, which were all disregarded by the triumphant Spaniards. Even if any danger had been anticipated from them, all fears were allayed when the King of Portugal sought to obtain, by remonstrance with the Emperor, that which it had been decided did not belong to him of right. But when this had failed, then the threats, considered as empty and idle by the Spaniards, were put into execution; and three ships were secretly prepared to embarrass Cabot's movements. The command of this squadron was placed in the hands of Diego Garcia.

Garcia sailed in 1526, following Cabot's track very closely, to the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, and the coast of Brazil. Along this coast he seems confidently to have expected to come up with the Spanish expedition, and entered all the considerable indentations in search of the vessels. Entering La Plata, he ascended the river; and it was he whom Grajeda supposed to be Mendez.

The newcomer was somewhat surprised to be met by several armed boats, led by Grajeda in person. At first, he was inclined to allow Grajeda to believe that he was a commander who had taken up the cause of Mendez and the Rojas; but finding that Grajeda was determined to do battle with such a person, acknowledged that he was the leader of a Portuguese fleet; and peace was established between the two.

Garcia had allowed one of his vessels to engage in the slave trade; and this, laden heavily with its human chattels, he ordered to return home; while the others, manned by desperate, resolute men, he caused to anchor in the harbor of San Salvador.

Leaving his ships and a part of the crews there, Garcia manned two brigantines with sixty men, and ascended the river, still on Cabot's track. He landed at the fort called Sanctus Spiritus, where Gregorio Caro had been placed in command of the small garrison; and summoned him to surrender.

"Although ready to serve my guest in every possible way," was the very

polite answer, "I shall continue to hold command of the Fort Sanctus Spiritus in the name of Senor Cabota and his master and mine, the most gracious Emperor."

Whether Caro fully understood that Garcia was indeed demanding a surrender, he kept possession of the fort, as he said that he would, and managed to be on good terms with the Portuguese. Perhaps they admired his courtesy in unfavorable circumstances too much to use any impolite methods, such as would have been necessary in attacking the fort; more probably, Garcia smiled contemptuously at the answer, and decided that it was not worth while to assault a fort commanded by such a man.

Caro seems to have been wholly in the dark as to the character and intentions of the newcomers; for he asked, as a favor, that Garcia would liberate any of Cabot's party who might have fallen into the hands of the natives; binding himself to repay faithfully whatever Garcia might have to pay as ransom for such persons; and finally begged that he would befriend the followers of Cabot, should they, in any battle occurring after that of which he had received news, have lost their commander.

Arrived at the point where the city of Corrientes is now situated, Garcia seems to have been in doubt what course to pursue. According to what he had learned from Caro, Cabot had followed the river which came from a northerly direction; but the Parana was so evidently the main stream, that for some distance he followed that, believing that Caro must have mistaken the course pursued, or perhaps been misled by Cabot. But he soon learned that Caro's information was correct, and, returning to the junction of the rivers, ascended the Paraguay.

Cabot's force was still stationed at the point where the battle had taken place; for there were some who had been wounded in the fight whom it was judged best not to move until their injuries should be partly cured. We cannot suppose that the meeting was marked with very much friendliness on either side; but there were no open hostilities. Garcia, however, remarked the weakness of Cabot's force, lessened as it was by death, and rendered unavailable by wounds and fatigue. He demanded that Cabot should surrender at once to him; basing his demands on the fact that Brazil, having been discovered by a subject of Portugal, belonged to that country; and at that time, the name of Brazil was applied to almost the whole coast of South America.

Cabot steadily resisted this demand; but knew that he had not force sufficient to defy the arrogant subject of Portugal. He therefore put him off as best he could; probably with a promise to refer the whole matter to Europe for decision, and the united force returned to Sanctus Spiritus.

Garcia, having stationed a considerable body of his followers here and at San Salvador, set sail at once. Cabot, convinced that he had gone to Europe to make as much mischief as possible, and fearing that he would circulate,

even in Spain, reports which would be injurious to him, resolved to send messengers at once, to lay the true state of affairs before the Emperor. They were to inform the sovereign of the treatment which had been accorded to the mutinous officers, of the changes of destination and the reasons for making such a change, and of the particulars of the ascent of the river. Francis Calderon and George Barlow were chosen as the messengers; their report is still in existence among the archives of Spain.

Cabot defended his change of destination, not only by the necessity of the case, but by the claim that he expected from this route fully as much gain as if he had pursued that originally marked out. He had found, on the banks of La Plata, many natives wearing ornaments of gold and silver; and, making friends with them, "he came to learn many secrets of the country." One of these secrets was the intelligence of the route to the rich silver mines of the interior; and he hoped to secure enough treasure there to repay the generosity of the Emperor, and enrich all those who had taken part in the expedition.

He remained at the fort, awaiting the result of his application for provision, ammunition, goods for trading with the natives, and a larger force of soldiers and seamen, all of which would be necessary for the prosecution of the enterprise.

Whatever Garcia might have done, or tried to do, he had certainly not succeeded in poisoning the mind of the Emperor toward Cabot; for the envoys of the Pilot-Major found the monarch most favorably disposed when they laid their leader's requests before him. The Company, on the other hand, thought Cabot demanded too much, and decided to allow their rights in the matter to pass to the Crown. Charles V. willingly accepted the surrender, and promised to be personally responsible for the enterprise.

But he was carrying on a war with his neighbor, the King of France; and wars are expensive luxuries. His soldiers were clamoring for their pay, and, being mercenaries, threatened to desert his standard if they did not receive it; the Moluccas had been mortgaged, and the Cortes, the Spanish parliament, refused to raise any more money by taxes. Under such circumstances, Charles, however willing he might be to assist Cabot, was unable to do so.

Besides, just at this time, a more flattering offer than that of Cabot's had been made to the Emperor. Pizarro had offered to equip an expedition, at his own expense, for the reduction of Peru, and promised to resign all conquests to the Crown. The entire and exclusive range of the coasts of Peru was granted to him; and the promises which the Emperor had made when Cabot's messengers first applied to him were set aside, never to be fulfilled.

Meanwhile, Cabot was awaiting their return very anxiously, at his lonely post in the New World. But he was not idle; that would have been a certain means of inviting mutiny and dissatisfaction among his men. He employed

his time and theirs in making short excursions about the forts, until the whole neighborhood of the river had been thoroughly explored. He employed them in close observations of the products of the country: so that when they were thrown upon their own resources for the means of obtaining food—for no supplies came from Spain—they were not altogether helpless. Often but one or two were left in charge of the ship, while the others penetrated far into the interior, depending upon their tents or the huts of some friendly natives for shelter by night.



GREAT SHIP OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Cabot's men seem by this time to have given up the idea of returning to their own country, which is always the first wish of dissatisfied wanderers: and were only anxious to penetrate to that rich country which was to afford such an ample reward for all the labors and dangers which had beset them since they left Spain. It was with no small difficulty that he held them in check until he should learn the pleasure of the Emperor; and the delay was as distasteful to him as it was to them.

While they were thus engaged in exploring, observing, and cementing friendly treaties with the natives, the men whom Garcia had left were bringing misfortune upon themselves and the Spaniards on whom they were quartered. They had many disputes with the natives, until the patience of the Indians was quite worn out. At last the crisis came. A more bitter disagreement than usual so enraged the savages that they swore to take vengeance for what they had suffered at the hands of Garcia's men; and, in order that not one guilty man should escape, they vowed to destroy every one of the whites. They had entered into a treaty of peace with Cabot; but they did not understand the difference of nationality; and they considered that he must be, after all, responsible for the actions of all white men at the forts. They considered him a traitor to the treaty, and resolved to act accordingly.

Their plans were carefully laid, and warriors from a number of different tribes were secretly assembled. One morning before day-break they stormed Fort Sanctus Spiritus. The surprise was complete; the inmates were hardly awake before the savages were in possession of the stronghold; and the victors marched against the fort at San Salvador.

Here, however, the garrison was more on the alert, warned by the fate of their comrades farther up the river. They held the enemy at bay until the commander could have his one large ship prepared to receive the remnant of his forces; the others, caravel and brigantines, must be left behind. All the available stores were put on board, and the reduced force embarked, driven from America by a tribe of enraged natives. They arrived in Spain, 1531, after an absence of five years.

Authorities differ as to the reception with which Cabot met; some declaring that it was entirely satisfactory, others saying that he met with coldness and ill-nature. Perhaps both are, in some degree, true; he was probably received with reproaches by the merchants whose hopes he had disappointed, and with kindness by the Emperor who had always entertained respect for him, and who never lost that feeling.

There was some inclination, among the Spaniards in general, to blame Cabot for the treatment which Mendez and his two confederates had received at his hands; but Cabot had so united the sailors and soldiers to him by his course at La Plata, and had shown his admirable character so clearly there, that there was nothing to be said against him in their presence; while his large-minded admiration of Columbus, and perfect freedom from jealousy of that great navigator, made him many friends; for the Spaniards had outgrown, in the years since the death of the Admiral of the Indies, all narrow jealousies, and had exalted him to the place of a national hero. Cabot did not hesitate to declare the exploits of Columbus to have been "more divine than human," and was respected accordingly.

Cabot resumed the office of Pilot-Major, which he continued to fill for some



years, giving general satisfaction, and respected as the first navigator of the age. In Hakluyt's voyages is quoted the opinion of a gentleman who had asked for some information on matters relating to the sea, and was referred to the Pilot-Major; and this quotation we here reproduce:—

“It was tolde mee that there was in the city a valiant man, a Venetian born, named Sebastian Cabot, who had charge of the navigations of the Spaniards, being an expert man in that science, and one that could make cartes [charts] for the sea with his owne hand, and by this report, seeking his acquaintance, I found him a very gentle and courteous person, who entertained mee friendly, and shewed mee many things, and among other a large mappe of the world, with certaine particuler navigations, as well of the Portugals as of the Spaniards, and he spake further unto me to this effect.”

Another contemporary says of him:—

“He is so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to navigations, and the science of cosmographie, that at this present he hath not his like in all Spaine.”

While holding this office, he frequently went as chief of small naval expeditions of comparatively short extent; but nothing new, of sufficient magnitude to be here set down, was undertaken. These voyages served only to keep public interest alive; they cannot be reckoned as promoters of discovery. Cabot thus wrote of them, in a letter dated several years after:—

“After this I made many other voyages, which I now pretermit, and, waxing old, I give myself to rest from such travels, because there are now many young and lusty pilots and mariners of good experience, by whose forwardness I do rejoyce in the fruit of my labors, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.”

For seventeen years did he “rest with the charge of this office,” content, to all appearance, so to spend the remainder of his days. But, as he passed the limit of three-score and ten, there came upon him a longing for his native land. Perhaps the fact that Henry VIII. was no longer King had something to do with it; for Cabot's patience must have been tried by the manner in which the King took up the subject of maritime enterprise, and then cast it entirely aside. This was in the youth of “bluff King Hal,” and his later years did not show even so much interest in the subject, absorbed as he was in maintaining himself and the English Church against the Pope and Luther, and given to sensual self-indulgence. He died in 1547, and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI., a mere child. From the nobles in charge of the Government Cabot expected recognition. Young as he was, the royal child had shown signs of interest in naval affairs, and knew all the ports and harbors of his own dominions, as well as those of France and Scotland. To the country ruled by such a King, the greatest of living navigators, himself a native of that country, was naturally attracted.

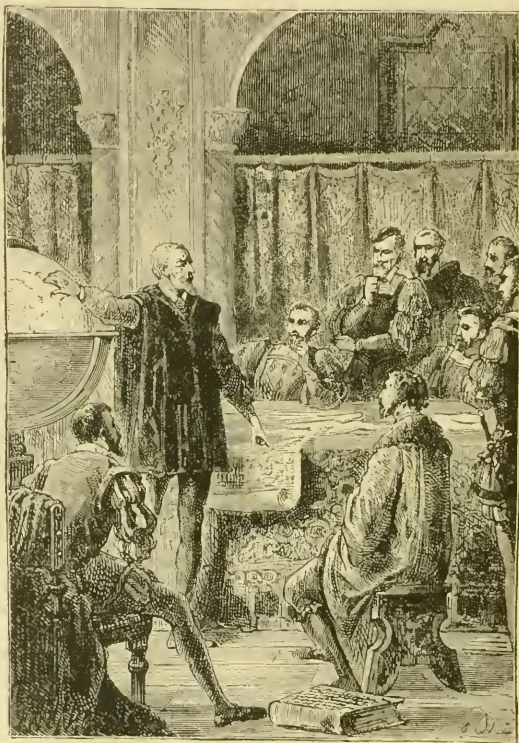
Resigning his high office, he returned to England in 1548. But scarcely had he left Spain before the Emperor discovered that it had been a mistake to allow him to go. A formal demand was accordingly made, that "Sebastian Cabote, Grand Pilot of the Emperor's Indies, then in England, might be sent over to Spain, as a very necessary man for the Emperor, whose servant he was, and had a pension of him." This wording would seem to imply that Cabot had tendered no formal resignation, and taken no formal leave of his patron and friends. It is not improbable, however, that the resignation was ignored on this occasion, and that permission had been given him to journey to England, before the Emperor concluded that the Grand Pilot of the Indies was "a necessary man" to him.

Although he was seventy-three or seventy-four years old at the time of his return to England, Cabot does not seem to have gone there simply to end his days in his native land; there was much good work in the old man yet; it seemed that he had found that fountain of youth which Ponce de Leon had vainly sought in the New World; and whether it was from any definite understanding that he would accept a commission under Edward VI., or whether it was merely from a general expectation that he, an Englishman, would serve the King of England when his services were required, certain it is that the ministers of the young King refused the demand of the Emperor; and Cabot received, shortly after his arrival, the appointment to an office, then first created, of Grand Pilot of England. The similarity of this title to that which he had borne in Spain gives rise to the suspicion that the office was created especially to win him from the Emperor's service, by showing him that England was ready to give him honors as great as Spain had offered him. At the same time, a patent was issued, granting "our beloved servant, Sebastian Cabota," an annual pension of one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, to be paid quarterly. If we accept the calculation of Irving, that money was then worth about three times as much as at the present day, this was equivalent to two thousand five hundred dollars per year of United States money.

The title being given, and the salary attaching to the office fixed, it remains to ascertain the duties. But this is a matter of more difficulty. On one occasion, according to the records, a French pilot, who had made eighteen voyages to the coast of Brazil, relating his experiences to Sir John Yorke, "before Sebastian Cabote," which seems to imply that it was his business to ascertain all that had been accomplished by the discoverers and explorers of the different nations, and perhaps to combine the information so obtained in the form of charts, for the guidance of future expeditions.

It was during this period of honored repose—for his duties could not have been very exacting—that Cabot, for the first time in his long and busy life, found time to elaborate a theory which had occurred to him while still a very

young man. During his first voyage to the west, he had noticed, as Columbus and all following navigators have noticed, the variation of the magnetic needle. We know now that the magnetic pole, to which the needle points, is at some distance from the astronomical pole of the earth, and, consequently, that the compass may sometimes point in a different direction from due



SEBASTIAN CABOT AND THE COSMOGRAPHERS.

north. But this was not dreamed of in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and many of the most eminent navigators of the day puzzled their brains in vain to find a solution of the difficulty. Cabot had noted the fact as a youth of twenty; and after the lapse of more than fifty years he had not found an explanation.

But in the court of Spain or the wilds of La Plata, while there had been no consecutive days and hours of meditation, there had doubtless been many a moment when his mind would recur to the great problem. An explanation would suggest itself to him, and be turned over in his mind; then some pressing duty would call him away from his quiet thought, and the subject must be laid aside. The next time that he had such a short period of leisure, he would perhaps see the flaw in the preceding day's argument, which had not been seen then; and yet another theory would be thought out. Thus year after year went by, and still the variation of the magnetic needle was not explained.

When the young King learned that Cabot had studied long on this subject, and believed that he had found the reason of the variation, he insisted that there should be a convocation of the learned men of the kingdom, before whom the Grand Pilot might lay the result of his studies; thus giving official recognition to the fact that he had first explained it. He showed the extent of the variation by a carefully prepared chart, where the results of his many observations were carefully noted; and showed that in the same longitude it was different in different latitudes. His theory was not that which has since been generally accepted, but it attracted the attention of learned men all over England, and the fame which he acquired by this means spread to the continent.

From a variety of causes, English commerce had become almost extinct; and in 1551 the merchants of that country resolved to find the causes of the stagnation of trade, and remove them if possible. "Certaine grave citizens of London, and men of great wisdom and carefull for the good of their country, began to thinke with themselves how this mischief might bee remedied. \* \* \* \* And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those days very renowned, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him."

It might seem, to the casual observer, that the man of seventy-seven years was better fitted to explain his theories to a gathering of learned men than to propose remedies for business stagnation, particularly when he was expected to take an active part in applying those remedies; but in fact, Cabot was so active and energetic in his age that we might suppose he was a much younger man than he was then thought to be, if there were no record of his having been in command of an expedition which sailed from England fifty-five years before these "grave citizens of London" bade him bestir himself to revive English commerce.

To Cabot, it seemed that the English, who had failed to find a market among neighboring nations for their wares, might find one in the far North, if it were only better known. But at the very outset, the merchants were opposed by a powerful foreign corporation, having an establishment in Lon-

don, and claiming a monopoly of the trade with the northern nations.

This corporation was composed of the agents of certain large commercial houses, chiefly in Antwerp and Hamburg; obtaining first the privilege of trading with Englishmen—for all business was conducted by royal permission then—they had gone on, step by step, until each of the principal nations of Europe, including England, had granted them a monopoly of the trade with the far North. It was against this corporation, known as The Stilyard, that the efforts of the merchants must be first directed.

When an individual or a corporation has had a monopoly of any branch of business for any length of time, it is not difficult to find abuses and infringements of the laws, committed because they consider themselves characters privileged above ordinary citizens. It was thus with the Stilyard; the corporation, by its agents, was found to be guilty of certain fraudulent acts; and a complaint was entered by the new company before the King's Privy Council. In ascertaining the nature of their offenses Cabot had taken a prominent part; and his name lent much weight to this petition. We find this paragraph in the diary of the young King:—

*“February 23, 1551. A decree was made by the Board, that, upon knowledge and information of their charters, they had found: first, that they—the Stilyard—were no sufficient corporation; secondly, that their number, names, and nature, were unknown; thirdly, that, when they had forfeited their liberties, King Edward the Fourth did restore them on this condition, that they should color no strangers' goods, which they had done. For these considerations, sentence was given that they had forfeited their liberties [privileges] and were in like case with other strangers.”*

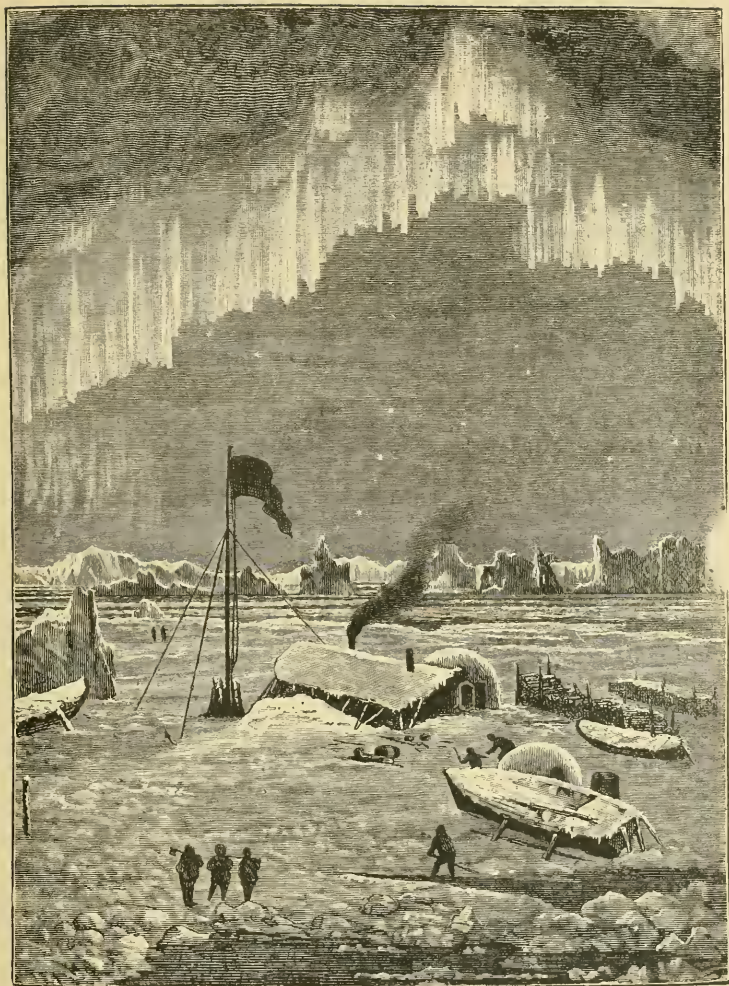
But the great corporation was not willing to yield so readily; and the case was again brought before the Council. The former judgment was confirmed; and probably because of his exertions in this matter, and exposure of frauds which had been practised on the people, Cabot received a considerable sum of money from the royal treasury, which is thus entered on the accounts:—

*“To Sebastian Cabota, the great seaman, two hundred pounds, by way of the King's Majesty's reward, dated in March, 1551.”*

Thus for discovering flaws in mercantile transactions he had received just twenty times the sum that was considered sufficient recompense for having discovered the “New Isle,” although that was the continent of North America.

Three ships were prepared for the expedition; great care being taken in their construction, from the choice of the plank, “very strong and well seasoned,” to the minutest detail of the rigging. For the first time in the history of English shipping, copper was employed to sheathe the bottoms of the vessels. The best seamen obtainable were secured; and the venerable Grand





Pilot of England wrote with his own hand a volume of instructions in duty, which were ordered to be read before the ships' crews every week.

May 20, 1553, the three vessels, under the chief captaincy of tall and handsome Sir Hugh Willoughby—he was chosen as leader because “of his goodly personage, as also for his singular skill in the services of warre”—dropped down the Thames to Greenwich. The court was waiting; and “presently the courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare; the Privie Council, they lookt out of the windows of the court, and the rest ranne up to the toppes of the towers; the ships hereupon discharge their ordnance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the toppes of the hills sounded therewith, the valley and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners they shouted in such sort that the skie rang again with the noise thereof.”

The venerable seaman who had planned and directed the expedition, the stalwart young soldiers and sailors who were to conduct it, the “grave and reverend seigniors” by whose advice the authority to do so was given, the children who looked eagerly on at an enterprise such as their young ambition might now only dream of, were all there; only the boy of sixteen, in whose name all those things were done, the high and mighty Prince, King Edward the Sixth, was absent; for he lay sick of that disease which soon afterward caused his death.

A rendezvous was appointed for the vessels in case they should be separated by storms; and they sailed gaily away from the coast of England. The precaution proved only too necessary, although the ships did not all reach the point which had been agreed upon. Chancellor, who was second in command, became separated from the others by a storm off the coast of Norway; and having cruised for some time, in the hope of rejoining his companions, put by chance into the Bay of St. Nicholas, on the coast of Russia. Here he found the Grand Duke, as the ruler of that country was then called in Europe, at war with the Livonians. However, he was enabled to obtain an audience of him, and succeeded in making a commercial treaty and establishing a trade which was long pursued, with great success, by the English.

The accounts of the adventures of the other two vessels are drawn from the journal of Sir Hugh Willoughby himself. It must here be very briefly summarized. Having wandered about the unknown northern seas for some time after parting with his consort, the two ships made land in the seventy-second degree of north latitude; the place being called, on many old maps, Sir Hugh Willoughby's Country. He followed the coast for some distance, and finally was forced, by the advance of winter, into a harbor on the coast of Lapland. The journal gives a pathetic picture of their attempts to reach the rendezvous, their resolution to pass the winter on this unknown coast, and their extreme destitution after the landing was effected. The inhabitants of that part of

the country, we are told, leave the coast during the winter, finding it warmer inland; they probably migrate southwardly; thus Willoughby and his men built their rude huts upon an uninhabited coast.

Before the winter was fairly upon them, however, they made many efforts to find some trace of inhabitants. We find this entry in the journal, written in September:—

“We sent out three men south-south-west, to search if they could find people, who went three days’ journey, but could find none; after that, we sent other three men westward four days’ journey which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men southeast three days’ journey, who, in like sort, returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.”

For three months, probably, they lingered on in this far northern land, suffering untold agonies by reason of want and cold. The next year, two fishers, chancing to pass that way, found the huts which they had built; in them were the seventy-two persons who had constituted the crews of the ships which lay deserted and decayed, driven by the winds upon the shore. Near the body of one of the men, all of whom had evidently starved or frozen to death, lay a volume of manuscript; he was the tall and goodly Sir Hugh Willoughby, the commander of the expedition; and this was his journal. It ended with the passage above quoted.

Willoughby had fallen a victim to the frozen North, which has destroyed so many other brave men; we have seen that his companion was more successful. In consequence of the treaty which Chancellor succeeded in negotiating with the Russian Government, a charter was granted to an English company in 1554 or 1555, in which Sebastian Cabot, in consideration of his having originated the enterprise, was named Governor for life.

The privileges which the Grand Duke shortly afterward granted to this company show that it was an extensive concern, with a high reputation in the mercantile world. The trade with Russia increased in value and extent, and gave a fresh impulse to the productive industries of England; laying the foundations of that manufacturing activity which distinguishes her to-day.

It must have delighted the old man to watch the growth of the trade which he had first thought of establishing. After the venture of Sir Hugh Willoughby, four ships were prepared for the purpose; and the number was increased every year. The Grand Duke, or Czar, continued to favor the traders, and a large branch was established at Moscow, then the capital of Russia. Cabot was no mere figure-head; he took an active interest in these affairs, and superintended them with untiring energy. It was he who improved, if not established, the whale fisheries of Spitzbergen, and the famous fisheries off Newfoundland. Campbell says of him:—

“With strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot that he was the

author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have rendered us so great, so eminent, so flourishing a people."

But the death of Edward VI. had cast a gloom over his fortunes in one respect. Without taking into account the difference in religious belief, there were many points in which the policy of his reign was reversed by his successor, and the favorites of the young King and his ministers were far from being the favorites of the new Queen.



CHANCELLOR BEFORE THE CZAR.

Cabot was regarded with less disfavor than some others; perhaps his age commanded a respect which was shown to nothing else. But he was made to feel, very often, his dependence upon the Crown; and he constantly saw



others advanced to positions to which he was justly entitled. It might be said that these were but natural actions on the part of Queen Mary and her counselors, they supposing that a man of Cabot's advanced age would wish rather for rest than for any new occupation; and assigning these duties to younger men, as possessing more of the energy proper to youth, and as those upon whom such tasks must devolve at some time, even were Cabot to perform them now. But the fact that his pension remained unpaid after the death of Edward, shows that this action was not based on any consideration for Cabot's infirmities.

Within a year after her accession, Mary married Philip II. of Spain, the son of that great Emperor, Charles V., who had so long been a patron of Cabot. Philip, who was narrow-minded and very jealous, bitterly resented Cabot's having left Spain and refusal to return. Probably some rumors of this feeling had reached the ears of the venerable seaman; for seven days after the King arrived in England, Cabot formally resigned the pension granted him by King Edward.

But these adverse circumstances do not seem to have affected his spirits. An extract from the journal of one Stephen Burroughs shows that he was, at eighty, light of heart and foot. We modernize the spelling:—

"The 27th, being Monday, the right worshipful Sebastian Cabot came aboard our pinnace at Gravesend, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen, who, after that they had viewed our pinnace, and tasted of such cheer as we could make them aboard, they went ashore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards; and the good old gentleman, Master Cabot, gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Searchthrift*, our pinnace. And then, at the Sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me, and them that were in the company, great cheer; and so for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself, among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

Two years after her accession, Mary renewed the pension which the explorer had resigned a year before; but he could hardly have been in need during the time that he was deprived of it. His inherited fortune must have amounted to a considerable sum; and although much had been spent in fitting out those expeditions which had proved unsuccessful, something remained, and was added to, during the long years that he held well-rewarded posts of honor. This renewed pension, however, was not granted to Cabot alone: half of it was granted to William Worthington, who was commissioned to prepare an account of Cabot's discoveries. The explorer's manuscripts were turned over to him for this purpose; but he not only failed to perform the



duty assigned to him, but made away with these precious documents so completely that they have never been recovered. This was probably done at the instance of King Philip, who was naturally anxious to prevent England from proving any right to the New World; and his influence would have been sufficient to secure Worthington against any punishment that might otherwise have overtaken him.

This is all that there is to tell, save that his friend and historian, Richard Eden, stood by his death-bed and watched the passage of the weary soul. The powers that had shone so long in brilliancy gave way at the last. "The good old man had not even in the article of death shaken off all worldlie vanitie," for he recurred to the scenes of his youth; he spoke much of his early voyages; and even "spake flightilie" of a divine revelation with regard to an infallible method of ascertaining longitude, which he was not permitted to reveal; and then the—

"Heroic sailor-soul  
Was passing on its happier voyage."

He is supposed to have died in London about 1557; but there is no definite record of the time or place. Nor has his last resting-place been marked by any stone, to tell us where lies the dust of Sebastian Cabot.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BALBOA, THE DISCOVERER OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

Early Life—Voyage in a Cask—Governor of Darien—"Where is your Comrade?"—Exploring Expeditions—Golden Gifts—The Savage Chief's Promise—Difficulties of the Governor—Aid from Hispaniola—"To the Land of Gold!"—A Toilsome March—The First Sight of the Pacific—A Splendid Vaunt—Return to Darien—Reception of News at Court—Balboa Superseded—Two Parties Formed—Pestilence and Famine—Balboa Appointed Adelantado of the South Sea Countries—Avila's Enmity—A Peacemaker—Avila's Treachery—Balboa's Trial—Condemned—Executed—Removal of Colony.

IN the year 1475, at the Spanish town of Xeres de los Caballeros, there was born a son to the family of Nunez de Balboa, who was given the Christian name of Vasco. The child grew to manhood, and the meager records of his youth say that the young man was rather wild.

Balboa settled in Hispaniola, near San Domingo, and began to cultivate the soil. But this slow process of getting rich did not satisfy the impatient young Spaniard, and his modest gains were not enough to answer the demands of his extravagant habits. He accordingly laid his plans to evade his creditors by secretly leaving the country.

Bastidas had continued his voyage to the main land, and had found a settlement, called Santa Maria del Antigua, near the mouth of a small river on the isthmus; although it was not then known how narrow a neck of land separated the Atlantic from another ocean; nor had the eye of white man ever yet beheld the vast expanse of water which separates America from Asia.

Some years after this adventure, Ojeda led an expedition to the new colony of Darien, and founded the town of San Sebastian. This was in 1509; and he left orders with Francisco de Enciso, an adventurous lawyer of San Domingo, to fit out an expedition the following year to convey provisions and other supplies to the new settlement. Balboa heard of this, and recognized his opportunity. He caused a large cask to be conveyed to his farm, and stowed himself away in this; and by arrangement with Enciso, it was taken on board the ship as if it contained provisions. By such means did the young Spanish nobleman, the future governor and discoverer, evade his creditors.

The expedition arrived at San Sebastian, only to find the once flourishing colony a deserted ruin. Enciso was at a loss what to do next; and finally decided to adopt the advice of Balboa—who had soon come out of his cask—and sail for Darien and the town of Santa Maria del Antigua, which was also

nearly deserted. His proposal was accepted; and the ships sailed for the place named.

Enciso attempted to prohibit the adventurers from trading with the natives for gold on their own account; considering that all such commerce was the right of the Crown, of which he was the representative. This effort, naturally enough, was far from successful: it provoked the adventurous, gold-seeking followers beyond endurance; and they refused to recognize Enciso's authority.



BALBOA.

Ojeda determined to form a settlement at Cumana, as a part of the South American coast was called by the natives; but, anxious to secure the friendship of his dusky neighbors, he concluded that it would be better to respect their property, and rob those at a distance of the hammocks, cotton, and so forth, which he might need. The scheme, however, was not an entire success, as no provisions were found; and a vessel had to be sent back to Jamaica for necessary food.

Arriving at Coquibacao, and landing at Bahia Honda Bay, he determined to form his settlement there. The natives, however, did not approve of this

determination, and the moment that a party tried to land, a shower of arrows drove them back to their ships. Ojeda at once landed with his whole force, and so frightened the Indians that they allowed the construction of the fortress to proceed in peace.

But the vessel sent to Jamaica for supplies had not reached the infant colony, and food became very scarce. Ojeda led many foraging parties to the neighboring Indian villages, and collected some provisions; but, determined that they should not be wasted, he locked them up and gave them out only at stated intervals in certain quantities. The treasure, too, which was procured from the same source, was kept under lock and key by him. This did not suit the careless, rollicking Spaniards at all; and by the time that the caravel came from Jamaica they were ripe for rebellion. The captain of this vessel was taken into the confidence of the conspirators, and Ojeda thrown into irons on board of it. It was at first agreed that such as were tired of the enterprise should return to Spain, leaving Ojeda the smallest of the vessels, with such as preferred to remain; but they finally changed their minds, and sailed to Hispaniola with the cavalier on board the caravel, heavily ironed.

But before the vessel reached its destination, Ojeda determined to escape. His arms were free, and it was therefore with comparatively little difficulty that he managed to let himself down over the side of the vessel, having eluded the watch of guards who had grown somewhat careless. But while his arms were free, he had about his feet enough iron to have drawn him to the bottom, strong man and good swimmer as he was. After vainly endeavoring to get to the shore, he was compelled to cry for help; and was taken back on board the caravel and delivered as a prisoner into the hands of the authorities.

Tried at St. Domingo for his misgovernment of the colony, he was deprived of all his effects and made a debtor to the Crown; but an appeal to the Royal Council brought about a reversal of this verdict, and an order that his property should be restored to him.

It was necessary, however, to have a governor. Nicuesa, the governor of the province, was proposed by some; and he was actually brought to Darien by the advocates of this rule. But the others flatly refused to receive him, and there was nothing for him to do but to go back again. Fearful that he would not do this, the inhabitants of Darien seized him and seventeen of his companions, and placing them in a crazy bark, bade them hasten back to Hispaniola.

What part Balboa had in these summary proceedings we do not know; but it is certain that a considerable number of the turbulent settlers looked upon him as their chief, and his party grew stronger and stronger. Enciso was thrown into prison, and finally sent back to Spain, along with the alcalde, who had been an ally of Balboa, but had turned from him. This seems to have been the end of the party which favored some other ruler than Nunez.



THE ATTEMPTED ESCAPE.



It was thus that he became the governor of the colony; and he strengthened his authority by increasing the safety and convenience of those under him. He made many journeys into the surrounding country, securing the friendship of the neighboring caciques, and making a sort of treaty now with this tribe, and now with that, by which his followers could trade to advantage with the natives.

But he was anxious to obtain the royal favor; and he knew that there was no surer path to it than the discovery of great mineral wealth in this New World. He learned that the province of Coyba was particularly rich; and dispatched seven of his men on a journey thither to spy out the land. The leader of this expedition was no other than Francisco Pizarro, afterwards famous as the conqueror of Peru.

The situation of the colony is not laid down on any modern map, but it may easily be placed by means of the river Atrato, which empties into the Gulf of Darien, after flowing northward through the United States of Columbia. A short distance to the northwest is the Darien River, and at the mouth of this smaller stream was the town. The province of Coyba, which probably took its name from the cacique, is supposed to have been between the Atrato and the Darien, and might be reached by sea, or by ascending either river.

Pizarro and his companions chose to ascend the smaller stream, following its course very closely, although they traveled by land. They had not gone far, however, when a host of savages rushed upon them from the thickets, uttering the savage yells which formed their war-cry, and assailing the white men with showers of arrows and stones. Pizarro ordered his men to draw closer together; and at the word of command the seven mail-clad Spaniards rushed into the midst of the host of naked, yelling savages, and slashed right and left with their well-tempered swords. The Indians, unused to such weapons—for they had no iron—shrank before the assault, and such as were not slain or severely wounded fled. But although the victory had been thus won, the Spaniards were not sure of being able to hold their own another time; this might be but the advance guard of a great army; and six of them prudently retreated.

"Where is your comrade?" demanded Balboa, sternly, when they reported themselves; "there were six men under your command, Pizarro."

They were obliged to confess that they had retreated in such haste that they had left their wounded comrade on the field of battle; and the governor, shocked at the peril of one of their own race among the savages who had proved themselves so hostile, instantly ordered them to return and bring the wounded man to the settlement. It was done; and the Spaniards learned anew the lesson that the governor whom they had chosen would guard their interests and protect them, even against each other.

But he was not thus to be deterred from reaching Coyba, where wealth was

to be found in such abundance. He led an expedition himself after that small one under Pizarro's command had failed, and the journey was made by sea. The territories of the cacique Ponca lay between the sea and those of Coyba; him Balboa attacked, and defeated disastrously; so that the Spaniards were enabled to carry away much booty with them. He then paid a friendly visit to Comagre, the chief of the adjoining province.

Comagre came out in state to receive him, escorted by seven of his sons, and followed by his principal warriors and a multitude of his people. The Spaniards were conducted to the village with much ceremony; dwellings were assigned them; provisions in plenty were brought to them; and men and women were appointed to attend upon them.

The province, as they called it, which formed the country over which this cacique ruled, was about twelve miles in area, and extended, as a beautiful plain, from the foot of a lofty mountain almost to the sea. The huts of the people were of the same general character as those with which they had previously been familiar; but the dwelling of the cacique himself was larger and better finished than any other native building that they had seen.

The eldest son of the cacique, in common with his father, brothers, and others of the tribe, brought various presents to the strangers; the remarkable thing about the gifts that he brought was that they were largely of gold—about four thousand ounces in all. Besides the ornaments of the precious metals which he bestowed upon his father's guests, he offered sixty slaves which he had taken in war. But the Spaniards evidently preferred the yellow ornaments to all other things brought to them.

The young Indian watched them in wonder; for to him, there were many things more valuable; he would readily have given much more gold than this for one of the keen-edged swords which the Spaniards carried at their side; or for one of those wonderful tubes which spoke in thunder and lightning, and enemies died at the sight of the lightning; or even for a couple of those axes which cut wood so much more readily than the sharpest-edged piece of stone or copper which he possessed. And this strange desire for the yellow metal made even the governor forget his dignity, for he quarreled openly with his followers about the division of it.

The Spaniards had brought scales with them, and were weighing out the gold for division when the quarrel took place. The young barbarian struck the scales with his fist, so that the glittering ornaments were scattered around the rude apartment; and exclaimed:—

“If this is what you prize so much that you leave your far-off homes, and even risk your lives for it, I can tell you of a land where they eat and drink out of golden vessels, and gold is as common as iron is with you.”

Did a Spaniard of the time need more, to inflame his mind with the wildest dreams of riches untold? Balboa instantly turned from the treasure that

now seemed so trifling, and listened eagerly to all that the young chief had to say. All the information which he had had been derived from captives taken in war; but it was most cheerfully rehearsed to the greedily listening white men.

Balboa and his men at once returned to the settlement, and a messenger was dispatched to Don Diego Columbus, who was again high in authority on the island of Hispaniola, apprising him of what had been learned. The members of the family of the great Admiral had now regained something of the influence which he ought to have possessed, but which had been lost to him in the last years of his life; and Balboa entreated Don Diego to use his influence with the King to obtain a force of a thousand men for the enterprise which promised so rich a reward. Fifteen thousand crowns in gold—equivalent to about fifty thousand dollars of United States money at the present day—were sent as the share of the Crown of what had already been obtained. Having sent this appeal for assistance, with an earnest of what might be procured, Balboa prepared for the expedition by making a minute examination of the surrounding country; during the course of which he secured many captives and much booty.

But he does not seem to have retained the allegiance of his followers; few of the Spanish-American governors ever did. The adventurers who came to this continent, especially at the first, were men who were both poor and proud; they could brook no authority but that of the King, and they had left their own country partly to be free from the direct exercise of the royal power. Added to this, they were too proud and lazy to work, but expected to be made immensely wealthy in an exceedingly short time. They resented, then, any interference of the governor in their dealings with the natives; they looked upon the Indians as created especially to serve them; and these savages certainly had no rights which a white man, particularly a Castilian hidalgo, was bound to respect. Added to all these qualities and opinions, they were fierce and quarrelsome among themselves. It is difficult to imagine men whom it would be harder to govern, were the governor endowed with the wisdom of Solomon and the patience of Job.

Balboa had neither; there is nothing to show that he was one whit better than his comrades, who had become his subordinates. He regarded the natives as heathen savages, whom a Christian soldier might rob with impunity, if only he were sure of getting off safely with his booty. When he made treaties with the various tribes near his town, it was because the Indians were too numerous and too widely allied to be extinguished; and friendly intercourse was more convenient than constant war. Vasco Nunez de Balboa, in spite of his sounding titles, his glittering armor, his romantic history, was simply an unprincipled adventurer who did not pay his debts, who robbed all whom he safely could, and who did not hesitate to enslave the natives of the province which he was chosen, by the voice of his companions, to govern.

Such is his character, when divested of the halo which the lapse of nearly four centuries has hung about it.

With a governor of this kind, and people of this kind, it is small wonder that there were dissensions. Into the details of these dissensions we need not enter; it is enough that his followers all but rebelled against his authority. In the very midst of the discontent, the vessels from San Domingo arrived. There was a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men, provisions for all, and a commission for the governor, signed by the royal treasurer of the island, appointing Don Vasco Nunez de Balboa Captain-General of the colony. This seems to have been the first official recognition of the dignity to which Balboa had, by the suffrages of his companions, obtained, and from which, to judge by the accounts of their rebellious proceedings just before the arrival of the ships, he had been very nearly deposed.

The number of men sent was of course much less than the number that he had asked for; but these came promptly from among those who were on the island, while it would require three or four months to communicate his request to the King and receive an answer. Balboa determined to make the best of it, and while he was waiting for the larger force, to employ the smaller body of men in the proposed enterprise. Collecting all the followers that he could, he manned a brigantine and nine canoes, and set out.

Reaching that part of the coast known as Coyba, he left half his force to guard these vessels, and with the other half proceeded to the mountains. We can scarcely realize the difficulty which they experienced in climbing these heights, under the burning heat of the tropical sun, with the vapors from the teeming soil rising thick around them, weighed down by their heavy armor and weapons, and scarcely able to force their way through the dense growth of the forests. But the Spaniards were in search of a gold-producing country, and could endure much; so they pressed the Indians into service, to carry their burdens, and to guide them through the wilderness.

On arriving at the village of that chief whom they had attacked and defeated at the time of the previous expedition, they found that the Indians of this tribe had fled to the mountains. Their retreat was soon discovered, however; and Balboa made friends with the cacique to such an extent that the Indian told him all that he knew of the riches of the surrounding country. He confidently assured him that there was a great sea beyond the mountains, and gave him many golden ornaments brought from the countries on its borders. He assured the stranger that when he had reached the summit of a lofty ridge, which he pointed out, he would see this great body of water far below him.

Many of the Indians who had served as guides and bearers were completely worn out by the fatigues which they had endured, and it was necessary to find others to take their places. These were furnished by the cacique, who seems

to have been anxious to get the white men away from his people at any cost. The country was rocky, the forests matted with heavy vines; and there were many streams which they could cross only by means of rafts.

At the end of four days' journey, they reached the territory of a cacique named Quaraqua, who was at war with the first who had proved so friendly. With a large force of warriors, he attacked the Spaniard with great fury, expecting to turn them back from his dominions by this single battle. He had reckoned without his host, however; he knew nothing of the effect of fire-arms; and the discharge of their few guns produced the usual effect upon the savages. As they scattered and fled in terror, the Spaniards pursued them, unloosing the huge blood-hounds that accompanied them, and cheering these dreadful beasts on after their human game. Quaraqua and six hundred of his warriors were slain, and very many taken prisoners.

But, although the ascent of the mountain, from the summit of which they were to behold this wonderful sea, was right before them, the Spaniards were too exhausted by the battle to push on that night. One who has read anything of their countrymen in the New World cannot but suspect, however, that they would not have been so tired out had they not found a considerable quantity of gold and jewels in the village of the dead cacique. To divide this booty so that each would get his due share, was a work of some difficulty, requiring time; and each one was afraid to start off before the division had been made, lest he should not receive all that was his due.

The morning dawned. It was the 25th of September, 1513. They began their wearisome march up the side of the mountain early, though with diminished numbers; for but sixty-seven of the original force had seemed equal to the exertion that would be required. By ten o'clock, only the last stretch in the ascent remained; and bidding his men remain where they were, Balboa pressed forward and upward, alone.

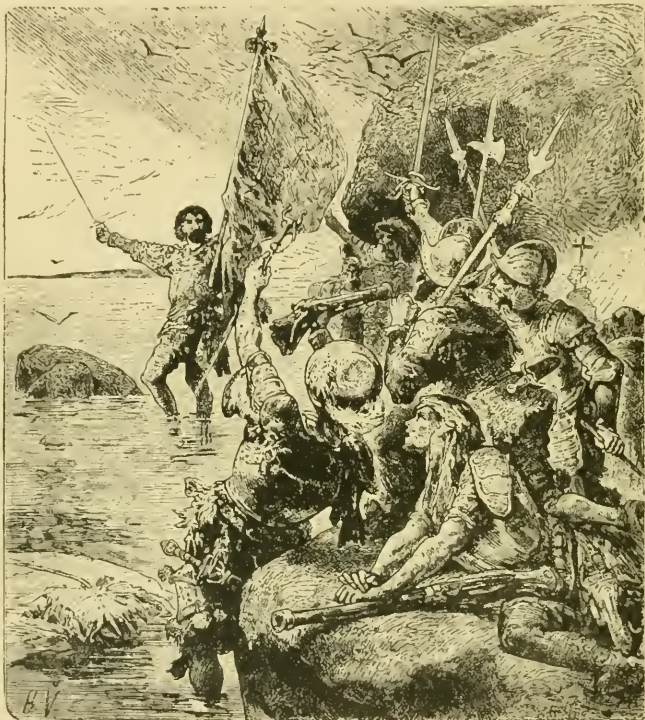
Never did a grander prospect meet the eye of man; from the rocky coast, where the mountains stretched to either side far as the eye could see, extended that vast sweep of ocean, bounded only by the sky. To what distant shore it reached, who could say? Did the discoverer dream that between him and the nearest point of the continent to be reached by sailing across that ocean, there lay nearly one-half the circumference of the globe?

In accordance with that beautiful custom of these ancient discoverers—beautiful, no matter how their other actions may have taught us to question the worth of their devotion—Balboa fell upon his knees, and returned thanks to God for having permitted him to make a discovery so beneficial to his country and so honorable to himself. His followers, eagerly watching his actions from below, could no longer restrain themselves, but rushed upward to the summit of the mountain, and joined in his thanksgivings.

Thus encouraged by the sight of the sea across which they were to sail to



the land of boundless wealth, the adventurers, Balboa at the head, hastened down the western slope of the mountain, and reached the coast of the Pacific. With the greatest enthusiasm Balboa pressed forward into the water; and holding aloft his sword, while his left hand bore the standard, as



BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

if he were all ready for the combat, claimed the ocean, and all that it contained, for the sovereign of Castile; and declared that he would make good that claim against any that should dare to dispute it, be he Christian or Infidel. It was a splendid vaunt; but Balboa, though he did not know the extent of this ocean, though he did not dream of the vast area he was claiming, doubtless meant every word that he said; he would, indeed, have defended this claim with his

life, for these old Spaniards, whatever their faults, were not lacking in courage.

The point from which he beheld the Pacific for the first time is a little east of Panama; the trend of the coast there is from east to west, so that the ocean seemed to stretch far away to the south. Because of this, and because he did not realize that he stood on a narrow neck of land connecting two continents, he named this the South Sea—a name which it long retained, particularly in connection with the islands of Australasia.

He explored the coast for some distance, being well received by the caciques of various tribes, who had probably heard, from other Indians, of the white men who had come from across the eastern ocean. He extorted provisions and gold from some of these by force; others brought their tribute voluntarily; and he learned from the reports of all, with much satisfaction, that the pearl oyster abounded in the newly-found sea.

But this was not all. He questioned them regarding that wonderfully rich country of which he had before heard, and in search of which he had found the Pacific Ocean. They all agreed in the information that such a country lay at a considerable distance toward the southeast; and some of them added that the inhabitants used as a beast of burden a certain animal which they had tamed for the purpose. An Indian artist attempted to draw the figure of a llama, which the Peruvians had actually taught to perform such services as the horse and ox render us; but either his art was at fault, or the imagination of the Spaniards was too lively; they mistook it for a camel, and at once concluded that they were on the direct route to the most wealthy regions of India.

But impatient as he was to find this long-sought country, which always lay just before the feet of Columbus, Balboa realized that it would be the height of folly for him to attempt the journey with his handful of men, worn out by fatigue and the diseases which are so apt to beset Europeans in that enervating climate. He determined to return to the settlement, and, the following season, to come here again with a fresher force, better prepared for the enterprise. In order to acquire a better knowledge of the isthmus, he chose for his return a route entirely different from that by which he had advanced; but it was fully as difficult and dangerous as the other. The adventurers, however, were elated with their success; and the homeward journey was performed in much less time than the outward one had required. They reached Santa Maria, after an absence of four months, "with much more honor and treasure," says the old chronicle, "than the Spaniards had previously acquired."

Balboa's first duty was of course to report the consequences of his expedition to the King. It may be imagined with what satisfaction he did this, when we read that, "the first account of the discovery of the New World

hardly occasioned greater joy than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found to the great Southern Ocean." The Spanish authorities imagined that they had now acquired every advantage for which they had hoped for so long; Portugal, as we have seen, had been given all the unsettled territories east of a certain longitude; Spain, all that lay to the west. But this barred Spain from using that path to the Indies, shorter and safer than any known of old, which Vasco da Gama discovered when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope. What Spain had been wishing for, ever since the first voyage of Columbus, was to find a passage to India across the western ocean, and thus be enabled to share in the trade of these opulent countries of the far east.

What the Spaniards did not know, was that to the south and the north of the isthmus lay a continent; that the southern one could only be circumnavigated by a long and dangerous voyage, and that the northern one stretched so close to the pole that it was practically impossible to find a passage around it to the Pacific; that the crossing of the isthmus would be a matter of difficulty for more than two hundred and fifty years, and that the close of the nineteenth century would scarcely see a ship-canal cut across it.

Jubilant in his ignorance, Ferdinand of Arragon was willing to grant all that Balboa asked as preparation for an expedition to this golden land. It was reported that in that country men had only to throw their nets in the sea and they would draw up gold; and it was necessary to restrain the numbers who would have flocked to the standard of the leader on such an enterprise; and to limit to fifteen hundred the force which, it had originally been determined, should consist of twelve hundred men.

Who was to be the leader in this expedition? Who could it be but Balboa? In common justice, the man who had discovered the path should be allowed to follow it, at the head of those who would seek the golden country; but Ferdinand and Fonseca were not bound by common justice. Fonseca was bitterly opposed to any man who distinguished himself in the New World; Ferdinand was always ready to reduce too ambitious a subject to the common level by subjecting him to disappointment and mortification. No notice was taken of Balboa; but Don Pedro Arias de Avila was appointed Governor of the Colony of Darien, and leader of the expedition which had been fitted out.

Fifteen vessels, fitted out with a liberality which Ferdinand had never before displayed in equipping any armament for the New World, conveyed the new governor to the scene of his authority. Immediately upon his arrival, Avila sent some of his principal officers ashore to inform Balboa of his arrival.

They found the discoverer wearing a dress very different from that which they had expected to see; they had supposed that the Governor of Darien, who had discovered this rich country, would be habited as became a knight

and noble of high station and great wealth. The meanest peasant could scarcely find a coarser garb than his canvas jacket and hempen sandals; and he was busily engaged in helping some Indians thatch his own hut with reeds.

We may imagine that the officers were somewhat reluctant to deliver their message to a man so clothed and so employed; but when once it had been delivered, they perceived from the bearing of Balboa that he was indeed the gentleman, in manners as well as in birth, and fitted to receive an envoy from the delegate of a king.

So many adventurers had been attracted to his standard by the news of his success, that Balboa now found himself at the head of a body of four hundred and fifty men; and when it is considered that these were all veterans in the service of the New World, while the newcomers were unused to its hardships and dangers, we may see the truth in the historian's statement that his force was fully a match for Avila's.

These men murmured loudly at the injustice of the King in superseding their governor, and sending an untried man to lead the expedition which was so sure to confer honor and riches on its chief; but Balboa repressed these complaints as far as possible, and received Avila with all the deference that was due to the office which he held.

Avila repaid this generous moderation by ordering an immediate judicial inquiry into Balboa's conduct, as governor of the colony, and imposed a considerable fine upon him when this inquiry revealed that he was, according to Avila's ideas, guilty of some irregularities. Of course, Balboa was not now disposed to submit as unquestionably to Avila as he had been at first; he considered that the courtesy with which he had received the new governor should have met with some requital; and he did not relish being tried as an offender where he had once been judge. Soon two parties were formed; one, of those who had come out with Avila; and the other, of the old inhabitants of the colony and those adventurers who had been attracted to it by the fame of Balboa.

The dissensions were not decreased by the common misfortunes which they were soon called upon to endure. A terrible plague, according to the old writers, raged among them; what was the nature of this epidemic, modern science cannot judge from the accounts that remain; provisions began to grow scarce; and, in the space of one month, six hundred persons perished from the pestilence and the famine. Many of those who had come out to find wealth, seeing that they were more likely to find a grave, asked to be allowed to return to Spain, and a deep despair seemed to brood over all.

In order to avert a general collapse of the expedition which had been fitted out at such expense, Avila sent several small parties out to explore the surrounding country, and levy what gold they could from the Indians. These

parties proved cruel and rapacious, as far as the natives were concerned; and plundered without distinction wherever they marched.

Balboa had made treaties with several of the neighboring caciques, in order to assure the safety of the colony; but these were utterly ignored by the newcomers. Regardless of every consideration, they ravaged the country from the Gulf of Darien to Lake Nicaragua; and, by this desolation of their territory, made bitter enemies of the natives who were able to escape their swords.

Balboa saw with much concern the violation of the treaties which he had taken much pains to make, in the hope that they would make it much easier for him to explore the golden shores of the South Sea; and sent some very earnest remonstrances home to Spain. The same vessel which bore this account of the ruin of a prosperous colony, bore also Avila's complaint that Balboa had deceived the King by magnifying his own exploits and by falsely representing the riches of the country.

But Ferdinand preferred to believe Balboa, because Balboa promised more gold than Avila did; and by way of making some redress of the injury inflicted by appointing a stranger to the command so well earned, appointed the former Governor of Darien Adelantado of the Countries on the South Sea; granting very extensive privileges with the title. At the same time that this commission was issued, he sent instructions to Avila to support Balboa in all his operations, and to consult with him regarding every measure which he himself proposed to undertake.

But Avila was four thousand miles away from Spain, and the royal mandate failed to make him any more friendly to Balboa. He did not do anything which could be directly reported to the King; he simply let Balboa alone; and as the latter had exhausted his stock of money in paying the fine and other exactions of Avila, he could not make suitable preparations for taking possession of his new government.

Finally, however, the Bishop of Darien—for by this time there were several bishops of the New World—made peace between the two; and a marriage was arranged between Balboa and one of the daughters of Avila. For a while, everything seemed to go on smoothly; Balboa made several expeditions into the surrounding country, where he was able to undo much of the mischief that had been done by the recent raids. Many adventurers now flocked to his standard again, and with the aid of Avila he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea.

For this purpose it was necessary to build the vessels which would be needed for the transportation of his men; and with almost infinite difficulty the obstacles in the way were surmounted, and four brigantines launched upon the Pacific. Three hundred men had been chosen from among those who were anxious to accompany him, and he was all ready to sail for Peru.



But, although Avila had seemed to yield so completely, and to ally himself so closely with Balboa, there was nothing that could efface his old hatred and jealousy of the man. He feared that if Balboa succeeded, evil would come to him; for he knew that he had deeply injured his son-in-law, and he could not understand how any one should forgive or forget such injuries.

He accordingly sent him a message, which sounded very friendly, asking him to postpone his voyage for a little while, and come to Atla, as he particularly wished to see him about something of importance. Balboa, thinking no evil, went; but, as soon as he entered the place, was arrested by order of Avila.

Judges were immediately appointed, and the trial began. Balboa was accused of disloyalty to the King, and of an intention to revolt against the authority of Avila. There seems to have been no foundation for these charges, except Avila's jealous fears that, should Balboa succeed in establishing his government on the shores of the South Sea, he might aim at independence of the Governor of Darien.

When the judges were appointed by a man like Avila, who entertained such deep hatred for the accused, there could be small doubt as to the result of the trial. Balboa was found guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced. Yet so strong was the evidence of his innocence that the very judges who found him guilty warmly interceded for his pardon; it is probable that his offense, whatever it was, consisted merely of some hasty, impatient expression, which was not really meant by him, and the judges who could not disregard it entirely saw that it had only been brought forward by personal hatred.

But the petition for pardon was made to Avila, who had determined upon his death before the trial had begun; and although the judges were seconded by the whole colony, he was not to be moved from his purpose, and Balboa was publicly executed. With him died the expedition which he was to have led.

Notwithstanding this flagrant violation of his office, Avila not only escaped punishment, but, through the influence of Fonseca, was continued in full power. He soon afterward obtained permission to remove the colony from Santa Maria to Panama on the opposite side of the isthmus; the reason alleged being the superior healthfulness of the western coast. There was not much gained in this respect; but the fact that the settlement was located on the western shore gave the Spaniards some advantages in future expeditions.

And thus ends the story of Don Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, and of his deadly enemy, Don Pedro Arias de Avila.

## CHAPTER IX.

### MAGELLAN, THE DISCOVERER OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

A Royal Page—Portuguese Mariners—Albuquerque the Great—Royal Ingratitude—Magellan goes to Spain—Westward to India—Reaches South America—The Giant Patagonians—Traveler's Tales—Conspiracy against Magellan—Punishment of the Plotters—The Straits of Magellan—Entering the Pacific—Terrible Privations—The Unfortunate Islands—The Islands of Thieves—Retaliation—Frightened into Friendliness—Trading for Gold—Missionary Work—In Portuguese Waters—Conversion of Islanders—Persecuting the Heathen—The Spaniards Demand Tribute—The Natives Resist—Poisoned Arrows—Magellan Mortally Wounded—A Determined Enemy—Flight of the Spaniards—At Borneo—Attacked—Return to Philippine Islands—To the Moluccas—Doubling the Cape—Starvation—The First Circumnavigation Accomplished.

**D**URING the latter half of the fifteenth century, there lived a noble family named Magelhaes, at Villa de Sabroza, about the center of that part of Portugal which lies north of the Douro River. Here there was born, about the year 1470, a son who was christened Fernao; but whose name has been changed into that which is more familiar to our ears, Ferdinand Magellan.

He seems to have spent his boyhood as a page in the train of Queen Leonora, the wife of that King John of Portugal, who served Columbus such a shabby trick. The position of page in those days was equivalent to going to boarding-school now; for the nobleman in whose household these boys of other nobles were placed, was expected to provide them with such instruction as was necessary for the education of a gentleman; they were taught something of the history of their own country, perhaps of others; they learned a little Latin, enough to enable them to understand the Church services; they may have been taught to read and write; probably at the time of young Magellan they did receive such instruction; and they had plenty of teaching and exercise in those manly arts which were practiced by all but the peasants whose labor left them no time for recreation.

In this account of the life of pages in medieval times, it must be remembered that the educating of these youths was not undertaken from any disinterested motive. There was quite a rivalry among those of similar rank as to the size of their respective households; and it was usual for the boy's father to pay a fee to the noble who took him under his protection. Thus, we see these great households of counts and barons were like the modern boarding-schools in more than one particular.

There was but one direction in which Portuguese youths of the end of the

fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries desired advancement; the whole nation was mad about the sea and the exploration of its coasts. The discovery of a route to the Indies, as it was thought, by a mariner in the service of Spain, had awakened national jealousy anew; and Portugal was more than ever determined to prosecute her explorations of the African coast, and to find a way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. This had not yet been accomplished by the time that young Magellan was seeking to engage in active life; but we have no record of any part that he took in the various expeditions which preceded and followed that led by Vasco da Gama.



FERDINAND MAGELLAN.

In 1503, Alphonso de Albuquerque, afterward surnamed the Great, was commissioned Viceroy of the Indies; and doubtless by the influence of his royal patroness, Magellan, now in the very prime of life, was named as one

of those who were to accompany him to his vicereignty. Goa was conquered, and made the seat of government; and before long, the authority of the King of Portugal was enforced from the Sunda Islands to the Persian Gulf. It is related that the Shah of Persia, learning of the approach of the strangers, sent a messenger to demand tribute from their master, the King of Portugal.



ALBUQUERQUE SENDS TRIBUTE TO THE SHAH OF PERSIA.

Albuquerque returned answer that he would send the required tribute, of such nature as the King of Portugal was accustomed to pay; and he thereupon sent a quantity of cannon-balls, shells, and swords, as the only coin in which he would render such homage.

Such was the man under whom Magellan served his apprenticeship; nor could he have found one who was better calculated to train him for what he was to do. While Albuquerque maintained a strict military discipline among his followers, he was wise, humane, and just in his dealings with them; he made his country's name profoundly respected in the east; and many potentates, when they saw how he reduced others to submission, voluntarily sought the protection and alliance of Portugal. Long after he was dead, the subjects of his successors were accustomed to resort to his grave, there to pray for his protection against the tyranny to which they were subjected. Only a truly great man could rule the turbulent adventurers of that time; but Albuquerque did his work thoroughly.

But the great man did not reap the just reward of his services. The envy of courtiers caused him to be superseded by King John's successor, Emmanuel; and a personal enemy was appointed to his office of viceroy. It was in vain that the Persian ruler tempted him, by offers of high military position, to rebel against the ingratitude of his sovereign; he accepted the decision calmly, and made ready to return to Portugal. But he was deeply affected by the disgrace which he had undeservedly suffered, and died at sea on the way home.

This was in 1515. The King appeared heartily to regret what he had done, and heaped honors upon the son of the dead viceroy. Magellan had earned distinction in the Indies, and thought that, since the King was rewarding Albuquerque's services thus tardily, his own might meet with some recompense. But he did not meet with the recognition which he expected; and, in company with Ruy Falero, who had earned some reputation as a geographer and astronomer, he determined to follow the example of Columbus, and seek at the court of Spain that opportunity for enterprise which was denied him in Portugal.

Charles V., the great Emperor, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, was then King of Spain, as well as monarch of Austria; one crown being his by right of his mother, while he was ruler of Austria by inheritance from his father, and Emperor by election. Before him the two adventurers laid the project which had been ignored at the court of Portugal.

This was nothing else than a scheme for reaching the Moluccas by sailing to the west; substantially the same as the original idea of Columbus, but now shown to be fraught with much more danger and difficulty than he, supposing the globe to be so much smaller and Asia to be so much larger than is actually the case, had thought must be dared in attempting to reach the east by way of the west. It was now clearly understood that Columbus had not reached India, but had discovered a new continent; and it was seen with equal clearness by these two adventurers, that his original intention might yet be carried out.

The Pope had fixed a limit beyond which the Portuguese might not venture, and east of which the Spaniards dared not pause. The latter nation, then,



could not follow in the track of the Portuguese, but it could strike out yet farther in the path which Columbus had marked out; and, although reaching the east by this route, they might trespass on Portuguese territory, yet there was no fixed boundary on that side at which they must cease to explore, and they might assert their right as fully equal to that of Portugal.

The Emperor heard the project with favor; and was easily convinced that whatever the Portuguese might have conquered and settled, they had no shadow of claim to the Molucca and Banda Islands, famous for their spices. He granted their petition, and five ships were fitted out for the expedition. Their crews numbered two hundred and thirty-seven men, and Magellan was duly commissioned admiral of the squadron.

August 10, 1519, they left Seville, arriving at Teneriffe Sept. 26. From this point they kept close to the shore of Africa, until they reached the northeastern part of the Gulf of Guinea; and here, for seventy days, the vessel lay,

"As idle as a painted ship  
Upon a painted ocean;"

waiting for a favorable wind to break the dead calm and waft them across the line. Here, the old chronicler notes as if it were indeed a remarkable thing, instead of being a necessary accompaniment of their being south of the equator, they lost sight of the North Star. Guided by those stars which the voyages of recent travelers had made only partially known to them, they continued to coast for some distance along the western shore of the Dark Continent, until the direction of the wind and the apparent current in the ocean made it practicable for them to attempt the crossing of the Atlantic.

The southeast trade-winds and the South Equatorial current combined to give them a safe and easy passage to the coast of Brazil; which they reached at a point near the site of the present city of Pernambuco; from there they continued in a southerly direction, along the coast, not landing until they reached a point a little south of Rio Janeiro. This land was inhabited by cannibals, declared the accounts given of the voyage; but the Spaniards were not swift of foot enough to catch them. One of them, who was plainly desecrated from the ships, had "the stature of a giant and the voice of a bull," but even this Goliath dared not face the white strangers.

In this country they found a large fresh water river, the mouth of which was seventeen leagues across, dotted with seven islands. It is difficult to say what stream is here described, as they were much too far north for the Rio de la Plata; but they asserted that on one of these islands they had found precious stones, and their statements were not questioned.

We need not stop with them at another island where they discovered such plenty of seals and penguins, enough to have filled the five ships, had they have been minded to devote a day or so to the sport of killing them; perhaps, had the seal fisheries been then a subject for the negotiations of states-

men, they might have thought it worth their while to improve this opportunity of securing such a quantity of skins.

They spent two months on the coast of Patagonia in latitude 49 1-2 degrees. Here, says the ancient account, they saw no human creature except a giant, who came to the haven dancing, singing, and throwing dust over his head. Magellan at once sent one of his men ashore to coax the giant to the island where he had landed. The sailor made signs of peace, which seemed to be understood and answered by the savage. The giant needed no persuasion to enter the boat and go to the island, where he made gestures indicating his belief that the white strangers had come from heaven. Such was the belief among all the native tribes, regarding these first explorers and settlers of their continent; bitter experience taught them that the actions of the strangers were far from being directed by heaven.

“He was so very tall, that the head of a middling-sized man reached only to his waist; he was corpulent and well-proportioned; his visage was large, and painted with different colors, principally with yellow; there were red circles about his eyes, and something like a heart was figured on each cheek; his hair was colored white, and his apparel was the skin of some beast laced together, the head of which appeared to have been very large; it had ears like a mule, a body like a camel, and the tail of a horse; the skin of it was wrapped about his feet in the manner of shoes; in his hand was a short thick bow, and a bundle of arrows, made of reeds and pointed with sharp stones, and feathered as ours generally are. The Admiral made him eat and drink, after which he



THE SAVAGES' FIRST LOOK INTO A MIRROR.

The Admiral made him eat and drink, after which he

presented him with hawks' bells, a comb, some glass beads, and other trifling things; but particularly a looking-glass, in which he had no sooner perceived his own horrid appearance, than he started back, as if affrighted, with such violence that he threw down a woman standing near him."

Another account, equally to be believed, says that his start backward at beholding himself in the mirror was so violent and unexpected that he knocked down two men; but such little differences as these are not to be regarded in these old chronicles of voyages to strange lands. The passage just quoted is in a work which is entitled "*A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages.*" The present writer suspects that some of these are authentic and some are entertaining; and that this account of the giant belongs to the second of these two classes.

Not content with the account of one giant, the chroniclers go on to narrate that the next day a man of still greater stature came to visit the white men; being, like most giants, good-natured and pleasant in disposition. He amused them much with his singing and dancing, and remained among them for some time. The sailors gave him the name of John; and some of the more devout among them taught him to pronounce the words Jesus and Ave Maria. The Admiral made him a present of various articles of clothing and some of the trifles which were always so pleasing to the savages; and he in return brought one of the skins which he and the former visitor wore in place of other clothing.

This giant mysteriously disappeared, after bringing the skin; and the sailors came to the conclusion that his countrymen had made way with him because of the friendship which he had showed the new-comers. But if this were the case, his fate did not deter others from coming to visit the vessels; four others came some two weeks later, having hid their bows and arrows in the bushes. The sailors resolved to take them on board if possible, and for that purpose, after the savages had been presented with beads, bells, and similar trifles, iron shackles were put around their legs, as if for ornaments. As in the case of the island cacique whose story has already been told, the two Indians professed great delight with the shining bands of metal; and it was not until they were ready to leave the vessels that the trick was discovered by them.

"The two others would have assisted them in their burdens, but were prevented; when they found their legs fast, they began to suspect some deceit, roared as loud as bulls, and implored the assistance of the great devil Setebos. They were put on board of different ships; it was impossible to seize upon the other two; one of them was with much difficulty borne down by nine of the sailors, and his hands bound, but he soon burst the restriction, started up and fled; nor was his companion far behind him; they were pursued, and one of Magellan's men was wounded by one of their arrows."

The writer does not intend to inflict any more giants, for the present at least, upon the patience of the reader. The above is merely given to show the foundation for the belief that prevailed for many years, that the Indians of the most southern part of South America were of gigantic size; and that the expression "Of Patagonian stature" meant far more than the average height.



MAGELLAN PUNISHES MUTINY.

We have seen by the description of their costume that their feet were covered with skins; this, of course, was clumsily done, so that the shapeliness of the foot was not apparent. Magellan called these people, then, Patagonians, from the Portuguese word *pata*, which means a hoof or paw.

During the two months that they spent here, the travelers made many observations regarding the customs of these people; but we cannot be sure that these are not exaggerated, like their accounts of the size of the warriors. Among other things, they said that the Patagonian cure for headache is a cut across the forehead, causing an emission of blood; and pains in the other members are supposed to be cured by similar means. However prevalent disease may have been among them at times, there was nothing the matter with the appetites of those who visited Magellan: for it is recorded that one of them would eat a basket of ship-biscuit at a meal, and drink a bucket of water at a draught.

We now return to more serious things than the descriptions which the travelers gave of the strange lands and peoples which they had seen. While the ships were thus laid up for the winter, the men became discontented and homesick. They petitioned the commander to return to Spain; but this he sternly refused to do. As the weeks went on, some of the most discontented neglected their duties; and, without any thought of what they had asked of him, the Admiral sentenced them to the punishments which he considered were fitting. Whether or not these punishments were excessive, it is impossible now to determine; probably they were not, according to the ideas of the time; but Magellan appeared the cruel tyrant to those who were so anxious to return to Spain, and who had suffered the result of their own neglect of duty. They talked the matter over with each other, and their sense of oppression grew stronger and stronger. Gradually, others were called upon to sympathize with them; and at last a plan was developed, to take possession of the ships, put the Admiral to death, imprison or kill such of the superior officers as refused to acknowledge the authority of the mutineers, and return to Spain with some story of the loss of their leader at sea.

Luis de Mendoza was the leader in this conspiracy, and the plotters were abetted by the counsels of Juan de Carthagena, a priest who had accompanied the expedition that they might not be without spiritual advantages in their roamings.

Fortunately for the Admiral, the plot was disclosed in time to prevent its execution; a hasty trial of the mutineers was held, and Mendoza and some of his accomplices found guilty. According to the barbarous customs of the day, they were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered; and the revolting sentence was fully carried out. The priest was beyond their power; for they were too good Catholics to harm one who had devoted his life to the Church; so they contented themselves with putting him in the stocks, an instrument made of two pieces of wood placed one upon the other and pierced with holes, in which were placed the legs of the sailor who was to be punished. The other captains remonstrated loudly with Magellan against a punishment which was too degrading for a superior officer, and Carthagena in con-



sequence was simply put under arrest, and guarded by one of the captains. There were also some minor accomplices, who were less guilty than Mendoza, but still deserving of punishment; to have retained these on board after a period of imprisonment was to invite another mutiny; Magellan therefore determined that the remaining mutineers should be put on shore, and left to the mercy of the Patagonians. This was done; and the ships sailed away from the coast, never again to return.

Magellan, fully resolved to die, or to bring the enterprise he commanded to a successful issue, told his crew, when this had been accomplished, that the Emperor had assigned him the course which the voyage was to take, and he neither could nor would depart from it under any pretext. As to provisions, if they found them insufficient, his men might add to their rations the produce of their fishing or hunting. Magellan thought that so firm a declaration would impose silence on the malcontents, and that he would hear no more of privations, from which he suffered equally with his crews.

They had now been gone from Spain about a year; and the season was more promising for exploration in a more southern latitude; the long and cold winter was drawing to a close, and they decided to coast southward until compelled to stop by the cold, or until they arrived—and this is what they really expected—at some point where the ships could enter the South Sea from the Atlantic.

Having reached a point about fifty-two degrees south of the equator, they were obliged to lay up for a time; for in this far southern latitude, winter was not ended in September. Putting into port, they remained for two months longer; improving their time by securing an ample supply of fish, fuel, and fresh water.

Thus provided, they continued their journey; but now, although there was no sign of any considerable river here emptying into the sea, they saw land on both sides of their vessels; sometimes not more than a mile on either hand. The direction of the coast, too, was different; hitherto, the general trend had been southward; now, it was decidedly toward the west. They were in the straits which are now called by Magellan's name.

November 28, 1520, they emerged from among the islands with which the entrance to the straits are encumbered, and broad and blue and peaceful, saw before them the waters of the great ocean which Balboa had named the South Sea. To Magellan, tempest-tossed through all that weary winter, it seemed the very picture of a summer sea; and he named it, accordingly, the Pacific Ocean. To the point of land whence he first descried it he gave the name of Cape Desire.

They were now about to enter upon the part of their voyage which excited the most fears among the undetermined; for these waters were to them wholly unknown. No one had yet accomplished the intention of Columbus,

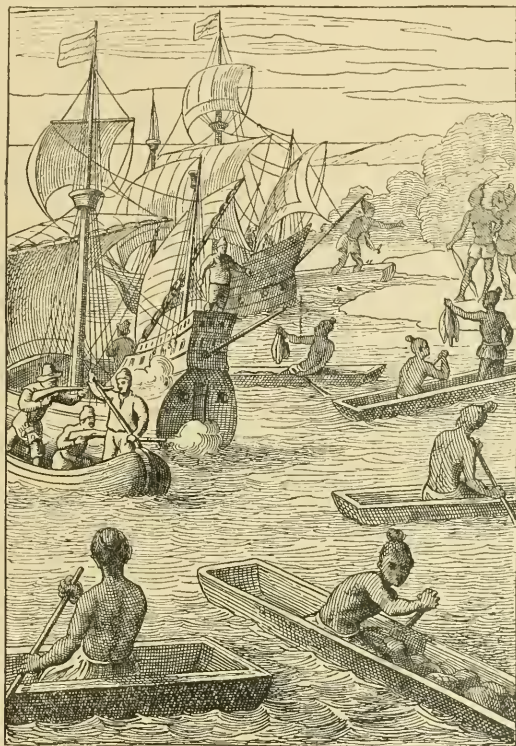
and reached India by way of the west; and how wide were the waters which now stretched before them, no man knew. Before venturing upon this unknown sea, they must at least try to direct the course of that vessel which had been separated from the others; the *San Antonio*, when she passed through the straits, would surely come to this point; and her men could easily desery the great cross which they erected upon the neighboring hill for her guidance. So reasoned Magellan and his followers; not dreaming that the *San Antonio* had stolen away from them, and gone back to Spain.



MAGELLAN'S VESSELS IN THE STRAITS.

For three long summer months, from November 28, they tossed upon the waters of the Pacific, without sight of land; all their provisions and fresh water were consumed, and they were reduced to the most lamentable state; for the only food which they could obtain was prepared by soaking old leather in sea-water to soften it. Nineteen of their men died, besides the surviving giant that they had carried from Patagonia; his comrade had died just before they entered the Straits of Magellan. Not one of those who survived was free from disease, and many were so disabled that they could not perform their usual duties.

In one particular they were most fortunate; the ocean fully justified the name which Magellau had given it; and, although they sailed four thousand leagues before they saw land, there was not a storm to alarm them, or even a threat of foul weather.



MAGELLAN AT THE LADRONE ISLANDS.  
(From an Old Engraving.)

The first land which they descried was two small islands, which proved to be uninhabited, and to produce only some useless trees. These two islands, although they were six hundred miles apart, the disappointed mariners, who had hoped to find food upon them, called the Unfortunate Islands.

These were the first of many islands by which they were to pass, and where food might be obtained in abundance from those more inviting than these isles of disappointment; for the vessels were now upon the outskirts of Polynesia. The first important stopping-place is recorded in the journal of the expedition—a more reliable authority than the accounts of the giants—as being twelve degrees north of the equator, and one hundred and forty-six west of Greenwich; though, of course, in the original, the longitude is reckoned from the capital of Spain. Here the Admiral determined to remain for some time, to obtain the necessary supplies of food, water, and fuel; and to refresh by rest on land and plenty of wholesome food the men who had suffered such privations during the voyage. But the inhabitants proved to be so thievish that he could not do so. They visited the ships daily, and at every visit stole whatever they could lay their hands upon. It was only with the greatest difficulty that Magellan could prevent his men from indulging in a general fight with the natives, striking sail and standing in to shore near enough to fire upon the occupants of the canoes as they landed. He succeeded, however, in restraining them; and selected forty men to accompany himself on an expedition of retaliation.

In the encounter which followed their landing, seven of the natives were killed; the others only saved themselves by a hasty retreat. A village, consisting of more than fifty huts, from which the men, women, and children had hastily fled at the beginning of the battle, was burned; several canoes were destroyed; and a ship's boat, which the islanders had stolen from the stern of one of the vessels, was carried off in triumph by the victors.

Having thus punished the dishonest islanders, Magellan returned to his fleet, and revenged himself further by styling these *Insulae Latronum*, or "Islands of Thieves." Followed by more than two hundred canoes, the occupants of which made many signs expressive of repentance and better behavior for the future, Magellan hoisted sail and was soon out of sight of the islands; the canoes slowly returning to land as the islanders saw that not the least attention was paid to them.

March 10, 1521, they landed upon a small island some thirty leagues from the Ladrões, which is now included under that name; and the next day removed to a neighboring island, finding it better suited for their purposes. Here a tent was pitched for the accommodation of the sick, and a hog was killed for the delectation of the well. This was probably an animal that had been captured on the island, as it is not probable that they would eat leather soaked in sea-water if an animal in any way fit for food was on board any of the four ships.

They had been in their new quarters about a week when they were visited by nine men in a canoe, who brought with them cocoa-wine and other presents, which they offered to Magellan. Finding their gifts acceptable,

they rowed off; promising by signs to return in four days with flesh, fowls, and rice; a promise which was faithfully kept.

It is not improbable, when we consider how generally the coming of Columbus was made known among the West Indian islanders, that these men had heard of the strangers from the men who had been attacked by them, and took this means of insuring the friendship of the new-comers. Who knows but what the men who manned this canoe were regarded as venturing into the very jaws of death, when they sought out the dreaded strangers? Perhaps the action of those nine South Sea savages is as heroic, could we but see it from their point of view, as that of any soldier of civilization who ever faced the enemy.

They came from a small neighboring island, to which they cordially invited Magellan and his men. They offered in exchange for the articles which the Spaniards displayed, various kinds of spices and some articles made of gold. Of this precious metal they also wore rings and bracelets, while their weapons were ornamented with it.

To entertain them, and at the same time impress them with a due idea of his reserve power, Magellan caused one of the cannon to be discharged while these visitors were on board; which so frightened them that they were about to jump into the sea, when the sailors interfered, and reassured them of the friendliness of the Admiral.

They remained a week longer at this island, visited frequently by the friendly islanders, and supplied by them with such delicacies as oranges, palm wine, and cocoa-nuts, which were especially appreciated by the sick.

Leaving this island March 25, they steered between west and southwest: and three days later anchored off a larger body of land, which proved to be inhabited. The people seemed well disposed; and Magellan presented their King with a red and a yellow garment, made long and flowing, after the fashion of those worn by the Turks; and distributed knives and glass beads among his principal courtiers.



TATTOOED SOUTH SEA ISLANDER.



No pains were spared to impress these people with a due respect for the weapons of the strangers, both defensive and offensive; after a cannon had been fired off, to show the power of destruction which they possessed, a sailor was dressed in armor and ordered ashore, where the savages were invited to strike him. They were duly impressed with the amount of protection afforded by his armor; and the King declared that one such man would be a match for a hundred of his naked soldiers.

Nor was the King less astonished when he saw an illustration of the aid which writing can afford to those acquainted with its mysteries; one of the officers wrote down a great number of common nouns, and, much to the astonishment of the King, was able to repeat the list without difficulty by simply referring to his paper.

In this island, they found, when they came to return the visits of the King and his courtiers on board the vessels, a number of articles made of gold; including vessels in the royal residence; which building, by the way, is somewhat irreverently compared to a hay-loft. But Magellan would not permit trades to be made without his knowledge; for he was afraid the islanders would learn what value the Spaniards put on gold, and would demand high prices accordingly. When, therefore, a collar and crown of gold were offered in exchange for some glass beads, he would not permit the trade to be made; requiring something else to be added to the ornaments of gold before he decided that the value of the beads had been equalled.

Nor did the devout Spaniards neglect to act, in some measure, as missionaries. The King was presented with a cross and a crown of thorns, to which, at the time of presentation, all the white men paid a low reverence. Magellan bade them set it upon their highest mountain, and bow down reverently before it; if they did this, he assured them, they would be safe from storms and other misfortunes; and their doing it would insure their being well treated by any Christians who might chance to land at their island. It seemed to the Spaniards to be a promise of good that the people of these islands were not Mohammedans, but heathens; since, they observe, Gentiles are much more easily converted to the true faith than are the Mohammedans.

In return for the treatment which he had received at their hands, the King of this island furnished them with pilots, who conducted them to several others not far off. The King of one was taken on board, while they set sail for another, which they called Zubut.

They were now within the limits of the Portuguese explorations, or at least within a portion of the ocean where that nation was known and feared. A vessel manned by a Portuguese crew, and having a cargo of gold and slaves, had anchored opposite the capital of this island the day before Magellan reached there; and had offered tribute to the King. Rendered bold by this deference, the King proceeded to exact tribute of Magellan; assuring him

that all who came to his dominions were obliged to pay it. Magellan found the source of this claim, and replied that the course which the other white men had pursued was no guide for him; that the King of Portugal was a far less powerful monarch than the master whom he served; and that the Emperor was so powerful that his subjects paid tribute to none. If the King persisted in his claim, he might find himself involved in war with a ruler who would crush him in the first conflict.

There was at the court a Moorish trader, who assured the King that these claims on behalf of the Emperor Charles were well founded. This monarch accordingly asked a day in which to consider his answer to Magellan's refusal; and in the mean time furnished the sailors with everything which their necessities required.

While he was deliberating how to withdraw gracefully from the arrogant position which he had assumed, he was visited by that King who had accompanied Magellan on board his ship; and who could not sufficiently impress upon the mind of his brother monarch the excellent qualities of the Admiral. Whether he came of his own accord, or was instructed by Magellan, his words produced the effect which the latter would have desired; the demand for tribute was withdrawn, and the people of the island entered eagerly into traffic with the new-comers.

The King also sent his nephew on board the Admiral's vessel, attended by many of his chief courtiers, with many very valuable presents, as a proof of friendly feeling. The mariners now became active missionaries; and preached their faith with such earnestness that, it is said, within a very short time afterward the whole island was converted and baptized.

The King very readily gave them permission to bury ashore one of the sailors who had died since they cast anchor; and was much impressed with the solemnities attending the burial. The conversion of the King was celebrated by the firing of cannon; his majesty having previously been warned that he must not be frightened at the noise. More than five hundred persons were baptized in one day, after which ceremony mass was celebrated; and then the King and many of his principal attendants were invited to dine with the Admiral on board his vessel.

The idols were destroyed and crosses erected in many places. There was one village, however, where the inhabitants refused to accept the new faith. Magellan at once resolved to use such persuasion as was usual, in similar cases at that day, among all Christian nations. The inhabitants were driven from their homes, and obliged, at the point of the sword, to obey the royal command to be baptized; their village was burned, and a wooden cross erected on its site. The fact that this cross was made of wood was due to the people being Gentiles, as all non-Christians except Jews and Mohammedans were called; had they been Mohammedans, says the quaint old chronicle, the cross

had been made of stone, in allusion to the peculiar hardness of their hearts.

Let not the reader exclaim against the process which Magellan adopted in his efforts to make converts to the Christian religion. In England, regarded as the European home of liberty, men were sent to the stake, thirty years after Magellan died, because they would not profess the same form of religion as that which the State prescribed: it was the time, and not the man, which was mistaken.



HEROIC DEATH OF MAGELLAN.

They next landed at one of the Philippine Islands, which they found the natives called Mathan. This was ruled by two Kings, Zula and Cilapulapu. Magellan summoned both of them to pay tribute to the King of Spain. Zula

seems to have acceded to this demand; but Cilapulapu indignantly refused to do so. Magellan, determined to enforce his claim, chose sixty of his bravest men, armed them with coats of mail and helmets, and marched upon the independent ruler.

Cilapulapu was not taken by surprise, for threatening messages had been sent him after he had refused the tribute. He hastily collected all his fighting men, and disposed them in three divisions, numbering about two thousand each. His soldiers were armed with missile weapons of various kinds, lances, darts, arrows, and javelins; most of the arrows, and some of the other weapons, being rendered more effective by being dipped in poison.

The little force of mail-clad Spaniards did not know what a large body of men had been collected to oppose their advance; but fondly imagined that their armor gave them the advantage over the enemy, were he many times their superior in point of numbers. They advanced boldly upon the half-concealed enemy; and had almost reached a point at which the fight would be hand to hand, when a flight of arrows came down upon them. They rattled like hail upon the steel coats, and many were turned from their mark; but some penetrated through the joints of the armor, and, breaking the skin, sent the deadly poison in which the points had been dipped coursing through the veins of the victim. It was so that an arrow wounded Magellan; and while the bewildered white men strove to make ready their own weapons, the enemy rushed upon them in overwhelming numbers. The wounded leader, bravely striving to direct his men in spite of his hurt, received a stroke full in the face from a cane lance; it was a staggering blow; and he sank to the ground, overcome by the stroke and by the poison of the arrow.

Eight of his followers shared their leader's fate. But the victory was not a bloodless one for the prince who had thus defended his independence; fifteen of the islanders bit the dust, and many more were wounded.

The death of Magellan caused the utmost consternation among the survivors of his command; and they retreated to their vessels as hastily as they could, defending their rear as they fled. The news which they brought created confusion for a time on board the ships; but the mariners speedily recognized that they must have a leader who should have authority to command them; and they elected two, Odoardo Barbosa, who, like Magellan, was a native of Portugal, and Juan Serrano, who was a Spaniard.

An embassy was sent to Cilapulapu, offering a ransom for the body of the dead Admiral; but he refused to treat with them; esteeming this the most valuable spoils of his victory. The mariners were not content with one effort, but all their endeavors to purchase Magellan's body proved unsuccessful.

The hostile King was far from being appeased by the death of the Admiral and some of his followers; his enmity was thoroughly aroused. He entered into negotiations with the person who was employed as interpreter, and finally

induced him to entrap and deliver up the Spaniard who had been chosen joint leader with Barbosa after Magellan's death; and Serrano was murdered by the vindictive barbarian.

The mariners now saw that it was safest for them to put a considerable stretch of salt water between them and this hostile king as soon as possible. Their numbers, however, were greatly reduced; they had lost nine men in battle, and one by treachery since landing at this island; and several had died from disease and hardshipsince they had entered the Pacific. It was therefore determined to transfer all the men and supplies from one vessel, the *Conception*, which was decided to be the least sea-worthy of the four, and set fire to her before proceeding with the other three.

This plan being carried out, they sailed toward the southwest, having obtained some information regarding the Molucca Islands. No adventures of note befell them until they reached Borneo, where they were received with considerable distinction by the King. The strangers did not know whether to be most impressed by the elephants with silken housings, which he sent to carry their chief men to court, or by the ten royal secretaries who did their writing on pieces of the bark of trees, or by the smooth round pearls, as large as a hen's egg, which the monarch proudly displayed to them. But while they were thus debating this question in their own minds, they were suddenly attacked by a fleet of a hundred junks.

The attack was repulsed without much difficulty; and four of the junks were captured. On board one of these was the Captain-General of the King of Borneo, who had just returned from a military expedition. The white men heartily congratulated themselves upon having taken a prisoner of such importance, and committed him to the charge of the pilot while the leaders considered the question of how great a ransom they might demand for him. But this question was not decided before the pilot was obliged to confess that his prisoner had given him the slip; and, naturally, the subject of ransom lost all interest.

They seemed to have thought it best, after this occurrence, to leave Borneo; and returned to the Philippine Islands, landing at the most southern of the larger members of that group. Here they refitted their ships, and took in fuel and water sufficient for a considerable voyage; their labors being rendered much harder by the fact that their worn-out shoes afforded no protection to their feet.

From this island, they steered southeast in search of the Moluccas, the destination which Magellan had proposed to the King when first laying the project of this voyage before him. They had landed at several islands, receiving at each some information regarding these bodies of land, before they actually reached them.

"After a very violent tempest, they put into the island of Sarangani, from



whence they forced two pilots to conduct them to the Moluccas; and on the sixth of November, in the twenty-seventh month of their departure from Spain, after having passed many islands, the names of which, for brevity's sake, we omit, they came in sight of the Moluccas; on which occasion they gave thanks to God, and discharged all their ordnance. The soundings in



THE VISIT TO THE KING OF BORNEO.

these seas are not anywhere less than an hundred and two yards, though the Portuguese had represented them as dangerous for their shallows and rocks, as well as the darkness of the sky; but this fable they invented to intimidate other nations from undertaking this voyage."

The cruise of the Spanish mariners now ceases to be a voyage of discovery,

since they were in waters which had been explored by the Portuguese, and to which that government laid claim. We then must pass briefly over the remainder of the history. They touched at several other islands in this group, and made friends with the natives, exchanging the goods which they had left for the spices which the inhabitants brought to the vessels. Many of the rulers, impressed by the accounts which the Spaniards gave of the riches and power of their master, the Emperor, took occasion to send him presents of such articles as they thought most valuable.

At an island near the Moluccas, they were obliged to leave one of their vessels, as she had sprung a leak which they could not stop; and some of their men were detailed to work upon her, and bring her back to Spain, if possible. The others, reduced to forty-six in number, continued their journey among the various islands of Polynesia until February 11, 1522, when they passed the extremity of Molucca; and keeping outside of Sumatra, and avoiding the main land for fear of the Portuguese, sailed due west toward the eastern coast of Africa.

Favorable winds and currents carried them along the coast without difficulty until they neared the Cape of Good Hope; and here a head-wind kept them beating about for seven weary weeks. This unexpectedly long voyage brought them into great distress; for the food began to give out. However, they were afraid to venture on shore, for fear of the Portuguese; and, although they suffered greatly from famine, they kept at sea for two months longer. During this time, twenty-one of their number died from hunger and the diseases brought about by it and other hardships.

The handful of starving survivors finally put in at one of the Cape Verde Islands, sending deputies ashore to represent their pitiable condition to the Portuguese authorities. They were allowed some measures of rice, which were quickly disposed of; and thirteen of the sailors undertook to go on shore again, to secure a further supply of provisions. But the Portuguese considered that they had done quite enough for them, and seized these men and threw them into prison. The others, panic-stricken, hoisted sail; and without waiting to try to release their companions, set out for Spain.

September 7, 1522, the twelve remaining mariners landed at the port of St. Lucar, near Seville; where, "having discharged their ordnance for joy, they proceeded barefooted and in their shirts, to the cathedral church, to thank God for their preservation."

And well they might do so; for these dozen men, out of the two hundred and thirty-seven who had sailed away from Seville more than three years before, had done what no man before their time had ever accomplished—they had circumnavigated the globe.

Their comrades who had been left behind in charge of the disabled ship were fortunate enough to repair her so that a voyage was possible; but they

did not follow in the track of the other vessels. Instead, they turned to the eastward, and sailed straight across the Pacific to the isthmus connecting the two Americas, and there found an asylum among their countrymen; but theirs was not the honor of having "put a girdle round the earth," as was that of their sailor comrades.

## CHAPTER X.

### CABRAL, THE DISCOVERER OF BRAZIL.

Accidental Discoveries—Vasco da Gama—Portuguese Adventurers in India—A Second Expedition—Cabral Commander—To the Southwest—The Coast of Brazil—Cabral Lands—Report Sent to Portugal—Sets Sail—A Fatal Storm—Doubling the Cape of Good Hope—Madagascar—Seeking Prester John—Fighting for the Rajah—A Corner in Spices—The Rajah's Trap—Cabral Falls Into It—Attacked by the Arabs—A Massacre—A Hero Rescues a Child—Cabral's Vengeance—The Homeward Voyage—Reception at Court—Obscurity.

THERE is no record of the youth of Cabral; the place and date of his birth are unknown to us. His name indicates that he belonged to a noble family of Portugal; but all the circumstances of his education and rise to prominence are forever lost. One voyage has made him known to history; he is the discoverer of Brazil.

It is difficult, in attempting to give a complete history of the discovery and exploration of the American continent, to avoid giving some account of the voyages which were made to other parts of the globe.

Cabral, particularly, is closely connected with the effort of the Portuguese to establish commercial settlements in India. If it be objected that he should not be placed among discoverers of America, because the one voyage which connects him with this continent was intended to end in Asia, and his coming to America was purely accidental, we have no answer to make; the argument is unanswerable if you choose to employ it; but when Cabral is struck from the list for this reason, others must follow, to whom the same objection applies; and the first name to be struck off will be that of Christopher Columbus.

Vasco da Gama had made his famous voyage around the Cape of Good Hope; he had reached India, and had entered into negotiations with the sovereign of Calicut, whom he calls the Zamorin. But while engaged in treating with this monarch, certain Arabian traders, fearing for their own business relations should the Europeans once be admitted to this market, persuaded the Zamorin that the Portuguese were no better than pirates, and that the presents which Gama had brought him from the King of Portugal were trifling articles which showed rather contempt than respect for the person to whom they were offered.

A portion of the goods which Gama had brought with him had been landed at the suggestion of the King of Calicut, and, while the Arabs were secretly

undermining the respect and regard in which Gama was at first held, the Portuguese sailors were permitted to go on shore freely, as if they were among undoubted friends. But the words of the Arabs did their work; and at last those who chanced to be on shore were held as prisoners, while the Admiral received word that his goods had been seized.



VASCO DA GAMA.

Gama was equal to the occasion. He watched his opportunity, attacked a ship that lay in the harbor, and captured six noblemen, with a number of their attendants. These, he announced, he would hold as prisoners until his own men and his goods were restored to him. The Zamorin, alarmed, sent him word that he had only detained the two Portuguese until he could write a letter to the King of Portugal; as he desired them to act as his messengers. They were permitted to return on board the ship, and, after some delay, the goods were restored.

But Gama did not hold to his part of the agreement: having recovered his



own men and the cargo of the vessels, he declined to release the prisoners whom he had taken, and sailed away with them on board. Pursued and attacked by an Indian fleet, a sudden storm helped the larger and more manageable ships of the Europeans; and, the vessels of the Zamorin being scattered, the Portuguese fleet escaped to the coast of Africa, thence around the Cape to their own country.

Emmanuel resolved to prosecute the enterprise, and, if possible, open up a trade with India, Calicut being considered the most important city. He equipped a fleet of thirteen ships, manned by fifteen hundred men. Why Gama was not chosen as the leader of this expedition does not appear; for he had been loaded with every honor that could be imagined, and the command of this fleet was in itself a high honor. Whatever the reason, Gama was left in Portugal, while Pedro Alvarez Cabral was made Admiral of the fleet to the Indies.

This navigator may have been second in command on the previous voyage; if Gama declined the command, wishing to rest awhile before going to sea again, it would naturally be offered to his lieutenant. If this were not the case, Cabral had probably made successful voyages to the coast of Africa, or to the various groups of islands so frequented by the old sailors. He must have shown both courage and ability of very marked degree to be entrusted with so important an enterprise as this.

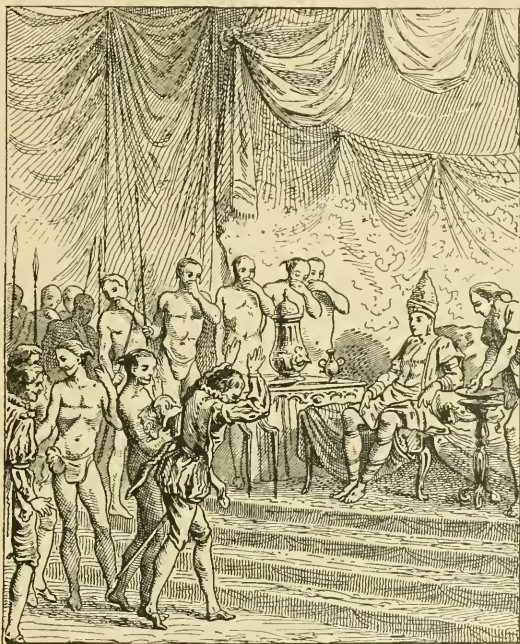
Admiral Cabral was commissioned to treat with the Samudri-rajah, or Prince of the Coast, whose title the Portuguese had corrupted into Zamorin, and obtain permission from him to build a fort near his city of Calicut; but if the monarch should not allow this, and should seem indisposed to have any dealings with the Portuguese at all—as was not improbable, from his experience of Gama—Cabral was to declare war and to treat him as an enemy. He was also charged with friendly messages to the King of Melinda, an African potentate at whose dominions on the eastern coast, just south of the equator, Gama had found shelter from storms and the provisions which he needed.

Although the King of Portugal had thus determined to force his commerce upon the Indians, or declare war against them, he was not unmindful of his duty as a Christian. It was highly desirable to convert the natives of these countries—after the countries were duly subjected to the rule of a Christian prince—and five friars were sent to convert them, and to establish religious services for the benefit of their companions on the vessels, should they be permitted to build the fort at Calicut.

March 8, 1500, the fleet set sail; but hardly had they passed the Island of St. Jago, when a furious storm burst upon them. The fleet was scattered; all of the vessels suffered more or less; one lost almost all her rigging, and was obliged to put back to Lisbon. Cabral waited for her for two days; but

as she did not make her appearance then, he set sail, steering to the south-west.

What private orders Cabral may have received, which led him to take this course, we do not know. A treaty had been made between the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, by which a line of division between the countries open to settlement by either nation had been agreed upon. This was in agreement with that earlier division which had been made by the authority of the Pope.



CABRAL BEFORE THE ZAMORIN.

The course to be taken in sailing toward the Cape of Good Hope must have been perfectly well known to Cabral and his pilots; for the Portuguese had been exploring the western coast of Africa for more than a century. But John of Portugal had served Columbus a scurvy trick, and so lost the vast dominions which the Genoese had had the power of adding to the Crown which he served; and John's successor probably determined to regain, by just such another trick, some portion of what his cousin had lost. Cabral

was probably instructed privately to keep to the westward, in order to secure to Portugal, by right of discovery, some portion of that New World which every voyage of the Spaniards showed to be better worth having.

The westward voyage was without event until April 24, when one of the seamen descried land. This was a surprise to all, including the Admiral, for they had thought the voyage would be much longer. This astonishment confirms the supposition above stated; for had they intended to double the Cape of Good Hope, and steered accordingly, they would hardly have been surprised to see land a month and sixteen days after leaving Lisbon.

Approaching the coast, Cabral sent one of his captains ashore to examine the nature and situation of the land. He soon returned with a favorable account of the country; describing its tall trees, the verdure of its plains, and the beauty of its birds. He had seen some of the natives, naked, of a dusky olive hue, with long, lank hair as black as jet. Several other officers, impressed by the description, asked and obtained permission to go on shore to make observations.

While the men who had remained on board were listening with eager interest to the accounts given by these explorers, a storm came up. The ships were prepared, as they thought, to meet it; but it proved more violent than they had thought; the vessels were torn from their anchorage, and tossed about like cockle-shells upon the waves. However, they managed to elude the dangers of the coast, and finally anchored anew in a harbor which Cabral named Porto Seguro.

From this safe resting place, he again sent officers on board to reconnoiter. They returned with two natives, whom they had taken prisoners as they were in their canoe, fishing. The Portuguese tried to communicate with these Indians, but found it impossible to make them understand the meaning of the signs which they employed for the purpose. There was something, though, that was not so hard to comprehend: Cabral ordered them to be clothed, and having presented them with some small bells, brass rings, and looking-glasses, sent them on shore; they understood from this that the strangers had come as friends and possessed many articles of very great value—such as bells and brass rings.

The generosity of the strangers was told, by the recipients of these gifts, to their companions; and the water about the ships was thronged, the next day, by canoes full of natives, who brought fruits and other articles of food, to barter for the trifles which the Portuguese had provided for such a purpose.

Cabral now judged it best to go ashore in person; and having made a short tour about the country near the harbor, ordered an altar to be erected under the shade of a large tree. In this primeval temple, the service of mass was performed in the presence of a host of natives, who watched the pro-

ceedings with admiring silence, and apparently not without reverence. By their gestures, they seemed to the Portuguese to express a deep sense of religion.



CABRAL TAKES POSSESSION OF BRAZIL.

As the Admiral and his men returned to the ship, they were followed by most of those who had been witnesses of their worship, who seemed to be in a transport of joy. They sang aloud, blew a kind of trumpet, threw arrows into the air, and lifted their hands to heaven, seeming, to the flattered mariners, "to give thanks for the arrival of such a godlike people." Some of them, not content with following the strangers to the beach, jumped into the sea and

swam after the boats which were conveying them to the ships. Others, better provided, followed in canoes; and it took considerable persuasion to induce them to return to land.

Cabral caused a marble pillar to be erected, in commemoration of the discovery, and named the country Santa Cruz. This name, so devoutly given, was not used to any extent on the charts and maps of the time, being speedily displaced by the name of Brazil, from the chief commodity which the vessels brought from that country to Europe.

Assured that this was a new country, and not any part of Asia, Cabral dispatched one of his lieutenants, Jasper Laemio, to Portugal, to render an account to the King of his discovery. Here, again, seems a proof that he deliberately set out to explore some part of the New World, in accordance with orders to that effect from the King of Portugal. If not so, surely the news of the discovery would have kept till he himself returned to Lisbon.

Only five days, in all, were spent on the coast of Brazil. Probably Cabral did not know how soon he might come in contact with some Spanish vessels, and be driven off the coast. He seems to have desired to touch there, lay claim to it, send word to Portugal that he had done so, and be off as soon as possible, to prosecute the acknowledged and legitimate object of his voyage.

He set sail April 19; but had been out at sea but a few days when a storm rushed down so suddenly that before the sails could be handled and other necessary precautions taken, four ships had run afoul of one another, and were dashed to pieces. Every soul on board perished, while their friends and companions on the other vessels saw them go down, without the power to render them the least assistance, and not knowing how soon they themselves would share this fate.

Seven of the fifteen vessels which had been fitted out now remained; for Laemio had been given three, to take the news of the discovery; the dangers of the voyage across the ocean being such that it was not well to trust to a single vessel reaching her destination. Of the seven which were left to Cabral, one was tossed about by the tempest until many of her crew had been swept overboard, and she had lost sight of her consorts entirely. Not knowing what had become of them, and scarcely able to keep from sinking, she was turned toward Portugal. It seemed a hopeless undertaking to steer the disabled ship across the wide Atlantic, but it was the only chance that they had for life; and the desperate seamen undertook the task. Their water casks had been thrown overboard during the storm, to lighten the vessel, and much of their food had been sacrificed for the same reason; the sailors hoping that their more fortunate comrades would share with them when the storm had passed over. This left them with but little food and water, notwithstanding the reduction of their number; and so much did they suffer from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, that but six men reached Portugal alive.



The other six vessels were more fortunate; and, after buffeting with the waves for many days, not having seen each other, came in sight of each other June 27. They were now near the southern part of the African coast, and rounded the Cape without experiencing any bad weather.

Toward the end of July, they arrived at Mozambique, where a supply of water was obtained. A pilot was hired to guide them to Quiloa, the modern Madagascar. Here Cabral sent friendly messages to the ruler, whose name is stated as Abraham; but excused himself from going ashore, on the ground that he was forbidden by the King his master to do so. This prohibition does not seem to have extended to any new country which he might discover, as the accounts expressly say that while his ships were anchored at Porto Seguro, he went ashore in person. The excuse was accepted by the King, who announced his intention of visiting the ships. Cabral made every preparation to receive his dusky guest, clad himself in his most elegant suit, had his officers dressed in their most gorgeous costumes, and, attended by them, in the boats of the ships, set off to meet the galley of the King, while the cannon on the ships thundered a welcome to Abraham. Their interview was conducted with all the ceremony which the Kings of Portugal and Spain might have used to each other, and with just about as much sincerity; for when the monarch returned from his visit, he reconsidered his intention of making friends with the Portuguese, and reinforced his garrison, putting the whole capital in a better state of defence. The reason for this change of sentiment was probably to be traced to the representations of some Arabs, who, like their brethren at Calicut, did not hesitate to accuse the Portuguese of being "blood-thirsty pyrates," as the old chronicles have it; and assert that these strangers, if they once gained a foothold, would strip the King of all his possessions and ravage the whole country. Perhaps the Arabs were not far wrong, but the Portuguese became exceedingly indignant at these accusations, and Cabral set sail at once for Melinda, where he felt sure of meeting with a favorable reception.

Here, we are told, his arrival "gave inexpressible joy to the people and their sovereign, who instantly provided refreshments for the whole fleet." The most remarkable feature of their landing here was the fact that Cabral left two of his men at Melinda, with instructions to travel, if possible, into "that part of Ethiopia which lies above Egypt," to learn what truth there was in the rumor that a Christian king and people were there to be found. Some uncertain information about Abyssinia, with a great deal of fable added, had given rise to the belief in a mysterious monarch, holding the Christian faith in the midst of savage and heathen neighbors, called Prester John. This was the ruler whom these two "exiles," as the old account styles them, were to endeavor to find.

Setting sail from Melinda on July 7. they touched at the Maldiv Islands,



THE FLEET WRECKED IN A STORM.

and arrived at Calicut July 30. Here, contrary to their expectations, they were received with the greatest show of friendship and respect by the rajah, who sent a high official to welcome them, and afterwards received them in much state. The letters of the King of Portugal being read and interpreted to him by a Moor who had accompanied the expedition, the rajah granted all the privileges of trading for which the Portuguese had asked, assured them of his protection, and assigned for their use a large building near the seashore, directing that a banner with the arms of Portugal should be placed on top of this house, and that his orders should be engraved upon a golden plate, as a token to the Portuguese that his promises would not be forgotten.

But if the Hindoo ruler granted what the Portuguese asked, he considered that he might ask favors in his turn. News had reached him to the effect that a large vessel, having on board an elephant, had been sent by a neighboring prince to attack his fleet; he requested Cabral to watch for the coming of this hostile vessel, and attack it before the crew had time to set upon his ships.

The rajah had supposed that the whole fleet of Cabral would be put about to contend with this formidable enemy; and perhaps he judged it a good way of getting rid of his troublesome guests. Much to his surprise, however, Cabral assigned one small vessel to the duty, and calmly awaited the result in the harbor of Calicut.

The little caravel, well provided with cannon, did not hesitate to attack the great clumsy vessel of the East; and by keeping out of range of the darts and other weapons with which the Indian soldiers were provided, managed easily to work great havoc without incurring any special danger. The enemy endeavored to save themselves by flight; but the caravel was as swift as she was well-armed; and the great vessel from which the rajah had feared so much until he saw in its coming a chance of getting rid of his new allies, was driven, helpless and disabled, into the very harbor of Calicut.

Meantime the Arabian merchants had made good use of their time; and had created what the newspapers of to-day would style "a corner in spices." Cabral found it exceedingly difficult to get enough, at prices in any way reasonable, to freight his ships. He appealed to the Zamorin, who professed great indignation; and assured Cabral that he would be doing right to seize upon what the Arabs had bought, and freight his vessels without regard to their being paid for the goods. Of course, this was merely a trap; for he hoped by this means to have the Arabs drive off the strangers.

Cabral, although not without suspicion, fell into the trap; and sent a captain of an Arabian vessel word that he must not leave the harbor without his—Cabral's—permission. The captain paid no attention to this order, and Cabral sent his boat to tow the vessel back. The owner complained to the Zamorin, who, without making any positive promise, gave him to understand

that he was at full liberty to revenge himself. There were about seventy of the Portuguese in the house which the Zamorin had assigned them; and thither went the Arab, with about four hundred of his retainers, friends, relatives, and other countrymen. Signals of distress were hung out, that the Admiral might send them help from the ships; but before the boats could reach the land, the attacking party had broken down the barricades hastily raised, and were fighting hand to hand with the men in the enclosure.

The Portuguese had but one hope: if they could fight their way to the shore, they could be under the protection of their guns that much the sooner. Failing this, they could but sell their lives dearly. It was a desperate fight. The white men were surrounded on all sides by the Arabs, who fought with that carelessness of life which is common among Mohammedans; their religion teaching them that they cannot die till their appointed time comes. The Portuguese were animated not only by the thought that they were fighting for life, but by the idea that they were destroying, with each man that went down before their swords, an enemy to their religion.

The enclosure about the building which the Zamorin had assigned to the Portuguese was not the scene of the battle for very long: as the besieged forced their way out, they were followed by their blood-thirsty foes; and at last, after fifty of them, including the officer who had been in command, had been slain, the remaining twenty reached the shore, and were taken into the boats which had been sent from the ships. The officer commanding had had with him his little son, ten years old; but the child, though now fatherless, did not lack a protector; one of the soldiers had defended him, frequently by putting his own body between the child and danger. At last they reached the shore, the soldier weak and almost fainting from loss of blood. There was no boat near them, for they had been driven by the enemy to a lonely part of the shore. As one of the boats, laden with wounded men, pulled off toward the ships, they were espied by one of the sailors who manned it. He at once plunged into the water, and swam to them; then, leaving the dying soldier, took the boy on his shoulders, and swam back to the ships, while the arrows of the enemy fell harmlessly in the water around him. The boy thus saved afterward distinguished himself by many brave and gallant achievements.

The Zamorin taking no steps to punish the perpetrators of this massacre, although fifty of the Portuguese had been slain outright, and most of those who escaped immediate death afterward died of their wounds, Cabral called a council of his officers, and discussed the course possible. It was resolved to take matters in their own hands, and revenge themselves upon the Arabs. Ten large Arabian vessels lay in the harbor, and these were suddenly and fiercely attacked. Six hundred of the enemy were killed, and the Arabians' ships being plundered by the victorious Portuguese, were set on fire. But Cabral's vengeance was not yet complete. The flames had terrified the peo-

ple of the city, so that they ran through the streets in a condition that bordered closely on frenzy; for they knew not how a chance spark might kindle a wide-spreading conflagration among their lightly built houses. Grimly determined to avenge his slaughtered men, Cabral trained his guns upon the city, and destroyed all the chief public buildings, as well as many of the private dwellings. The rajah, seeing one of his most faithful followers laid dead at his very feet by a cannon-ball, fled, panic-stricken.

Cabral then went some seventy leagues southward on the same coast, where he found the people, probably warned by the fate of Calicut, ready to trade with him in the most satisfactory manner. While busily engaged in loading his ships with spices, the Admiral heard that the ruler of Calicut had prepared a fleet of twenty of his largest ships, manned by fifteen thousand soldiers, to revenge the destruction of his city. Cabral at once gave orders to sail in search of this armament.

A contrary wind prevented the execution of this plan; but enough had been done to show the rajah that not even this great army could terrify the white men; and he ingloriously retreated, without having struck a blow, or even come within hailing distance of the Portuguese ships.

Sailing from India, he took a very rich ship off the coast of Africa; but learning from the master that she belonged to Arab merchants of Cambay, dismissed her untouched, saying that the King of Portugal was at war with no one in Asia but the Zamorin of Calicut and the Arabs of Mecca, who had inflicted great injury upon him. Pursuing his course, Cabral lost one of his ships in a storm; for she was so injured that it became necessary to transfer her crew to the other vessels and burn her.

Storms in plenty beset their homeward passage; but at last the diminished fleet arrived at Lisbon, July 21, 1504. The vessels which bore the news of the discovery of Brazil had long since reached their destination; and Cabral was received with the honors due to a successful execution of secret orders. His discovery resulted in a new line of division being drawn between Spanish and Portuguese territory, Brazil being included in the dominions of the King of Portugal. It remained closely connected with that country long after it became an independent country; and as long as the form of government was monarchial, the Emperor of Brazil was a near relative of the King of Portugal.

The success which Cabral had reached was not, however, to be the source of future honors. For some reason, the King, when he came to look into the results of the expedition, did not find them quite equal to his expectations; and Cabral was thus balked of his reward. So great was this dissatisfaction, as time went on, that Cabral, at last, was not even mentioned in the list of those discoverers who had added dominion and glory to the Crown of Portugal.

Nothing is known of his after life. He comes into history the brilliant



leader of an expedition bound to distant and unknown countries; his white-winged vessels sail across the broad Atlantic, bearing him through storms to the land of sunshine in tropical America; thence returning to the East, and across the Indian Ocean, to the country long regarded, by the Europeans, as the treasure-house of the world. Strife and bloodshed attend him there; and he sails home again, to sink, after one brilliant scene when he is received with expectant favor by his king, into an obscurity as deep as it was unmerited. Pedro Alvarez Cabral has been almost forgotten; but one proud title serves to rescue his name from oblivion: he was the Discoverer of Brazil.

## CHAPTER XI.

### HERNANDO CORTES, THE CONQUEROR OF MEXICO.

Settlements in the New World—Conquest of Cuba—Explorations of Continent—Youth and Education of Cortes—A Fortunate Fall—Sails for America—Swimming for Life—Captain-General of Armada for Conquest of Mexico—Departure of Cortes—Recruiting in Cuba—His Force and Arms—Embarkation for Yucatan—Preaching to Natives—The Long-Sought Captives—Landing at Vera Cruz—In Montezuma's Realm—The Emperor's Gifts—Progress Forbidden—Totonacs Rebel against Montezuma—Cortes Sends a Report to Spain—Destruction of the Ships—"To Mexico!"—The Tlascalans Resist their Passage—A Night Attack—Cortes Reaches Cholula—Montezuma's Despair—Cortes Enters the Capital—Visits Exchanged—Dangerous Position of Cortes—Pretext for Seizing Montezuma—The Purpose Accomplished—The Imperial Prisoner—Montezuma in Irons—Ship Building on the Lake—Supremacy of Spain Acknowledged by the Aztecs—"Honeyed Words"—Montezuma's Warning—Cortes' Threat—Expedition of Valesquez—Winning Over Enemies—March to the Coast—Submission of Valesquez's Army to Cortes—Return to Mexico—Alvarado's Mismanagement—Montezuma Commands Peace—Taunted and Wounded—Attacking the Temple—Death of Montezuma—"The Melancholy Night"—Personal Feats of the Spaniards—Terrible Losses—Battle of Otumba—"There is our Mark!"—"The True Miracle is the Conduct of Cortes"—At Tlasecala—Cortes Wounded—Reinforcements—Ship Building—Cortes Captured—Heroic Rescue—Siege of Mexico—Spanish Prisoners Sacrificed—Horrors of the Siege—Destruction of the City—Explorations—Court Intrigues—Cortes Triumphant—Expedition to Honduras Estrada's Insults—Cortes Goes to Spain—Reception at Court—Rewards—Return to New Spain—Exploring the Western Coast—To Spain Again—"Deserving too Greatly"—Last Illness and Death—His Burial.

**B**EFORE considering the history of the expedition which explored the interior of Mexico, discovering the capital and conquering its people, it will be well to trace briefly the progress of settlement in the New World. Diego Columbus found the mines of Hispaniola becoming exhausted, not long after he succeeded to the rights and titles of his father; and being actually, as well as nominally, Governor of the island, he decided to occupy Cuba. A force was prepared for the conquest of this larger island; for the reputation of the Spaniards was now such that the natives no longer received them with open arms as men descended from heaven. Velasquez was the head of this expedition, Narvaez his lieutenant. The treatment which they accorded the natives may be told in a single incident. A chief who had fled from San Domingo to escape Spanish rule, resisted the white men when they invaded Cuba. He was captured and condemned to be burned alive. While bound to the stake, he was urged, as he had been before, to adopt the religion of his captors if he wished to go to heaven.

"Will the white men go to heaven?" he asked.

"Certainly," was the reply.

"Then I will not be a Christian," was the unexpected rejoinder, "for I would not go again to a place where I must find men so cruel."

Grijalva and Alvarado explored the coast, and held conferences with the natives; receiving from them, as gifts and in trade, curiously-wrought ornaments and arms of gold. But the jealous Velasquez received their reports



HERNANDO CORTES.

with suspicion, and fitted out an armament for further operations in Mexico, the command of which he entrusted to a follower in whom he felt greater confidence.

Hernando Cortes, who was chosen for this post, was a native of Medellin, a town of Western Spain, in 1485, or, according to one authority, 1483. He came of an ancient and respectable family, in moderate circumstances; and it was proposed to devote the boy, as he grew older, to the study of the law.

At the age of fourteen he was accordingly sent to the great school at Salamanca; but the two years which he spent there were not enough to make a learned lawyer of him. It is true that he learned to write good prose and tolerable verses; but his time was passed, for the greater part, in frolics and adventures which did not exactly meet the views of his professors.

Returning home, he announced his desire to become a soldier; a career which in those days was simply a life of wild and stirring adventure. His parents do not seem to have made any opposition to this choice; perhaps they had found that anything would be better than to have him idling away his time at home.

His choice lay between military service in the Old World and in the New; and he finally decided upon the latter. He enrolled himself among the followers of Ovando, the successor of Columbus in the government of Hispaniola, and was all ready to sail with the leader; but a short time before the expedition departed, he went to say farewell to a certain lady. To reach her apartment, he was obliged to scale a high wall; and while he was thus engaged, the wall gave way beneath him. He was thrown to the ground, and buried under the ruins; for several days the young cavalier was laid up, so severe were his bruises; and when he once more crawled out into the sunshine, Ovando had sailed without him.

For two years after this mishap he remained at home; finally sailing in 1504, in the fleet commanded by Quintero. When he arrived in Hispaniola he was readily promised enough land for a farm; but at first he disdained the idea. When, however, he found that nothing better offered at the moment, he accepted a grant of land and a repartimiento of Indians—a term almost equivalent to slave-gang—and the appointment to the office of notary to the town of Acua.

The wild young Spaniard did not settle down to the ordinary sober humdrum life of a planter; he frequently took part in the expeditions against the Indians of the island; and when, seven years after he had arrived at Hispaniola, Velasquez undertook the conquest of Cuba, Cortes threw aside every tie that bound him to the soil, and embarked, heart and soul, in this enterprise.

But the favor into which Velasquez received him was not without interruption. Scarcely had the Spanish authority been established in Cuba before the Spaniards began to plot against their Governor; and the mutineers decided to lay their complaints before the higher tribunals of Hispaniola. Cortes had offended the Governor and received a rebuke; he had readily

joined this disaffected party and was the man whom they chose as their envoy. The errand was not without its dangers; for the voyage must be made across an arm of the sea more than fifty miles wide, and they had no vessel but an open boat. Before this most fearless of the conspirators could set off, however, the Governor got wind of the whole affair, and, seizing Cortes, fettered and imprisoned him. It is said that he even threatened to hang him.

But Cortes did not wait for the fulfillment of this threat. He managed to throw back the bolt of his fetters, and, having thus released his limbs, used the irons in forcing open the window of his cell. He then let himself down—the room was on the second floor—and escaped to a neighboring church.

Here, as he very well knew, Velasquez could not seize him without committing sacrilege. The Governor, however, knowing his natural carelessness, posted guards about the church, with orders to arrest him as soon as he stepped outside it; and they had not long to wait. Cortes was again shackled, and taken aboard a vessel which was to sail the next morning to Hispaniola. Again he managed to get rid of his irons, and dropped over the side of the ship into a boat which lay alongside. Noiselessly as possible he rowed toward the shore; and finding the current too strong, as he neared the land, for his boat to be guided by a single arm, he plunged into the seething water, and swam for his life. Once on shore, he again sought the shelter of the church.

The Governor soon afterward relented, and became reconciled to Cortes. This was probably brought about by the intercession of the family of the young lady whom he was engaged to, but whom he had at one time declined to marry. However it was brought about, it was complete and permanent; and Cortes received a liberal allowance of land, a repartimiento of Indians, and the office of alcalde of St. Jago. Here on his farm he lived for some years, stocking it with cattle of various kinds, cultivating the soil, and working the gold mines which fell to his share; thus gradually acquiring a snug little fortune, of which Las Casas says: "God, who alone knows at what cost of Indian lives it was obtained, will take account of it."

Such was the condition of the fortunes of Cortes when Grijalva and Alvarado returned with the news of the discoveries which they had made—the very Land of Gold which Columbus had so long sought in vain. The Governor, unwilling to trust either of them, and anxious to find some one who could contribute something to the cost of fitting out the armament, took two high officials into his counsels. It happened that both of these were close friends of Cortes; and thus the Governor was persuaded to accept him for this position.

Cortes was named Captain-General of the Armada prepared for the conquest of Mexico. He at once laid aside that levity which had so long distinguished him, and became the grave, earnest man of affairs. Every *real* that he could raise, whether taken from his store already accumulated or procured



by pledging his estates for its repayment, was devoted to the enterprise; and he persuaded many of his friends to venture their money on his success.

Six ships were readily procured, and the work of fitting them out went on rapidly, while three hundred men volunteered during the first few days. Before these preparations were in any way complete, however, Cortes learned that some of his enemies had poisoned the Governor's mind against him; that Velasquez, always inclined to be jealous, had regretted putting Cortes in this position, and had determined, although Cortes had actually contributed two-thirds of the cost of fitting out the expedition, to name another as the leader. There was not a moment to be lost, nor was Cortes the man to lose one. He quietly notified his officers, got all his men on board, and, half-prepared as he was, set sail that very night, at midnight.

At dawn, the departure of the fleet was discovered, and the alarm was at once given. The Governor sprang from bed, threw on his clothes, leaped upon his horse, and galloped down to the quay, followed by his attendants, in more haste than good order. Cortes, as soon as he saw them, entered an armed boat, and put back to within speaking distance.

"And is it thus you part from me?" shouted the angry Governor: "a courteous way of taking leave, truly!"

"Pardon," replied Cortes; "time presses; and there are some things that should be done before they are even thought of. Has your Excellency any commands?"

His Excellency, almost foaming with rage, could not find words to express his anger; and Cortes, politely bowing and waving his hand, returned to his vessel and sailed for Macaca, fifteen leagues away. Here he laid in such stores as he could obtain from the royal farms, considering them a loan from the King; and proceeded to Trinidad. He landed there for the purpose of securing more recruits, in which he was most successful. In addition to the many of less importance who flocked to his standard, there were men of high rank who had taken part in the former expeditions, who were quite willing to enlist under him; and their action not only lent a new dignity to his force, but gave him the services of those who knew most about the country to which they were going.

Velasquez sent orders to the Governor of Trinidad to arrest Cortes and send him back, as the command of the fleet had been given to another man, and he was usurping authority to which he had no right. The Governor, when he received these orders, wisely consulted some of Cortes' officers about his best plan; and they advised him that he had better not attempt anything of the kind. It would lead to a commotion among the soldiers, they told him; for all the common soldiers were devoted to their gallant leader; and they might burn the town. He therefore prudently ignored the orders of Velasquez.

Cortes now divided his force, sending a portion under Alvarado across the Island to Havana, while he, with the remainder and the vessels, would sail around the western point and rejoin him there, for the purpose of raising yet more recruits.

While at Havana, Cortes made some changes in the way of living, introducing a greater number of officers and servants into his household, and assuming more state and ceremony, as became a man of his new rank. He also prepared his soldiers for encountering the arrows of the natives, by having their jackets thickly quilted with cotton, of which there was an abundance around Havana. He divided his army into eleven companies, each under the command of an experienced officer, and caused all the arms to be put in perfect order.

While he was busy about these preparations, the commander of the place received the same instructions from Velasquez that the officer in command at Trinidad had received; but, like the other, judged it wisest to make no such attempt. He knew very well that he had not the power to arrest Cortes; and such was the fascination which the handsome, frank, gay-hearted soldier of fortune possessed for all with whom he came in contact, that he had quite won the heart of the commander of Havana.

The fleet had sailed from St. Jago, Nov. 18, 1518. Less than three months had sufficed to increase the number of ships to nearly double, and the force under his command was correspondingly larger. Of the eleven ships, eight were caravels and brigantines; the others were vessels of from seventy to one hundred tons' burden. One hundred and ten seamen, five hundred and fifty-three soldiers, and two hundred Indians, made up his force. Of the soldiers, thirty-two were cross-bowmen, and thirteen were provided with arquebuses, a kind of rude gun, so clumsy that it was sometimes supplied with a rest on which the marksman might support it while taking aim. Ten heavy guns, four falconets—lighter pieces—and a good supply of ammunition, completed the outfit. Sixteen horses, each transported with almost incredible difficulties from Spain to the Indies, in the flimsy craft of the day, and each therefore rated at a far higher value than a good-sized farm, were provided for the use of the cavalry; a force to which Cortes looked as the means of striking terror into the hearts of the natives at the first sight.

Before finally embarking at Cape St. Antonio, which he had appointed as the rendezvous for all his forces, Cortes addressed his troops in a stirring harangue, bidding them remember that great things are to be achieved only by great exertions, and that glory was never yet acquired by sloth. He told them, with that utter disregard for the rights of uncivilized nations which has always characterized those who claim superiority, that their cause was a just one, since they were to fight under the banner of the Cross.

His speech was received with such acclamations as any utterance of his

would have been accorded by his devoted soldiers, and mass having been celebrated with the usual ceremonies, the whole force embarked, and set sail from Cape St. Antonio for Yucatan February 18, 1519.

A storm, violent as tropical tempests are apt to be, overtook them before they had sailed many leagues; and the vessels were scattered. Cortes found it necessary to linger a little behind the others to assist one which had been partly disabled; and the smaller vessels reached the island of Cozumel before the flag-ship.

Arrived there, he found that Alvarado had improved the opportunity by rifling the temples of their ornaments, and frightening the natives so that they fled hastily to the dense forests of the interior. This was directly against the orders which Cortes had given; for it was his original plan to treat the Indians with great kindness. Alvarado was severely and publicly reprimanded, and every effort made to reassure the frightened natives. They were finally convinced of the friendliness of the strangers, and returned to trade with them.

About eight years before this time, a vessel from the colony of Darien had been wrecked off the coast of what is now Central America, and the few who escaped the fury of the elements were captured by the Indians. Some of them were killed and eaten, the Spaniards in the settlements had heard; others were still in captivity among the savages. To find these unfortunate creatures, if they still lived, was one of the first objects of Cortes; and he dispatched one of his officers, with two brigantines, to the opposite coast of Yucatan, to see if anything could be learned about them there; since the natives of Cozumel gave him to understand that these captives were likely to be found on that coast. Ordaz, the officer to whom this was intrusted, was instructed to remain there eight days for this purpose.

Much to the surprise of Cortes and his men, they found in the temple which Alvarado had rifled a cross, built of stone and lime. On inquiring the meaning of this symbol, they were told that it was the sign for the god of rain. They could not understand how a heathen people should have, as a religious symbol, that same emblem which is the most sacred to Christians; nor have later scientists been able to solve the puzzle. It formed a starting-point, however, for the priest who endeavored to convert these worshipers of the rain-god's cross to the religion of the Cross; for this expedition, like so many others of the time and section, partook largely of the character of a crusade. It was a Christian duty to convert the Indians; and if they could not be persuaded to embrace the religion of the white men, force must be employed.

Two priests, Juan Diaz and Bartolome de Olmedo, had accompanied the expedition, for the double purpose of ministering to the spiritual needs of the Spaniards and preaching to the Indians. They now began to exert all their eloquence upon these benighted heathen; and tried to persuade them

to permit their idols to be thrown down and destroyed. Naturally, the natives, who had worshiped these gods all their lives, and had never heard of the white man's God until within the past week, were not ready to consent to this. Cortes, as usual, was prompt to act. The arguments of the priests were not immediately successful, but he would wait for nothing more. He ordered the great idols to be thrown down and dragged out of the temples, where a shrine to the Virgin and Child was erected instead.

After mass had been performed at the altar thus suddenly erected, the arguments of the priests were renewed; and the natives, seeing that their gods did not avenge the insults which had been offered them, consented to embrace Christianity. This was reckoned a great triumph for the faith; although it is doubtful whether the interpreter half understood the instructions which he was required to translate, and certain that the Indians who thus professed Christianity did not have any idea of the faith which they were accepting.

Ordaz returned without tidings of the captives, and Cortes set sail. But a leak in one of the vessels compelled them to return to the same port. While they were lying at anchor here, a canoe was seen approaching the ships from the main land. One of the men in it, as he came within speaking distance, hailed them in broken Spanish, asking if he were among Christians. When the answer was given, he fell upon his knees and gave thanks for his deliverance. It was one of the long-sought captives, Jeronimo de Aguilar.

Cortes had directed Ordaz to offer large ransoms for the captives, to be paid in beads, hawks' bells and such other trinkets of European manufacture as the Indians especially valued. Aguilar was a favored servant of a chief far in the interior; and the news of this offer had not reached him in time for him to get to the coast before Ordaz sailed to rejoin his commander. It was only after considerable persuasion, indeed, and many praises of the beads and bells to be obtained as a ransom, that the chief would consent to give him up.

Had the fleet not returned to Conzumel for repairs, Aguilar must have missed his countrymen entirely. This would have been a serious loss to Cortes, since the captive, who had been educated as a priest, had taken advantage of his long residence among the Indians to learn the various dialects which were spoken, and now served as an intelligent, trustworthy interpreter; in which capacity his services were invaluable.

Having repaired the ships, they sailed again March 4; and, doubling Cape Catoche, reached the mouth of the Rio de Tabasco.

He resolved to ascend this stream; but the natives seemed determined to prevent it. Cortes proclaimed, through his interpreter, that he desired only a free passage for his men; but the Indians, who had gathered in great numbers, their canoes lining the banks of the river, answered only with shouts

and with volleys of arrows. Thus defied, Cortes crossed the river from the island where he had anchored, in the very face of the enemy; the boats were brought alongside the canoes, and a desperate struggle was waged. Gradually the whites forced the Indians back to land; but this was hardly an advantage to the assailants; for the natives found support there from their friends who showered darts, arrows and blazing brands upon the Spaniards, trying hard to maintain their footing on the soft ooze of the shore, while battling with those whom they had driven from the river.

"Strike at the Chief!" called one Indian to another, noting the carelessness with which Cortes exposed himself to their weapons, placing himself ever in the front of the fight; and the cry was caught up and re-echoed from side to side.

But when the Spaniards had got a footing on the bank, and opened fire with their arquebuses, the natives were glad to retreat behind a hastily constructed breastwork of timber. The whites, encouraged by their success, assaulted this rampart with renewed vigor; and the Indians again retreated, this time to their palisaded town, Tabasca. But this was carried by a determined attack; and the natives were glad to escape with their lives into the surrounding forests.

Cortes took possession of this town with due solemnity, in the name of the Most Catholic King, and took up his quarters in the chief temple; carefully posting guards about the town, to ensure against a surprise by the Indians. The next morning, two parties were sent out to reconnoiter. One of these had not gone a league before it was attacked by the Indians in force, and obliged to retreat to the town. Cortes now saw that he had made a mistake in attempting to explore this river, instead of going straight to his proposed destination; but to retreat now would be to dishearten his own men with the sense of being beaten at the outset, and enable his enemies to send messengers to announce that he was coming, but might easily be driven back by determined opposition.

He accordingly called his officers together, and made preparation to give battle the next day. The wounded were sent back to the ships, all others ordered to the camp. The horses were all brought on shore, with six of the heavy guns. Mesa, who had some experience as an engineer, was put in charge of the cannon; we can hardly dignify him with the title of commander of the artillery. The infantry was put under the direction of Ordaz, while Cortes himself led the cavalry, consisting of sixteen horsemen.

All night long, Cortes, restless with the sense of responsibility, went the rounds of his camp, visiting the sentinels to observe that no one fell asleep upon his post, and seeing that every possible preparation for the conflict had been made as ordered.

Morning dawned, and the soldiers assembled at the celebration of mass. It



was March 25, Lady-day, according to the reckoning of churchmen. Infantry and artillery were to march upon the enemy, encamped upon the plain of Centla, direct; while the little force of cavalry attacked upon the flank or rear, as opportunity might offer.

The country was dotted with corn-fields, irrigated by means of canals and reservoirs; so that their advance was slow and difficult. Many of them were severely wounded by the arrows of the enemy, before they could reach a footing firm enough to permit them to form in line of battle, and discharge their own missiles at the foe. The Indians, in dense masses, were swept down at every discharge of the guns; but they closed up the ranks, throwing up dust and leaves to hide the number of the slain from the assailants, and pressed so close upon the Spaniards that the latter hardly had room to manage their guns.

Where was the cavalry? Retarded beyond his expectations by the nature of the ground, Cortes did not reach the field of battle for an hour after the fight had begun. When he arrived, the Indians were so busily engaged with the enemy in front that they did not perceive his approach.

"Santiago and San Pedro!" rang out the war-cry; and the wearied infantry, scarcely able to hold their own against the overwhelming masses of the foe in spite of all the advantage that their guns gave them, knew that help had come. The startled Indians turned to look in the direction of the cry, and saw monstrous creatures, such as they had never seen before, rushing upon them; these dreadful beings had four feet and two arms each; the upper part of the body seemed to be covered with a glittering shell; and a sharp and glittering weapon was aimed directly at their faces. Such was the idea which the Indians entertained of the mail-clad cavaliers, mounted on horses protected by steel plates, and each bearing a lance which he had been ordered to direct at the faces of the enemy; for the ignorant natives, who had never seen a horse, supposed that horse and rider were one creature.

They could face men, even when armed with thunder and lightning, as the possessors of fire-arms seemed to be; but these dreadful monsters were a thousand times worse; a panic seized them, and they, who had threatened to overwhelm the force of five hundred soldiers with half a dozen cannon, fled in wild terror before sixteen horsemen.

Cortes did not attempt to pursue them. Content with the victory, he drew his men off to a neighboring copse, and there they offered up thanksgivings for the victory which had been given them. To the devout Spaniards, it seemed that Heaven must indeed have fought on their side, or they could never have conquered such a horde of the foe; and some of them positively declared that Santiago—the patron saint of Spain—mounted on his good gray horse, was plainly to be seen among the horsemen, dealing such blows as had given him rank of old among the Seven Champions of Christendom.

Some of the Indians who had been taken prisoners were sent as messengers to their countrymen, with the promise that Cortes would overlook the past, if they would submit to him at once; but that otherwise he would put every living creature in the land to the sword. The natives hastened to obey his demand; and brought such tokens of submission as they thought most acceptable. An imposing religious ceremonial was arranged to impress their simple minds, and the force, embarking, departed from the conquered country.



MEXICAN INDIANS BRINGING GIFTS TO CORTES.

Among the articles which they had brought as gifts, or had offered in trade after confidence had been established, were some small ornaments of gold.

The Spaniards had eagerly questioned them as to the source of this precious metal, and were told that it had been brought from the west, from Mexico; and this information did much to hasten their departure.

It was Palm Sunday when they embarked; and the next Thursday they reached the island of San Juan de Ulua, which had been visited and named by Grijalva. Here they were visited by Indians, who brought presents of fruits, flowers, and gold ornaments. But Aguilar, who had been useful as an interpreter farther to the southeast, was here unable to understand the language. Fortunately, a girl, who had been one of twenty young female slaves presented by the submissive Tabascans to the conquerors, was familiar enough with the Mayan dialects, which Aguilar spoke, and with the Aztec, her native tongue, to translate to the priest, who in turn rendered the speech into the Castilian language to Cortes. It was only by this round-about means, that Cortes was able to communicate with the natives.

He learned from them that the country was ruled by a great monarch, whose name is usually rendered as Montezuma; but he dwelt on the high plains, more than two hundred miles inland; their province was ruled by one of his great nobles, who lived but twenty-five miles away. They also informed him that in the interior there was plenty of gold.

The next day, Friday, April 21, he landed at the point where the city of Vera Cruz now stands. His guns were mounted on the small sand-hills, and the troops employed in cutting down trees and bushes in order to secure a shelter from the weather. In this work they received much assistance from the natives, who not only helped them with the labor, but brought mats and cotton carpets for their huts.

While this was being done, a great number of the natives, out of curiosity, visited the camp, bringing with them food of all kinds, and such ornaments as they possessed, which they gave away, or offered in exchange for the trinkets of the Spaniards. From these Cortes learned that Teuhtlile, the governor of the district, proposed to visit him the next day.

The expected guest came before noon, and was received with much ceremony, and entertained with an ample collation. He brought rich presents, which gave the Spaniards a great idea both of the wealth of the country and the skill of its workmen; while the readiness with which some of his attendants depicted the appearance of the "water-houses," the horses, arms, and costumes of the Spaniards, filled them with admiring wonder. This picture-writing was intended to be transmitted to Montezuma, as a faithful report of the strangers and all concerning them.

Cortes had demanded to see this monarch at once; and had made great boasts of the power and greatness of his own king. Teuhtlile, however, coolly remarked that he was glad to hear that there was another monarch as great as Montezuma, and firmly insisted that Cortes must remain where he

was until messengers could be sent to inform Montezuma of his arrival, and learn the ruler's pleasure concerning him.

Montezuma was a great soldier and statesman; but he had assumed such pomp in his style of living as Mexico had never seen; and the expense of maintaining this state, together with the enormous cost of the wars which he waged, caused him to levy very heavy taxes. This was of itself enough to make him unpopular. But the severity with which he caused justice to be administered, and the arrogance of his manner, combined to render him the object of fear, mingled with dislike.

Seven or eight days after the visit of Teuhtli, the envoys from Montezuma arrived at the camp of Cortes. They brought presents which fully justified all the invader's dreams of their master's wealth. Helmets and shields ornamented with plates of gold, necklaces and bracelets composed of the same metal, and set with beautifully worked precious stones; imitations of birds and animals in gold and silver; garments, curtains and coverlets of cotton fine as silk, and richly embroidered with feathers; and, above all, two immense disks, "as large as carriage wheels," one of silver, the other of gold, skillfully carved with various devices; this gold disk alone was worth more than two hundred thousand dollars in United States money of the present day, if we consider only the weight of the metal which it contained; and those who saw these articles after they were taken to Spain, where they could examine them at their leisure and judge of them coolly, declared that the beauty of the workmanship more than doubled the value of the rich materials.

But Montezuma declined, through his envoys, to receive Cortes and his followers at his capital; it was too far away, he said, and the journey thither was too full of difficulties and dangers. He advised the strangers to depart with the gifts that he sent as a proof of his friendly disposition.

But the Spanish nation had been dreaming of a monarch who could offer such gifts as these ever since the *Santa Maria* and her consorts set sail from Palos, that August day in 1492; and Cortes replied that he could not present himself before his own sovereign without having accomplished the object of his mission, which was to see Montezuma; and declared that having come two thousand leagues already, he had no fears regarding the short journey which still lay before him. With this message, he sent a gift as far inferior to that which he had received as his resources were inferior to those of Montezuma.

But the Indian monarch again forbade Cortes to approach his capital, and requested him to return to his own country without farther delay. Turning to his officers, Cortes remarked:—

"This is a rich and powerful prince indeed; yet it shall go hard but we will pay him a visit in his capital!"

The interview ended with an attempt, on the part of the Spaniards, to explain their religion to the envoys; but the latter did not seem to be favorably impressed with anything that the strangers had to say. They withdrew; and the next morning saw every native hut which had been built near the camp of the Spaniards, deserted. This meant that Cortes was cut off from all supplies, except such as were contained in his ships.

An expedition under Montejo had been sent to explore the coast, to see if there was any more favorable situation for a camp a little farther north. Having gone as far as Panuco, they returned, and reported that they had met with no success; the whole coast was low, marshy, hot, and unhealthful. Only one place at all suitable had been found; and to that Cortes determined to remove his forces.

But in the meantime his men were becoming dissatisfied; thirty of their number had died since landing; and they desired to return to Cuba with such treasure as they had already secured. The personal friends of Cortes tried to reason with them, and pointed out how much more would be gained should they found a colony here. Cortes had no authority from Velasquez to found such a colony, they answered; the others admitted the truth of this assertion, but retorted that the interests of the sovereign, to be considered before the commands of Velasquez, demanded that such a colony should be planted. Still the dissatisfied soldiers persisted that it was their duty to return to Cuba, for further orders from Velasquez.

Cortes understood, better than his friends, how to deal with them. Learning what their demands were, he gave orders that the troops were to hold themselves in readiness to embark at once, as the ships were to sail for Cuba without farther delay. It may be thought that this order would give great satisfaction to those who had been insisting on following this course; nothing of the kind; they veered like a weathercock when the wind changes, and demanded in the interests of the sovereign that a colony should be founded. If he refused, they told him, they would protest against his conduct as disloyal to the Emperor.

Cortes received this protest as seriously as if he had not purposely taken the best means to produce it; and promised to consider the matter and give them an answer the next day. Having allowed this time to pass, he informed them that he would accede to their demands, and plant a colony there in the name of the sovereigns of Spain. He nominated the magistrates who were to govern the new settlement, to which he gave the name of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz—"The Rich City of the True Cross." The officials being duly sworn, Cortes formally resigned into their hands the authority which he had received from Velasquez; and after a show of deliberation on their part, was invested with supreme civil and military jurisdiction, with the titles of Captain-General and Chief-Justice of the colony.



Among his followers, there were some adherents of Velasquez, who had, all along, acted somewhat like spies for the governor, and had indeed been sent with Cortes for that purpose. These men now protested warmly against what had been done; Cortes replied by putting the chief men among them in irons, and confining them on board the vessels, while their adherents were busily employed in collecting provisions for the colony. This punishment, however, did not last very long; for such a wonderful power of fascination did the man possess, that these very persons who had been employed by his enemy to watch and check him soon gave in their adhesion to the new government, and became the most devoted followers of Cortes himself.

Just before the half-revolt of the troops which had led to the formation of the colony, Cortes had been visited by five Indians, whose appearance was different from that of the Mexicans. From them he learned that Montezuma was not the unquestioned lord of this mighty empire, as he had supposed; there were provinces, recently conquered and heavily oppressed by taxation, which would be only too willing to throw off his yoke. The country of the Totonacs was one of these; and they had come from its chief town, Cempoalla, to request the strangers of whose coming they had heard to visit that capital.

The empire of Montezuma, as a fact, was beset with enemies from without and within; for, in addition to the rebellious feeling in such provinces as that of the Totonacs, the Tezucans and the Tlascalans were unconquered enemies. But this was the first hint that Cortes had received that Mexico—using the term in the sense in which it is used to-day—was not a single state, as loyal to Montezuma as Castile to Charles V.

Cortes, having settled all discords in the colony, resolved to march at the head of his troops to Cempoalla. He sent his heavy guns on board the ships, which were ordered to coast as far north as the point where the new colony was to be situated.

Cortes was received with due ceremony at Cempoalla; but the chief of the Totonacs, although ready enough to inveigh against Montezuma, refused to consider seriously any plan of revolt; plainly showing the Spanish chieftain how great was the fear which the Emperor's subjects entertained of him. Cortes left Cempoalla the next day for Chiahuitztlā, eight leagues away, the Totonac town near which the new colony was to be situated. He was accompanied by the Totonac ruler, and with him entered into a conference with the principal men.

While thus engaged, he noticed that five men, richly clad and attended by a considerable number, entered the market-place. He inquired who they were, and received the answer that they were the Aztec nobles sent by Montezuma to collect the tribute which he compelled the Totonacs to pay him. Cortes at first advised and then demanded that the Totonacs should refuse to

comply with these demands, and seize and imprison the collectors of the revenue.

This was done; but that night he secretly caused two of them to be released and brought before him; employing them as messengers to Montezuma, to say that the Spaniards still entertained a great regard for him, although he would have left them to perish with hunger. The men were enabled to escape the Totonacs; and the other prisoners, whom the enraged captors designed to sacrifice, were saved by the intervention of Cortes, who assisted them secretly, as in the case of the first two.

Montezuma heard of the treatment which his envoys had experienced, and sent an embassy to treat with Cortes on friendly terms. The fact that he should send such messengers impressed the Totonacs with great wonder; for this stranger had means of disarming even the anger of the great ruler whom all feared. They little guessed the treachery of which Cortes had been guilty.

But the Spaniards had determined that the natives should be converted to Christianity; and finding them indifferent, he determined to use force. One of their temples was seized, the idols rolled down the great steps, hewn to pieces, and burned; while the temple itself, thoroughly cleansed and decked with flowers, having an altar erected in it, with an image of the Virgin above it, was made the scene of a solemn celebration of mass. This decided action produced the expected results; the Indians resolved that gods that could not avenge these insults to their own images and temples were unworthy of reverence, and accepted the faith of the strangers.

Before Cortes set out for the capital, there arrived a Spanish vessel, under the command of an adventurer named Saucedo, having on board twelve soldiers and two horses. This vessel brought the news that Velasquez had lately received a warrant from the Emperor to establish a colony in the country which his subordinates had lately explored. Cortes saw that this was likely to be the means of his ruin if he did not act promptly. He resolved to send a vessel at once to Spain, reporting to the sovereign the extent of his discoveries and conquests, and offering such a present as should convince the Emperor of their value. According to custom, the sovereign was entitled to one-fifth of all that was secured; the general to the same proportion; while the remainder was divided among his officers and soldiers. But Cortes wished to impress the Emperor with a great idea of the value of his services; he accordingly resolved to send, in addition to the royal fifth, his own share of the booty; and he actually persuaded his followers, thirsting after gold as they were, to relinquish their own claims, and permit the entire amount of Montezuma's gifts to be sent to Spain.

With this magnificent tribute went a letter from Cortes, giving a full account of what he had done, and of the condition of affairs, so far as he knew

them, in Mexico; and stating his difficulties with Velasquez, narrated how the army had requested him to form a colony. With this letter went one from the magistrates of the new Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, asking that the nomination of Cortes might be confirmed by royal authority; and another from the citizen-soldiers of the colony making the same request.

Two cavaliers were selected to deliver these letters; and one of the best of the ships, manned by fifteen sailors, and commanded by the most skillful pilot, was set aside to convey them across the Atlantic. In direct defiance of the orders of Cortes, they landed on the coast of Cuba, in order to allow one of his cavaliers to visit his plantation. By this means Velasquez heard full particulars of what had been done; he sent a vessel in chase; he sent complaints to Hispaniola; and he dispatched indignant letters to Spain. The chase proved vain; he got no satisfaction from Hispaniola; and, too impatient to wait until he could hear from Spain, he fitted out another squadron which he intended should be far superior to that of Cortes. But of course the preparation of such a fleet occupied many months, so that Cortes felt none of the immediate effects of Velasquez' anger.

While these things were going on, there was mutiny and conspiracy in the camp on the Mexican shore. Some of the more timid and less determined souls had begun to be fearful regarding the result of the expedition into the interior; and, under the leadership of the priest, Juan Diaz, had planned to seize one of the ships, make the best of their way to Cuba, and report to Velasquez how matters stood. Provisions and water were got aboard with such secrecy that Cortes and his friends suspected nothing; and things went on all right for the conspirators until the very night that they were to sail. Then, one of their number, too unstable to stick to any party, as it seemed, went to the leader and betrayed the counsel of his companions. They were all arrested at once; nor was the trial long delayed. Two of the ringleaders were condemned to death; the pilot was sentenced to lose his feet; several others were to be whipped; while the priest, in accordance with the custom of the times, claimed "benefit of clergy," and thus escaped all punishment.

"Would that I had never learned to write!" exclaimed Cortes, as he signed the death-warrants.

The situation was a serious one. As long as there was a possibility of retreat, there would be some anxious to avail themselves of it. Cortes, bold and prompt as ever, determined that there should be no such possibility. He communicated his plans to a few of his friends, and arranged for a little comedy, in which he was to play the leading role. The pilots were persuaded to make a report, such as suited his purpose, of the condition of the ships. The vessels, they said, were grievously racked by the heavy gales which they had experienced, and the worms had eaten into their sides and bottoms so that it was only with difficulty that they could be kept afloat.



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ENTRANCE OF CORTEZ INTO MEXICO

Cortes received this report with well-acted surprise and anxiety.

"If it be so," he exclaimed, "we must make the best of it. The will of Heaven be done!"

Thus resigning himself to the divine order, he gave command that five of the worst of the vessels should be dismantled, the cordage, sails, iron, and everything else that was movable, brought on shore, and the vessels themselves be sunk.

This excited no suspicion, for the soldiers were well aware of the amount of damage that can be done to a ship by worms in the tropical seas. The pilots were ordered to inspect the remaining vessels, five in number; and on a report similar to the first, four of these suffered the same fate. Then the soldiers saw what had been done. Their commander had purposely cut the only thread of hope by which they were united to their own country. Only one small vessel remained, and they were in a hostile country, a mere handful in the midst of untold thousands of the enemy.

Whatever might be their idea of the danger in which they stood from the natives, there can be but one opinion of the position in which Cortes had placed himself. He stood virtually alone against the multitude, who looked upon him as a butcher who had led them like cattle to be slaughtered in the shambles. But he never flinched. Calling them together, he addressed them in words which have been preserved for us by a native historian. He first bade them remember that the great loss fell upon him, since the ships were all that he possessed in the world. Their destruction added a hundred men to the available force, since that was the number required to man the rotten hulks. In their present expedition, he said, they would not need the fleet if they succeeded, while if they failed they would be too far in the interior to make use of it. But they would not fail if they resumed their former confidence in themselves and in him.

"As for me, I have chosen my part. I will remain here, while there is one to bear me company. If there be any so craven as to shrink from sharing the dangers of our glorious enterprise, let him go home, in God's name. There is still one vessel left. Let them take that and return to Cuba. They can tell there how they have deserted their commander and their comrades, and patiently wait until we return loaded with the spoil of the Aztecs."

As they listened, all their fears died away; and scarcely had they heard his last words before the shouts rang out:—

"To Mexico! To Mexico!"

The force that he chose for the expedition consisted of four hundred foot soldiers, fifteen mounted men, seven pieces of artillery, thirteen hundred Indian warriors, a thousand Indian porters to transport the cannon and baggage, and forty of the principal men of the Totonaes as hostages, guides and advisers. The others of the Spanish force were left at Vera Cruz.



August 16, 1519, they set out on their march, and at the close of the second day had passed the lowland of the coast, ascended half the slope of the table-land, and reached Jalapa. As they continued the ascent they experienced a great change of climate, not unwelcome to the Spaniards, clad in mail, or in thick jackets of quilted cotton; but beneath which the scantily clad Indians, accustomed only to the warm climate of the coast, sank, perishing with the cold. Several of them actually died on the road.

Arrived at the summit of the slope, they came to a populous city, commanded by a vassal of Montezuma. From this official they received the information that the Mexican ruler had thirty great vassals, each of whom could muster a hundred thousand fighting men; while more than twenty thousand captives taken in war were sacrificed each year upon the altar of his gods. In proof of this latter assertion, the invaders were referred to a heap of skulls of the victims who had been sacrificed in this place; and a follower of Cortes, who wrote a history of the expedition, declares that he counted one hundred thousand.

Cortes remained in this place four or five days, to rest his troops. By the advice of his Indian allies, he resolved to march to Tlascala before advancing upon Mexico; as the Tlascalans were constantly at war with the Aztecs, and might prove valuable allies. He accordingly turned toward that country, and entered its bounds. But he found that he was not to be received with open arms. The Tlascalans were by no means sure of his sincerity; they knew that he had received the envoys of Montezuma, and accepted his presents; and they did not fully believe that he was marching against that prince. They therefore decided that a division of their army should fall upon the Spaniards as they entered the country; if the soldiers repelled them, well and good; if not, the government could disown the action of its army.

Two battles followed, as a consequence of this plan; the first, comparatively unimportant; although, much to Cortes' anxiety, two of his horses were slain, thus showing the Indians that these animals were subject to death. The second was a bloody battle, which lasted all day; and in which the fortunes of the two opposing armies were so nearly equal that the Spaniards could hardly claim a victory. The Tlascalans, however, retreated at evening, but in such good order as to call forth the praise of their enemies.

Two messengers were sent to the Tlascalan capital, to propose a cessation of hostilities and a friendly visit from Cortes. They were stopped on the road by the general who had led the forces in the late battles, and sent back with the message that "the Spaniards might pass on as soon as they chose to Tlascala; and, when they reached it, their flesh would be hewn from their bones, for a sacrifice to the gods. If they preferred to remain in their own quarters, he would pay them a visit there the next day."

Fearing the result both upon his own men and the enemy should he simply

await an attack, Cortes resolved to march out and meet the enemy in the field. It was the 5th of September when he reviewed his troops, giving them a few brief directions; and then giving the order to march.

They had scarcely gone half a mile before they came in sight of the enemy, whose numbers Cortes estimates as one hundred and fifty thousand men. Again, after a determined and bloody conflict, the Tlascalans withdrew, leaving the Spaniards in possession of the field; and again Cortes sent messengers to the capital.

The Government—for Tlascala was a republic—was uncertain what answer to return. From the terrible effect of the fire-arms, the councillors were inclined to think that the Spaniards were more than human; and the employment of horses in battle bore this out. If they were men, it would be well to keep on fighting until they were driven back; but if they were gods, who could hope to contend against them? In this dilemma, they consulted the priests; who returned the answer that the whites were not gods, but were the children of the Sun, deriving strength and power from his light. Should they be attacked by night, they would be more easily conquered.

But Cortes was too cautious to be taken by surprise; and the night chosen for the attack was illuminated by the full moon. One of the sentries espied the Indians cautiously advancing; he gave the alarm; the Spaniards, who slept with their arms by their sides, were instantly on the alert; but gave no sign of their being awake. The Indians continued to advance upon what they thought the sleeping camp, until suddenly Cortes gave the signal, and his whole force dashed upon them. The assailants were panic-stricken; and fled after giving but one volley of arrows.

The next day Cortes again sent ambassadors to the capital, with a letter in one hand, an arrow in the other; promising forgetfulness of the past if they would submit, but threatening entire destruction should they still resist. The Tlascalans had tried everything, and could now do nothing but submit; four caciques were accordingly entrusted with a peaceful mission to the Spanish camp, with orders to stop by the way at the Tlascalan camp, and inform the commander of their mission, requiring him to abstain from fighting and furnish the white men with all the provisions which they might require.

But the general of the Tlascalans had no idea of thus yielding; he persuaded the ambassadors to remain in his camp; and thus Cortes was kept in ignorance of the efforts which the Tlascalans had made to comply with his demands. But he was not inactive. Although suffering from an attack of fever, he was constantly in the saddle, scouring the country at the head of his little body of cavalry; saying to his followers, when, chilled to the bone by the severe winds, they would have returned to camp:—

“We fight under the banner of the Cross; God is stronger than nature.”

Indeed, it must never be forgotten that however cruel they may have been,

or tyrannical after the fighting was over, these old Spaniards considered themselves as fighting for Christianity; and regarded any severity toward the foe as pardonable as long as he refused to accept the religion of the Prince of Peace.

While Cortes was thus in the saddle, daring fatigue and hardship, the men in camp were giving vent to expressions of discontent. When he returned, they remonstrated with him on the folly of persisting in the effort to reach Mexico. All were wounded, more than fifty had perished since leaving the coast, and, between fighting and keeping guard, they had no rest, day or night. It was true they had no fleet in which to sail to Cuba; but they could fortify themselves on the coast until the one remaining vessel could be sent to the island for the necessary number of ships.

Cortes answered by acknowledging the truth of all their complaints. He knew just what hardships they had endured, for he had shared them all. But he bade them remember that they were fighting for the Cross. He told them further, that, should they retreat, the now vanquished Tlascalans would fall upon them as they went, and follow them to the coast until they could destroy the men who had so nearly destroyed the armies of Tlascala. The Totonaes, too, would join against them when they became the object of contempt by fleeing.

Still the soldiers were not convinced, and they gathered about their general with repetitions of their arguments. He saw that nothing was to be gained by arguing with them, and impatiently quoted a verse from an old Spanish song, with which they were all familiar, and which may be thus rendered:—

“ ‘Twere better die with honor  
Than live to be disgraced.”

The song was caught up by his listeners, and the few who remained discontented slunk back to their quarters, silenced, if not convinced.

A small body of Tlascalans arrived the next morning, saying that the general had sent them to ask for terms of peace. It was discovered, however, that they were spies; and Cortes, having had their hands cut off, sent them back with the message:—

“Let the Tlascalans come by day or by night, they will find the Spaniards ready for them.”

The general saw with dismay that his plans had failed; and his soldiers looked with more awe than ever on an enemy who could read their very thoughts. It was useless to resist longer; and, putting himself at the head of his army, sending the four envoys from the government in advance, the Tlascalan leader submitted to the strangers.

His submission was received by Cortes with respect for the brave soldier; and the bloody war was ended. While the Tlascalans were yet in the camp, ambassadors came from Montezuma, who had kept himself informed of the

progress of the Spaniards, and had hoped that they would be defeated and driven back by the Tlascalans, whose courage he knew well. The news that the strangers had conquered these formidable enemies, filled him with dismay; there were many prophecies of strangers who should come and conquer and rule over Mexico; and, while these prophecies indicated no special time, everything pointed to the present as the time for their fulfillment. The bolder priests, indeed, had admitted to him that his own reign was to end in the downfall of his dynasty; and Montezuma began to fear that there was no way of averting the doom.

The ambassadors, having presented the rich gifts which they brought, and congratulated Cortes on his victories, expressed their master's regret that they could not be received in his capital, as they would there be exposed to such danger from an unruly populace. Montezuma, accustomed to see his lightest wish regarded as law, had thought that this would be sufficient to prevent their coming; and so, too, thought the Indians.

Cortes gave an answer which has not been preserved; but we may be sure that he showed no such blind respect for the Indian ruler's wish. The envoys then offered, in their master's name, to pay tribute to the master of Cortes, if the Spaniards would cease to press forward to the city of Mexico. This showed Cortes more clearly than ever that the stories he had heard about the impregnable defences of the city were not true; and that the vast treasures which Montezuma had accumulated were protected by no guard strong enough to stop his handful of avaricious Spaniards.

Before marching upon the Aztec city, however, Cortes visited the capital of the Tlascalans, where he was entertained with such honors as a conqueror might expect. He was anxious to convert his late foes to Christianity, and had only been delayed in the execution of this purpose by the persuasions of Father Olmeda, who did not approve of forced conversions. Cortes considered that, the war over, the time for presenting the doctrines of Christianity to the Tlascalans had come. It was done; but although the Indians listened with respect, and were easily persuaded to tolerate the religion of the Spaniards, it was not accepted as generally as Cortes had expected.

While thus engaged, another embassy from Montezuma arrived. They came, this time, with an invitation to Mexico; suggesting that he take the route by the city of Cholula, where preparations had been made for entertaining him and his army.

The Tlascalans protested against accepting this invitation; telling Cortes that the Emperor's professions were hollow, and his friendships false. Cholula, unlike other cities at even a greater distance from Tlascala, had sent no messengers to Cortes, to testify its good-will and offer allegiance to his sovereigns.

Cortes recognized the wisdom of their remarks, and sent to demand the

submission of Cholula, which, after some delay, was offered in the acceptable form. But still the Tlascalans were doubtful of the result, having learned that a strong Aztec force was in the neighborhood of this city, and knowing that the Cholulans were treacherous and crafty.



RUINS OF AZTEC CIVILIZATION.

Cortes, although thus warned, was determined to proceed by way of Cholula; had he guessed the special interest which Cholula possessed, his determination would not have been altered. For here was the holy city of the Aztecs; here came thousands of pilgrims, as Mohammedans journey to Mecca, as Christians journey to Jerusalem. Here was an immense pile of earth and masonry, covering forty-four acres, having a space of an acre on the summit of the truncated pyramid, where human sacrifices were offered to the god Quetzalcoatl. He it was who had dwelt among their forefathers, but had gone across the Eastern Ocean long ago; telling them, as he bade them fare-



well, that some time in the future, men, of white skin and bearded like himself, would come from the East to rule over them.

Notwithstanding the dangers which they prophesied, the Tlascalans were not unwilling to accompany Cortes. A hundred thousand men, he says in the letter describing this journey, offered themselves as volunteers in his expedition; of these he accepted the services of six thousand.

The city of Cholula was the most remarkable that they had yet seen. Twenty thousand buildings were congregated within its walls, while the suburbs contained as many more. Besides these dwellings, the city contained no less than four hundred temples, built, like all Mexican houses of worship, in the shape of a pyramid, the sides facing the points of the compass exactly. Here, as elsewhere throughout the country, the buildings were remarkable for their solidity, as well as for the beauty of the workmanship displayed in the sculptures which adorned them; and the statues were no less remarkable, for their spirited conception and execution, than the relieves on the temples and palaces. The Spaniards, indeed, as they advanced through the country, from the sea to the capital, must have felt that the reality was more wonderful than a romance; for here, within so short a distance of the islands inhabited only by naked savages, was a race capable of constructing aqueducts and viaducts equal to those marvelous engineering triumphs of ancient Rome; of rearing pyramids almost as imposing as those of Egypt; and of executing carvings and sculptures which would not have shamed the best ages of Greek art.

Cortes was received with kindness by the Cholulans, but, before he had been in their city many days, suspected that there was something wrong. The Indian girl who had served him as interpreter since his departure from the coast had won the favor of the wife of a cacique. From this friend she received an invitation to stay at her house for a number of days; accompanied by a hint that it would be well for her to accept it. Pretending to be anxious to escape from her Spanish masters, Marina—for that was the interpreter's name—managed to get full details of the plans formed by the Cholulans. The Spaniards were to be attacked as they were leaving the city, and literally cut to pieces. Already had stones of great size been gathered on the roofs of the houses which they must pass, to be rolled down on their heads; already had human sacrifices, mostly of children, been offered in the temples to procure the favor of the gods in this effort to massacre their guests.

Cortes gave no sign to the Cholulans of having discovered their treachery, until all his preparations were made. His guns were placed in position; his Tlascalan allies, who had remained outside the city, were ready for the signal; his army was drawn up ready to strike the blow. He called together a number of the principal chiefs and their followers, and reproached them with their treachery. They were taken completely by surprise, and did not attempt to defend themselves from the charge; for they knew not by what

magic he could have discovered their intentions. While they were thus confounded, Cortes gave the signal for the attack. There was no battle; it was a massacre. The Cholulans were mowed down like grass before the cannon; and the Tlascalans, attacking them in the rear, completed the slaughter.



THE MASSACRE AT CHOLULA.

The surviving Cholulans were so crushed by the disaster which had befallen their city that Cortes no longer had anything to fear from them as an enemy in the rear; he decided to push on toward the capital of Montezuma. But before he went further, his Cempoallan allies desired to return to their own homes; for they dared not face the anger of the Emperor. Liberally rewarding them, from the gifts of Montezuma, for the services which they had already rendered him, Cortes took advantage of their departure toward the coast to communicate with his lieutenant at Vera Cruz, telling of his own success thus far, and giving various instructions regarding the government of the colony.

During the march, Cortes never once relaxed his watchfulness. Every night he went the rounds of the camp, to see that every man was at his post. On one occasion he approached so near a sentinel without giving warning that the

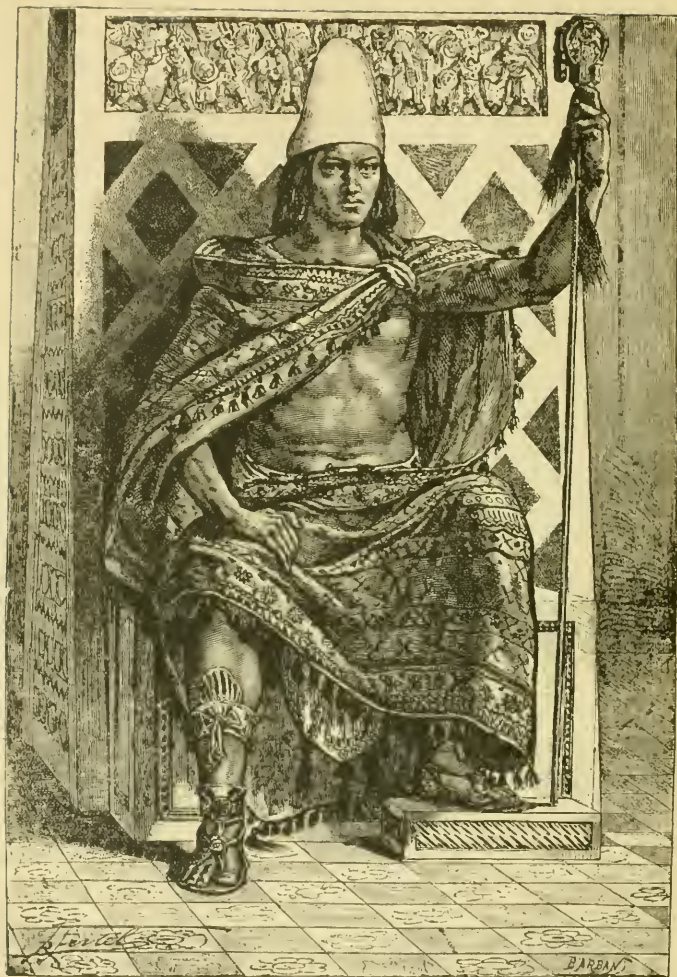
man leveled his cross-bow and took aim at the shadowy figure, barely distinguishable in the darkness; and had not Cortes, with an exclamation of surprise, given the watchword of the night, would have sent an arrow to his heart.

Coming to the point where there was a fork in the road, Cortes found that one path was obstructed by large trunks of trees and huge stones. Inquiry revealed that this had been done by orders of the Aztec ruler; and the envoys of Montezuma, who accompanied Cortes, explained that it had been done to prevent the Spaniards from taking the road which appeared the most inviting, but which, farther on, they would find impracticable for the horses. Cortes betrayed no suspicion, but commanded the barriers to be cleared away, and continued his march by the road which had been obstructed.

As they passed the smoking volcano Popocatepetl, they were regaled by their Indian companions with many tales respecting it; one frequent assertion being that no man could accomplish the ascent and live. Some of the Spaniards expressed a wish to try it; and Cortes encouraged them to do so, willing to show the Indians that there was nothing which his followers dared not try, nothing in which they could not succeed. Ordaz and nine others volunteered for the attempt, and some of the Tlascalans undertook to accompany them. The latter, however, turned back long before the summit was reached; and, although the others did not reach the verge of the crater—for the volcano was then active—they brought back with them icicles, to show how far they had ascended; and their achievement was regarded by the Indians as a most wonderful deed of daring.

When they reached the summit of the general slope, and saw the wide valley spread out before them, it seemed to the Spaniards that they were about to enter upon a true Earthly Paradise. The destruction of the forests and other circumstances have long since changed the face of the country; and the city of Mexico, then situated on the bosom of a lake, is now in the midst of marshes and flat plains.

Montezuma had tried to turn the Spaniards back from their march before they had gained sight of his capital; knowing that when they saw an easy descent and smooth road between them and that rich and beautiful city, nothing short of an army could stay them; and such an army as would be required to fight these wonderful strangers was not possessed even by the great Aztec monarch. His soul was filled with despair when he learned that they had surmounted every obstacle, had persevered through all the difficulties, had scorned fatigue, and cold, and every other discomfort, in order to reach the capital of Anahuac. He shut himself up in his palace, refused food, and sought relief in prayer and sacrifice. But no response came from his oracles. He next called a council of his principal nobles; but while some advised him to receive the Spaniards as ambassadors, as they claimed to be,



MONTEZUMA.



others advised him to drive them back at the point of the spear, or die in the defense of his city. Thus variously advised, the decision, as at first, rested with himself.

"Of what use is resistance?" he is said to have asked; "the gods themselves have declared against us. Yet I mourn most for the old and infirm, the women and children, too feeble to fight or to fly. For myself and the brave men around me, we must bare our breasts to the storm, and meet it as we may."

It was the 8th of November, 1519, when the little army of Spaniards, not more than three hundred and fifty men, and their six thousand Tlascalalan allies, crossed the causeway which connected the island on which the city was built with the main land. They passed the Fort of Xoloe, a stronghold about a mile and a half from the gates of the city; and finally came to the draw-bridge, the last defense outside the walls.

Montezuma came to meet them, borne in a palanquin resplendent with ornaments of gold, and shaded by a canopy of feather-work powdered with jewels and fringed with silver. His sandals had soles of gold, and the straps which bound them to his feet were fairly crusted with the same metal. His embroidered cloak and his sandals were richly adorned with precious stones.

A palace facing the great temple of the war-god was assigned as a dwelling place for the strangers; and Cortes has told us that it was large enough to accommodate his whole army. Here he made as complete preparations for defense as if he were expecting to be besieged, instead of having just been received by Montezuma with all the distinction due his claims as an ambassador. Cannon were planted and sentinels were stationed; while, to avoid any collision between his men and the natives, the soldiers were forbidden, under pain of death, to leave their quarters.

Visits were exchanged between the Emperor and the stranger; and Cortes sought to embrace what seemed a golden opportunity to instruct Montezuma in the Christian faith. But the Aztec replied that his gods had always favored him, and that he saw no good reason to exchange them for the God of the white man. Montezuma, in fact, was a priest as well as king; and before his accession to the throne on the death of a somewhat distant relative, had been constantly in the temples. Later efforts of Cortes to induce the monarch to embrace the Christian faith, or at least to allow the Cross to be planted in conspicuous places, proved no more successful; and Montezuma said to him, when such a proposition was made on the occasion of a visit to the temples:—

"These are the gods who have led the Aztecs on to victory ever since they were a nation, and who send the seed-time and the harvest in their seasons. Had I thought you would have offered them this outrage, I would not have admitted you into their presence."



As time went on, the position of Cortes became an exceedingly dangerous one. He seemed no nearer to conquest than he had been when he first entered the country; and he was fearful lest a messenger might come at any moment to bid him, in the name of the Governor of Cuba, submit to a force of strength superior to his own, which had been sent to complete the work which he had begun. He called a council of his officers; not so much to profit by their advice, as to interest them more deeply in the plan which he was about to propose to them, and perhaps to make them partly responsible for it to their common sovereign.

He had formed a scheme to seize Montezuma, and hold him as a hostage for the good behavior of his people, while governing in his name. The bare statement of the fact does not fully show the audacity of the plan. The city of Mexico then contained, it is estimated, about three hundred thousand inhabitants; it was situated in the midst of a lake, connected with the main land by three immense causeways, wide enough for eight or ten horsemen to ride abreast, but rendered a means of defense against outer foes by means of draw-bridges, which, once raised, cut off all communication except by means of boats. The city was defended against assault from this source by high walls. Had the Emperor been as determined as some of his ancestors, he might easily have collected an army within the city itself, ten times as great as that of Cortes; raised the draw-bridges, thus cutting off all chance of escape for the Spaniards, unprovided with boats; and, seizing the camp before they had time to man their cannon, put every soul to death.

But he was unnerved by the thought of the prophecies, which had long foretold the coming of white men with beards from the East, who should rule the land; and thus these prophecies worked out their own fulfillment, as superstitions are apt to do. He had permitted the Spaniards to enter the city; he had given them for their abode a building, originally a palace, which they had converted into a fortress; and he was afraid to take any open steps toward expelling them.

The Spaniards were surprised at the plan which their leader unfolded to them; some of them had indeed proposed a retreat; but such a course would have brought the Aztec forces down upon them; and, even if they should reach the coast, they would have failed in an enterprise where anything but the most brilliant success would expose them to punishment from Velasquez.

Even Cortes knew that he must find some pretext for the seizure of the Emperor, so he made use of an occurrence of which he had received news at Cholula. The lieutenant left in charge at Vera Cruz had, shortly after the departure of Cortes, received a message from an Aztec noble, named Quauhpopoca, declaring his desire to come in person and tender his allegiance to the Spanish authorities at Vera Cruz. He requested that four of the white men might be sent to escort him; they were promptly sent; but the treach-

erous Indian caused two of them to be murdered. The others, who had probably been reserved for sacrifice, escaped, and made their way back to the colony.

Escalante, the Spanish commander, rallied his forces and started at once to avenge this wrong. He was reinforced by several thousand Indian allies; but these fled at the very beginning of the battle. The Spanish veterans, who numbered but fifty, held their ground; though they lost their leader and six or seven others. The Indian prisoners declared that Quauhpopoca had acted by the orders of Montezuma.

Cortes had told but few of his officers of this occurrence, and had wholly concealed it from the great body of his men, lest it should affect their courage. Thus, when he ordered them drawn up in military order, and stationed them in the avenues leading to the palace, they did not know that he was cutting off Montezuma from the body of his people. Cortes asked for an audience of the monarch, and his request was readily granted. Five cavaliers, in whom he placed unquestioning trust, attended him; they were Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Francisco de Lujo, Velasquez de Leon, and Alonso de Avila. Twenty-five or thirty picked men were ordered to enter the palace, as if by accident, in groups of threes and fours.

The conversation began in a playful tone; but when Cortes found that a sufficient number of his men had arrived, he became serious, and charged Montezuma with having ordered the outrage upon his men. Montezuma, surprised, denied his complicity; and gave his signet-ring to one of his officers, with orders to bring Quauhpopoca and his accomplices at once to Mexico, to answer the charge.

The messenger left the imperial presence; but Cortes was not yet content. He saw plainly, he said, that Montezuma had nothing to do with the murder of the Spaniards; but it was necessary that the Emperor Charles V., his master, should be convinced of it. There was one thing that would be more convincing than anything else; if Montezuma would transfer his residence to the palace occupied by the Spaniards, no one could have any doubt.

As Cortes argued that such an act would show so great a regard for the Spaniards as to absolve Montezuma from all suspicion, the dark face of the monarch became pale as death, and then flushed deeply, as, drawing himself proudly up, he demanded:—

“When was it ever heard that a great prince like myself voluntarily left his own palace to become a prisoner in the hands of strangers?”

Cortes tried to convince him that he would not be a prisoner; that he would be treated with constant deference by the Spaniards, and would still be attended as usual; that it would be nothing more than such a change of residence as he frequently made for his own pleasure. But Montezuma was not to be convinced.

"If I should consent to such a degradation," he answered them, "my subjects never would."

Yet such was the fear in which he held the Spaniards, that he offered to compromise with them, by offering his son and daughter as hostages. Two hours passed, without result, for the Spaniards were determined to secure Montezuma himself. Then Velasquez de Leon, a kinsman of the Governor of Cuba, but strongly attached to Cortes, suddenly cried out:—

"Why do we waste words on this barbarian? We have gone too far to recede now. Let us seize him, and, if he resists, plunge our swords into his body!"

The savage tone and gestures told the monarch the general tenor of this speech; and he demanded of Marina, who always acted as interpreter, the meaning. She softened it as much as she could, and begged him to accompany the white men to their quarters, where he would be treated with kindness and respect; while refusal would expose him to violence, perhaps to death. There was a momentary hesitation, as Montezuma looked about him for a friendly face, and found that his eyes rested only on the stern visages of the steel-clad Spaniards; then he consented to accompany them.

Thus fell the Aztec monarchy; for although Montezuma, for some time longer, retained his titles and nominal dignities, he was wholly under the domination of the Spaniards. Orders were at once given for his litter to be brought; and Montezuma, who had submitted unwillingly enough, now brought pride to the rescue, and led his nobles to believe that he went of his own free will. As he was borne through the streets, the wondering and excited people could not believe but that he was being forcibly carried off, until he himself bade them disperse quietly, as he was simply visiting his friends of his own accord.

True to their promise, the Spaniards treated him with all the formal respect which he had been accustomed to receive. His apartments were prepared with the same care as ever, his attendants were not changed, and as many of his thousand wives as he chose to summon to his presence received the honors due to queens, when queens are so plentiful. Cortes himself removed his casque when approaching the Emperor, and never sat in his presence unless especially invited. But still he was a prisoner.

The people of Mexico were not wholly satisfied; and the fact that twenty men mounted guard constantly at the front of the palace, and an equal number at the back, did not reassure them. Still, Montezuma had stated so positively to the nobles and to the people that he went of his own free will that they had no excuse for interfering.

On the arrival of Quauhpopoca, Montezuma referred the whole matter to the judgment of Cortes; perhaps unwilling to show either his people or himself that he had not the power to try this case. The cacique and fifteen of

his followers, who had all been implicated in the killing of the Spaniards, were condemned to be burned alive; the funeral pile being composed of arrows, javelins, and other weapons, of which the city arsenals afforded an ample supply.

While preparations for the execution were going on, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, attended by a soldier bearing fetters. Accusing the Emperor with having been the principal in the crime for which Quauhpopoca and his associates were to die, he ordered the soldiers to fasten the irons upon the limbs of the monarch.

Montezuma submitted without a word; seemingly too dazed at the idea of such an insult to think of resisting or calling for help from his attendants. The irons were removed after the execution had taken place, Cortes making many apologies for the course to which, he said, necessity had compelled him. Not long afterward, the Spanish general even told Montezuma that he was at liberty to return to his usual dwelling, if he wished; but Montezuma declined to do so; saying that were he in the midst of his nobles, he would be compelled to make war upon the Spaniards. We can hardly suppose that he did not resent the treatment to which the bold Spaniard had subjected him; perhaps he would have been only too willing to make war upon Cortes and his followers, but feared that these proud Aztec nobles would first slay the ruler who had submitted to the strangers, and then expel those strangers from Mexico.

The news which had been received from Vera Cruz had compelled Cortes to send back one of his followers to take the place of Escalante; Alonso de Grado was first chosen for the post; but he proving unfitted, Gonzalo de Sandoval, one of the officers who had assisted in capturing Montezuma, was appointed by Cortes. To him Cortes sent orders to send to the city of Mexico sufficient quantities of the iron and cordage, saved from the ships which had been destroyed, to fit out a fleet which he proposed to build on the lake; for there was always danger that the Aztecs might cut off the retreat of the Spaniards by seizing, or even, in desperation, destroying the causeways which connected the city with the land.

At the same time that this work of ship-building was in progress, Cortes was busily extending the power of the Spanish arms. Cacama, the nephew of Montezuma, and ruler of Tezcucó, having made some efforts to procure the release of his uncle, was treacherously seized by Cortes, and put in irons. The chief who had been his accomplice in the "rebellion," as the Conqueror styled this refusal to recognize his usurped authority, was also taken, brought in chains to Mexico, and placed in confinement with their leader. All this was done by the authority of Montezuma, still the nominal ruler of the country, but really only a tool in the hands of Cortes.

The next step was to procure from the Emperor of the Aztecs a formal ac-

knowledge of the supreme authority of Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany. It would have been useless for Montezuma to have refused; and he and his nobles swore allegiance to the master of Cortes. The Conqueror next suggested that the vassals should send tribute to their newly acknowledged sovereign; and to this Montezuma, although he had constantly showered presents of great worth upon the greedy Spaniards, assented. Collectors were sent out, accompanied by a number of the Spaniards, and the tribute which had been paid to Montezuma was collected for Charles. Of the value of many of the articles so rendered—for the tribute was paid in kind—we have no means of judging; there is no market price for the rich feather-work and the fine embroidered cotton robes which formed so valuable a part of the treasures of every wealthy Aztec; but the gold and silver, reduced to ingots and stamped by the royal goldsmiths with the arms of Castile, together with the pearls and precious stones, are estimated to have been worth more than a million and a quarter of dollars. Had this treasure been equally divided, it would have amounted to more than fifteen thousand dollars for each man who had engaged in the enterprise. One-fifth, however, was reserved for the Crown; one-fifth belonged to Cortes, as the general; a considerable sum must be allowed to indemnify him and the Governor of Cuba for the expense incurred in fitting out the fleet; the garrison at Vera Cruz was provided for; the cavaliers were allowed an ample sum; the cavalry, arquebusiers and crossbow-men received double pay; and when the turn of the common soldiers came, it was found that their share was so small, in comparison with what they had expected, that many of them refused to receive it at all.

It required all the eloquence and persuasive powers of Cortes to restore peace. The fact that he was able to do so at all shows what wonderful powers over others the man possessed. At Vera Cruz he had induced them to surrender the treasure to the Crown, by promising them more when they got to Mexico; but at Mexico there was nothing more to promise; he could only appeal to their love of glory, and satisfy them with the "honeyed words, of which he had good store for all fitting occasions."

But Cortes, although he had reduced the once proud Montezuma to be merely a tool in his hands, and had received, in the name of his master, tribute from all the dependencies of the Aztecs, was not yet satisfied. The Spaniards had erected an altar in their barracks, and were accustomed to having religious services performed there. This was no longer to be endured; and Cortes demanded of Montezuma that the great *teocalli*, the chief temple of the city, should be given to the Spaniards as a house of worship.

Montezuma protested against this. It was because the priests had predicted the coming of bearded white men from the East, who should become the rulers of Anahuac, that he had yielded to the Spaniards without striking a



blow; but he clearly foresaw the results of insulting his gods. He therefore spoke to Cortes, addressing him by the name which his constant companionship with the interpreter Marina had caused the Indians to give him:—

“Why, Malinche, why will you urge matters to this extremity, which must surely bring down the vengeance of our gods, and stir up an insurrection of my people, who will never endure this profanation of their temples?”



MEXICAN IDOL AND RUINS.

Signing to his officers to withdraw, Cortes told the Emperor that he would try to persuade his followers to be content with one of the sanctuaries of the teocalli; threatening, if this were not granted, to take the temple by force, and roll down the images of his gods before the whole city.

“We fear not for our lives,” he said, “for although our numbers are few, the arm of the true God is over us.”

Montezuma held a conference with his priests upon the subject; and finally decided that the Christians should be granted the use of one division of the temple. This, purified from the indications of the human sacrifices which had so often been offered there, was provided with an altar, over

which a crucifix and an image of the Virgin were raised: and the walls, once reeking with blood, were adorned with garlands of flowers. Then, in the old pagan temple, newly dedicated to a purer worship, there knelt the fierce and proud soldiers who professed to be followers of the meek and lowly Nazarine—the house of prayer no stranger a combination of heathenism and Christianity than were their own natures.

But the Aztecs, who had seen the strangers encamped in their midst, had seen richest gifts showered upon them, had seen them repay this kindness and generosity by seizing and holding Montezuma as a prisoner, and treating as rebels those who had dared attempt to rescue him, rebelled against this latest insult to their nation. Montezuma summoned Cortes to his presence, receiving him with cold civility; and told him that what he feared had come to pass. The gods of his country had been offended by the violation of the temple, and had threatened to forsake the city, if the strangers were not sacrificed upon the altars which they had profaned. Montezuma was willing to consult the safety of the Spaniards, by warning them of this threat; concluding with a statement of his own power:—

“I have but to raise my finger, and every Aztec in the land will rise in arms against you.”

Cortes coolly replied that he should regret to have to leave the capital, as he had no ships to transport him to the islands whence he had come; he should especially regret it, he added, with emphasis, because these peculiar circumstances would compel him to take the Emperor with him. Montezuma, startled at this suggestion, inquired how long it would take to build the necessary vessels; and finally consented to send a sufficient number of workmen to the coast, to fell the timber and build the ships, under the direction of the Spaniards. Cortes was thus enabled to remain in Mexico for some time longer than the priests had contemplated; sure that Montezuma would not allow any direct effort to expel him and his followers.

Their position was not without danger, however; and they were constantly on the alert; they slept in their armor, with their arms beside them; and Cortes kept his horse standing, fully caparisoned, day and night.

While this state of affairs threatened the Spaniards, news arrived which was anything but cheering. The vessel which Cortes had dispatched to bear the news of his discovery of Mexico, with the vast treasure which had formed the first gift of Montezuma, had been taken possession of by the royal authorities on its arrival in Spain; a connection of Velasquez having lodged a complaint charging those on board the vessel with mutiny and rebellion against the authorities of Cuba. Had they not touched on the coast of that island, he would have had no tidings of their coming.

The rich treasure which they brought, however, disposed the Emperor to listen favorably to them; but Fonseca, who had opposed the success of so

many who had been foremost in developing the resources of the New World, from Columbus down, appeared like a malevolent spirit once more, and persuaded the Emperor to delay action on these claims to recognition.



AZTEC CHIEF.

Charles V. was much more interested in his own personal advancement than he was in the welfare of his subjects or the administration of justice; and he readily allowed his attention to be drawn off to other things. He devoted himself to obtaining supplies from his Spanish subjects for the prosecution of that war which he carried on for so many years against Francis I. of France; and had but a week to devote to colonial affairs before he left Spain for his more northern dominions. Of this brief period, the greater portion was devoted to the claims of Don Diego Columbus, who was still contending for the rights so highly valued by his great father. Cortes received hardly a moment's consideration; the order to allow the envoys enough for the expenses of their journey being the only record of any kind.

But, during this time that the messengers of Cortes had spent in waiting the

pleasure of their imperial master, Velasquez had not been idle. He had fitted out a fleet unequalled by any that had ever sailed in American waters, except that which conveyed Ovando from Spain to San Domingo; for its leader he selected a favorite who had assisted him in the reduction of Cuba, a Castilian noble named Panfilo de Narvaez. The eighteen vessels were manned by nine hundred men, and carried a number of heavy guns, with an ample supply of ammunition and military stores of all kinds.

Following nearly the same path over the waters as that which Cortes had taken to the main land, they landed near Vera Cruz, and proclaimed their intention to march against Cortes and punish him for his rebellion. Sandoval at once prepared to defend his little fort. Narvaez sent an embassy to him, requiring him to surrender to the authority of the deputy of Velasquez. This embassy consisted of a priest, a notary, and four others. Sandoval refused to hear the proclamation which the notary was commanded to read; but remarking that the general should listen to it at Mexico, summoned a number of Indian porters, and caused the envoys to be bound upon their backs like so many bales of goods. Placed under a guard of twenty of his men, with ample relays of porters, the singular procession left for the capital, which they reached in four days.

Montezuma had received news of the coming of the strangers, and told Cortes that there was no longer any reason why he should delay in leaving for the coast, since the ships were there to take him back to Cuba or Spain. But while the troops hailed the news as the best of tidings, Cortes had his suspicions, which he communicated to his officers, and through them to his men. All doubts were dispelled when the prisoners from Vera Cruz arrived.

Receiving them with honor, apologizing for the treatment which they had received at the hands of his officers, and loading them with gifts, Cortes succeeded in winning these enemies completely over to his own side; and obtained from them many important particulars regarding the plans of their leader and the feelings of his followers. Letters were dispatched to Narvaez, begging him to show the Indians no signs of dissensions among the whites, but to co-operate heartily with Cortes; who would cheerfully yield the command to him, if he could produce a royal commission to sustain his authority.

But Narvaez treated these letters with open scorn, and announced that he intended to march against the traitor Cortes and liberate the Emperor Montezuma. Cortes, who was kept well informed of the progress of events, both by his emissaries in the camp of Narvaez and by his faithful lieutenant Sandoval, was now in a very difficult position. If he remained in Mexico and awaited an attack, he would be confronted by Narvaez with a force more than double his own, besides the vast numbers of Aztecs who would aid him when his de-

sign of liberating the Emperor became well known; if he marched against Narvaez he must either abandon Mexico and Montezuma, and thus leave a most formidable enemy in his rear, or he must divide his force, already small, and, leaving one handful to maintain his authority in Mexico, march with the other handful against the army of Narvaez.

While every possible plan presented much danger, he chose the last as the least perilous. Alvarado was left in command at Mexico, with one hundred and forty Spaniards, all the artillery, the greater part of the cavalry, and most of those who possessed fire-arms. Only seventy soldiers accompanied Cortes; but these were the picked men of his little force; and, being encumbered by but little baggage, were able to move very rapidly.

Velasquez de Leon had been sent, with a hundred and twenty men, to form a settlement on the coast about sixty miles south of Vera Cruz; but, hearing of the landing of the hostile party, had, without waiting for orders, countermarched to Cholula, and there halted till the arrival of Cortes.

Six hundred Tlascalans had formed part of his force; but, afraid to face a Spanish enemy, they had deserted in such numbers that Cortes dismissed them all, saying that he had rather part with them then than in the hour of trial. Reinforced by a body of men from Vera Cruz, several of whom were deserters from Narvaez, his whole force numbered at last but two hundred and sixty-six men.

The march was made about the middle of May, 1520; for the Spaniards had been six months at the Aztec capital before Narvaez arrived off the coast. It was the evening of Whitsunday when the wearied men arrived at the bank of a stream called the Rio de Canoas—the River of Canoes. It was greatly swollen by recent rains, and rain still fell in torrents, drenching them to the skin. Just across this river was the camp of Narvaez.

Cortes determined to attack his enemy that night; and, in spite of the fury of the elements, despite the rushing of the waters, which actually carried away two of his men in the attempt to cross, held to his purpose. The camp of Narvaez was but slightly guarded; and, although one sentinel escaped the hands of Cortes and gave the alarm, the soldiers would not believe that on such a night the enemy could cross the river. Perhaps their unbelief was due largely to the arguments of those who had been sent to summon Sandoval to surrender, and had been forwarded by him to Mexico; envoys of whom a follower of Cortes has told us: "Our commander said so many kind things to them, and anointed their fingers so plentifully with gold, that, though they came like roaring lions, they went away perfectly tame."

There was a battle, brisk but brief; and Narvaez was wounded and taken prisoner. His soldiers submitted without further resistance to Cortes, who treated them with such kindness and loaded them with such presents, as to excite the dissatisfaction of his own troops. He explained to them the ne-



cessity of attaching these recent enemies firmly to his cause, and in order to prevent further dissatisfaction, had arranged to employ all on various missions, when bad news came from Mexico. The brigantines which had been built on the lake had been burned by the natives; the causeways were held by them; and Alvarado, with his garrison, was closely besieged in the palace.

Cortes at once marched to his relief; finding, as he approached Mexico, anything but a cordial reception. He arrived at the margin of the lake June 24, 1520; and marched across the principal causeway without opposition. The streets of the city seemed deserted as the Spaniards made their way to the quarters occupied by their comrades, where they were heartily welcomed; and where Cortes at once proceeded to interrogate Alvarado concerning the difficulties of his position.

According to the cavalier, he had learned that the Mexican nobles meditated a treacherous assault upon the Spaniards; and, to prevent his own destruction, Alvarado had counterplotted. At a great religious festival of the Aztecs, the Spaniards, whose arms were carefully concealed, as far as possible, had attended, as if out of curiosity. At a given signal, they had fallen upon the worshipers and massacred them. The Mexicans, naturally enough, had been roused to revenge by this action, and had besieged the Spaniards in their barracks. Failing to carry this stronghold, they had contented themselves with removing all food from the markets of the city, forbidding the visits of the boats which were accustomed to bring supplies, and thus bringing famine to their aid against the garrison of the strangers.

Whether or not Alvarado proved to the commander that there had been a conspiracy of the natives, we do not know; there is no good proof of such a plot to be found in the histories of the time; and it seems to have been thought that the Spaniards simply indulged their thirst for blood and for gold; for they plundered the bodies of their victims of their ornaments. Cortes heard him to the end, questioning him closely; then, with frowning brow, he thundered out:—

“You have done badly; you have been false to your trust; your conduct has been that of a madman!”

Nor was he better pleased with the conduct of Montezuma, although, according to the account of Alvarado, the populace would have stormed the palace and murdered the Spaniards had it not been for the commands of their Emperor. Montezuma having sent some of his nobles to ask for an interview with Cortes, the general turned to his own officers with the fierce question:—

“What have I to do with this dog of a king who suffers us to starve before his eyes?”

In spite of the remonstrances of his officers, he turned to the Mexicans and gave them the answer they were to carry back:—

“Go tell your master and his people to open the markets, or we will do it for them, to their cost.”

This was too much for the patience of the Mexicans, who had borne so much; and, mustering their vast army, they assaulted the palace in which the Spaniards were encamped. They came forward with the shrill whistle which was the Aztec substitute for the war-cry of the more northern tribes of this continent, confident in their numbers. The Spaniards, always watchful under the eye of a leader who never once relaxed his vigilance, were ready for them at once. The cannon, pointed at the dense masses of the attacking party, mowed them down by hundreds; but, although the Mexicans had never before faced fire-arms in battle, they rallied from the first confusion into which the discharge naturally threw them, and pressed forward with the same courage as if their opponents had no more deadly weapons than their own.

But the Mexicans, unable to carry the strong walls of the fort which their own hands had raised, and which their own ruler had given to the enemy, found a more effectual weapon than missiles; and hurling burning brands upon the light wooden structures which the Spaniards had erected in the courtyard of the palace, set these flimsy walls on fire; the roofs of neighboring buildings affording a position from which these missiles might be thrown, and burning arrows shot to advantage. The Spaniards had as much as they could do to fight the Mexicans and the fire at once; for, to add to their distress, their supply of water was but limited.

At last, however, night came on; and the Mexicans, who seldom fought except by day, withdrew from the contest. The earliest gray light of the next morning showed the streets about the Spanish quarters even more closely thronged with Aztec soldiers than on the preceding day; and Cortes determined, by a vigorous sortie, to disperse his enemies. His arrangements had already been made; for the night had not been spent in sleep; a general discharge of musketry and ordnance, at a moment when the Mexicans hardly realized that the Spaniards were awake, so quiet had been their stronghold, sent confusion into the close ranks of the Mexicans that thronged the streets. Then the gates were thrown open, and Cortes sallied out at the head of his cavalry, supported by his infantry and a considerable body of Tlascalans.

The impetus of the charge drove the Mexicans back; but they soon rallied, and every inch of the way was hotly disputed. The fight was a desperate one; and it was nearly dark before the Spaniards retreated to their stronghold, as far as ever from victory.

Cortes was suffering from a severe wound received during the fight, and was anxious about the result. In this situation, he resolved to make use of Montezuma, to allay the tumult. But the Emperor's patience, like that of his people, was exhausted; he had not forgiven Cortes for the treatment received since the return of the Spaniard with his reinforcements.



THE SPANIARDS DEFENDING THEMSELVES IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.

"What have I to do with Malinche?" he asked coldly, when the general's message was delivered to him; "I do not wish to hear from him. I desire only to die. To what a state has my willingness to serve him reduced me!"

They urged him farther, but to no purpose.

"It is of no use. They will neither believe me, nor the false words and promises of Malinche. You will never leave these walls alive."

At length, their persistence induced him to comply with their demands; and, putting on his imperial robes, he ascended the central turret of the palace. He was recognized at once, and a deathlike stillness pervaded the whole warlike assemblage of his people. Then he spoke to them, using words which have been preserved by the Spanish historians who wrote of the time:—

"Why do I see my people here in arms against the palace of my fathers? Is it that you think your sovereign a prisoner, and wish to release him? If so, you have acted rightly. But you are mistaken. I am no prisoner. The strangers are my guests. I remain with them only from choice, and can leave them when I list. Have you come to drive them from the city? That is unnecessary. They will depart of their own accord, if you will open a way for them. Return to your homes, then. Lay down your arms. Show your obedience to me, who have a right to it. The white men shall go back to their own land; and all shall be well again within the walls of Tenochtitlan."

The silence of respect for the monarch was broken by a low murmur of discontent and contempt which ran through the crowd; and this was succeeded by the bitterest taunts. They called him a coward, a woman, fit only to spin and to weave. Some of them added to these hostile words yet more hostile actions; and of the darts that rained about Montezuma, three struck their mark, severely wounding him. Yet, as he sank senseless beneath the blow inflicted by a stone, the Mexicans cried out in dismay, and suddenly dispersed, leaving not one of their number in the great square before the palace.

Montezuma was carried to his own apartments, and there restored to his senses. But he was more bitterly humiliated than ever before. All the efforts of Cortes and his followers, and of the Aztec nobles who still attended him, were in vain; he refused all the remedies prescribed for his wounds, and tore off the bandages as fast as they were applied; maintaining a determined silence, and sitting with downcast eyes and sad face.

But Cortes was summoned from the chamber of the wounded monarch by the necessity of looking after his men. The Mexicans had gained the summit of the neighboring *teocalli*, the great temple which was a pyramidal mound with a building crowning it. This lay only a few rods from the Spanish quarters, and rose to the height of a hundred and fifty feet; so that the Mexicans, from its summit, could rain down missiles of all sorts into the very heart of the Spanish stronghold; against them there could be no defense; and no artillery could reach the assailants.



It was necessary to carry this stronghold by assault, and Cortes, fastening his buckler to his wounded left arm, led the three hundred chosen cavaliers in person. It was the most desperate fight that had yet been waged. The Spaniards fought their way up the terraced slope, and at last gained the summit. Not only were the usual arms employed, but the combatants grappled with each other, each striving to hurl the other headlong down the precipit-



MONTEZUMA WOUNDED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE.

ous ascent to the temple. It is recorded by some historians that Cortes himself was assaulted by two Mexicans, both having this end in view: he successfully resisted them, but was dragged perilously near the edge of the summit: at the last moment, however, he escaped their united grasp, and, turning sud-



denly, hurled one of his assailants down the precipice, and then dispatched the other with his sword.

When the fight ended, forty-five of the Spaniards had fallen and most of the survivors had been wounded; while of the enemy, only two or three priests survived to be led away in triumph. The work was not yet accomplished, however, although their foes had all been slain. The great image of Huitzilopotehli was torn from its altar, and thrown headlong down the steps which had led to the summit of the pyramid; then the torch was applied, and the flames, rising higher and higher, proclaimed that the great heathen temple had been destroyed by the Christian invader.

That very night the Spaniards followed up the blow thus inflicted by firing three hundred houses of the city. Cortes, thinking that these disasters must have subdued the spirit of the Mexicans, called on them to parley with him. He recounted to them the disasters which they had suffered, the destruction of their homes, their temples, and their idols, and the death of so many of their warriors; threatening, if they did not lay down their arms, to make their city a heap of ruins.

But the Mexicans were not thus to be conquered. They admitted all that he said; their gods had been trampled in the dust, their temples destroyed, their houses burned, their warriors had fallen by the thousand.

"Yet we are content," they cried, "so long as for every thousand of our warriors that fall we can shed the blood of a single white man. Look out on our terraces and our streets, see them still thronged with warriors far as your eye can reach. Our numbers are scarcely diminished by our losses. Yours, on the other hand, are lessening every hour. You are perishing from hunger and sickness. Your provisions and water are failing. You must soon fall into our hands. The bridges are broken down, and you cannot escape. There will be too few of you left to glut the vengeance of our gods!"

The situation, as thus stated by their enemies, was no whit exaggerated; and the soldiers demanded with noisy vehemence to be led instantly from the city. Thus spoke the followers of Narvaez, while the veterans of Cortes labored to restore order and unity among the white men.

But Cortes saw plainly enough that he could not remain in Mexico, for it was too true that his provisions were giving out. He determined by means of pretended sallies to divert the attention of the Mexicans from his real purpose, which was to restore the bridges over the seven canals which traversed the main streets of the city. His army must pass along this street to reach the causeway communicating with the main land, and these bridges had all been destroyed by the enemy. Two days were consumed in filling up the chasms with stones and rubbish, so that the cavalry and artillery could pass over them. This was not accomplished without opposition. As they were busily engaged at one such point, they were assaulted by a considerable body

of the enemy. Planks had been laid across the opening, to serve until the workmen could place the substantial material; and Cortes sent a number of the men back while he, with some others, detained the assailants on the farther side of the opening. Again and again he commanded the retreat of parties of his followers, until at last, like Horatius, he stood alone on that side of the bridge, facing a host of foes. As if to make the parallel complete, the timbers which had provided a means of retreat for the others had been swept aside in their flight; and between the knight, clad in steel armor and bestriding a horse defended by plates of the same metal, and his stronghold lay a canal, the least width of which was certainly six feet—no small leap for a horse bearing such a weight of steel. The good steed sprang across it, however, landing safely on the other side; and, although pursued by a shower of darts, Cortes reached his fortress in safety.

A new trouble awaited him. Montezuma had not recovered from the terrible blow received when his people deserted him; he sank under the wounds received, because his spirit was still more deeply wounded; and, June 30, 1520, he passed away, committing his daughters to the care of Cortes. Much to the anxiety of the Spaniards, who were certainly consistent in their constant endeavors to convert the natives, although not always particular as to the means employed, he refused to the last to embrace the Christian religion.

It was necessary to evacuate the city at once; as the Spaniards had lost the last slight hold which they had upon the people of Anahuac. It was finally determined, after much discussion, to go at night, since then the enemy was less on the alert; and, at midnight on the 1st of July, 1520, they took up the line of march. Much of the treasure which they had accumulated had, of course, to be abandoned; Cortes, as in duty bound, provided for the transportation of the royal fifth, but advised his men to select only such things as might be easily transported. The followers of Narvaez, however, unwisely weighted themselves down with the gold.

A portable bridge had been constructed, to use over the three openings in the causeway. But before they reached the first, the alarm had been given to their enemies, and they were beset by an innumerable throng of Indians. They hastened across the bridge, hoping to retard the Aztecs by removing it; although there were many in canoes, whose arrows came in a perfect hail. But the tramp of so many horses and men, and the weight of the cannon, had bedded the timbers so firmly that they they could not be moved; and the van-guard, which had arrived at the second chasm before the rear-guard had passed the first, found itself with an impassable gulf before, and a host of enemies behind and on either hand. There was a desperate fight; and many of the men, horse and foot, plunged into the lake, and endeavored to make their way across without the help of the bridge. Many of them sank beneath the weight of the gold with which they had encumbered themselves;

and thus fell victims to their own greed. While they were struggling in the waters, endeavoring to beat off the assailants in the canoes, there came a cry for help from the rear-guard; and the gallant and generous cavaliers, unmindful of their own dangers, dashed back to the scene of danger to rescue their comrades.



DESPERATE BATTLE ON THE CAUSEWAY.

Alvarado had been placed in command of it. Upon his columns rushed an unnumbered host, which proved resistless. Wounded in several places, his horse killed under him, he was vainly endeavoring to stem the tide of his assailants when his comrades charged to his aid. But, although they created a temporary diversion, their efforts were vain, and Cortes and his men were glad to plunge again into the waters. Alvarado stood a moment on the brink of the causeway; then, planting his spear firmly in the wreck which strewed the bottom of the lake, he gave one tremendous bound, and cleared the opening—his sole chance of escape, for, unhorsed as he was, he would have been instantly struck down by the myriads who in their canoes swarmed about him. His Indian spectators—for it was now daylight—stared in amazement at this feat, and cried out: “This is truly the ‘Child of the Sun!’”—a

name which they had long since given him, because of his bright golden hair and fair complexion.

Diaz, a companion of Cortes, who well remembered the place, says that the leap was impossible to any man; unfortunately, the tradition of the exploit makes no mention of the distance; so that we cannot judge how wonderful was his jump. It is certain that it was generally believed at the time, and that even now the name of "Alvarado's Leap" is given to the spot where he is said to have escaped his foes.

They reached the land at last; and Cortes, sitting on the steps of a temple, reviewed the remnant of his host. As he looked upon them, his proud, gay spirit gave way, and he buried his face in his hands. According to the most reliable authorities, about four hundred and fifty of the Spaniards had perished this night; and allowing for the numbers who must have fallen during the assaults of the Aztecs upon their stronghold, and in their sallies into the streets, it is probable that not more than a third of the original force remained. The loss on the part of the Tlascalan allies.

Not only was the treasure which they had sought to carry off lost, but other things, of infinitely greater value to them in their march through the enemy's country. The cavalry had numbered sixty-nine; but of these two-thirds had fallen; and most of the horses of the survivors were in very poor condition. The artillery, the ammunition, even the muskets had been lost; "all that a man hath will he give for his life;" and the frightened arquebusiers had flung away even their weapons in the flight.

They took refuge in a *teocalli* at no great distance from Tlacopan, on the summit of a hill which is now occupied by a Christian church, dedicated to the Virgin under the name of *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*. Here their column was arranged for retreat in orderly, soldierly fashion; the sick and wounded to be transported on litters, while front, rear and flanks were suitably protected.

Their march was harassed by small parties of the natives, who attacked the rear of the van, or assaulted those who lagged behind by reason of weakness, or those who strayed too far from the line of march in search of food. Famine, too, stared them in the face; they thought themselves fortunate when they found in a cornfield by the way a few forgotten, misshapen ears of corn; when a horse chanced to be killed, it furnished forth a banquet; and Cortes records how he made one of a party which devoured such an animal, even to its hide.

They journeyed a week before they reached the mountains overlooking the plains of Otumba, nine leagues distant from the capital; the roundabout way which they had been obliged to take for safety's sake, and the frequent halts for the resting of the disabled, having made their journey thus slow. Slowly and painfully they climbed the steeps which overlook the valley.

Before the army had reached the summit, however, the videttes came in with alarming news. In the valley beneath them was a mighty host; their uniforms of white cotton, quilted thick enough to turn an arrow, giving the valley the appearance of being blocked with snow. It was the vast army of the Aztecs, gathered here to complete the destruction of Cortes and his followers.



CORTES FIGHTING AT OTUMBA.

Retreat was impossible, for the capital was in the hands of the same enemy that had driven them out; should they halt and await the attack, or should they cut their way through this army?

Cortes rapidly made preparations for the fight, although feeling that the "the last of his days" had arrived. He addressed his troops, reminding them of their experience of the triumph of science and discipline over numbers;



and bade them have confidence in their Divine Leader, who had brought them safely through so many perils. Then he led them straight against the enemy.

The fight raged with incredible fury, and there was not one of the Spaniards or their Tlascalan allies that escaped unhurt. Their efforts had been tremendous, but they were so far outnumbered by the multitudes of the enemy that it seemed a hopeless struggle. Just as it seemed most certain that his entire army would be destroyed, Cortes espied the chief whom he knew, from his dress and surroundings, must be the commander. He turned to Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, Avila, fighting at his side, and cried to them:—

“There is our mark! Follow, and support me!”

With that he dashed into the very midst of the Indian army, followed closely by his devoted cavaliers; the Indians falling back from his path in very surprise at his daring. Rising in his stirrups, he struck one tremendous blow at the feather-clad and jewel-decked chieftain, felling him to the ground. It was all the work of a moment. The guard that had surrounded the chief was struck down or scattered; the golden net, his standard, was seized and presented to Cortes by one of the Spaniards who had rode at his side; the flying Indians told the story; panic stricken, the vast army thought only of escape, and imagined their comrades, pressing hard upon them, to be Spaniards thirsting for their blood. The Spaniards and Tlascalans pursued them till the victors were sated with the slaughter; and then returned to gather the rich spoil of the battle-field. The devout Spaniards saw, riding among them and aiming at their foes, Saint James on his milk-white charger, and attributed their victory to a miracle. Voltaire, too skeptical to accept this, says: “The true miracle was the conduct of Cortes.”

“A single field had turned the chance of war,” and the Spaniards had regained the prestige which they had lost. Cortes, however, was anxious as to what reception he would be accorded by the Tlascalans; he feared that the weakened state of his army would offer great inducements, and the number of Tlascalans who had perished while under his command afford a pretext for this warlike and hardy nation to effect that destruction of his forces which they had attempted when he first passed through their territory. Much to his relief, however, he was kindly received; and the Tlascalans renewed their assurances of friendship and alliance.

They remained at the Tlascalan capital several weeks, recruiting their strength, and applying such remedies as the science of the time suggested to the wounds which they had received. Cortes himself had received two wounds on the head, one during the march, and one during the battle of Otumba. The neglect of the first wound, and the nature of the second, combined to make his a very serious case; a portion of the bone had to be removed; fever set in; and for days the heroic leader lay helpless as a babe, hovering between life and death.

But his strong constitution triumphed, and he was soon on the road to recovery. As he lay helpless, he revolved in his mind schemes for the future. Return to Vera Cruz, thence to Cuba or Spain, acknowledging his failure, he would not; he was determined to achieve the conquest of Mexico.

When this purpose was announced to his soldiers, it created much discontent among those who had followed Narvaez from Cuba to Mexico, in search of gold and glory, and had acquired neither. They addressed a strong remonstrance to him, urging him to return to Vera Cruz at once. This remonstrance excited the indignation of those veterans who had followed him from Cuba; but Cortes finally bade those who were dissatisfied with the expedition to return; saying that he did not think it would be any real loss to part with those who were not fully determined to conquer.

Before attacking the capital, however, it was necessary to reduce certain tribes in the neighborhood of Tlascala; since they would prove formidable additions to the Aztec forces, but could be beaten without much difficulty if attacked singly. This accomplished, Cortes saw with satisfaction that his force had received reinforcements not only in numbers and military supplies, but in self-confidence and courage as well.

These reinforcements of men and arms had come from no other than Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba. It was not that he had become a friend to Cortes; but he had not heard of the defeat which Narvaez had sustained; and supposing that of course his lieutenant, with a force so much greater, had easily conquered Cortes and his followers, had dispatched two successive ships to the assistance of Narvaez in the conquest of the country. These had arrived at Vera Cruz before their crews learned the real state of affairs; and the soldiers were readily persuaded to take service under Cortes.

There was a work of great magnitude, however, to be performed before the capital could be attacked with reasonable assurance of success. Cortes had learned from experience that it would not do to depend upon the causeways; he must have a fleet upon the lake, in place of that which had been built with the assistance of Montezuma, and destroyed by the hostile Aztecs. It shows us the indomitable spirit of the man, when we reflect that these vessels must be built far from the waters on which they were to sail, and transported overland, along mountainous paths, to the shores of the lake. Fortunately, the skilled ship-builder who had superintended the building of the other vessels had not perished on "The Melancholy Night," as the historians term the night when Cortes and his followers escaped from Mexico.

With the assistance of the Tlascalans, the work of building the fleet went rapidly on. Cortes, however, did not wait for its completion; but, mustering his forces, set out on the journey. He had about six hundred men, forty of whom were mounted; eighty were armed with arquebuses or cross-bows, and he had nine cannon. These fire-arms had all been sent by Velasquez.

They reached the city of Tezcuco the last day of the year 1520; the inhabitants fleeing before their advance. The flight of the chief, who was an ally of the Mexicans, gave him an excuse for nominating another, directly under his control, to the government of the city; and the Tezcucoans were gradually reassured, and induced to return to their city.

The first step of Cortes had been to fortify himself against all danger of a surprise; leaving this strong camp to a sufficient guard, he, with the larger part of his followers, set out to attack the city of Iztapalapan, situated on the tongue of land which separates the two lakes. The fight raged fiercely almost the whole day; but the desperate Indians, resolved to defeat the Spaniards at any price, cut the dikes which confined the waters of the lake, and the Spaniards were compelled to retreat before the advancing flood.

The Spaniards lost all the booty which they had acquired in this place, and had, besides, their powder ruined. Yet the fate of the city struck terror into the hearts of many Indians; and the people of different places sent deputations to offer their submission to the white men.

The Aztec empire was crumbling to pieces, but still the Emperor preserved his courage, and answered with spirit the messages which Cortes sent him, calling upon him to submit himself to the authority of the Spanish sovereign. Montezuma had been succeeded by his brother, who had lived but four months after his accession; he in turn was succeeded by his nephew, Guatemozin, a man of twenty-five.

At last the thirteen vessels were completed, and safely transported to Tezcuco. "It was a marvelous thing," Cortes writes in his letter, "that few have seen, or even heard of—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men, for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!"

Early in the spring, with three hundred and fifty Spaniards, and a considerable body of Tlascalans—the number is placed by some authorities as high as a hundred and fifty thousand—leaving the remainder of his force in reserve as a garrison at Tezcuco, Cortes set out, by a circuitous route, to Mexico. This first expedition occupied about two weeks' time; several minor places were reduced, but the capital itself repelled the advance of the Spaniards.

The people of Chalco had for some time been asking the aid of the whites to throw off the Aztec yoke, but until now it had not been granted. Their entreaties had, however, become so urgent that Cortes sent Sandoval with a considerable force to their assistance. But the Aztecs returned to the attack again and again; so that Cortes, who had received a further reinforcement of two hundred men from Hispaniola, where the authorities were favorable to him, was obliged to undertake the work himself. He extended his march considerably beyond the limits at first proposed, reducing various cities on his way; and going as far south as the city of Cuernavaca,

which he assaulted and captured. Turning to the north, they next attacked Xochimilco, a city built, like Mexico, in a lake, and connected with the land by causeways. These, however, were but short avenues.

The fight was a determined one, and it seemed that the Spaniards must be defeated. In this state of affairs, Cortes, as he had so often done before, threw himself into the very thick of the fight, to encourage his followers by his example. His immediate followers were too few to support him, and he was surrounded by an innumerable host of Indians. His horse lost his footing and fell; Cortes received a severe blow on the head before he could disentangle himself from the stirrups; and was seized and dragged off in triumph by his enemies, doomed to be sacrificed to the gods whom he had so often insulted. At this critical moment, a Tlascalcan sprang upon his captors, and attempted, single-handed, to rescue the friend of his people; two Spaniards followed where the heroic Indian led. Cortes, once released from the grasp of his enemies, sprang into his saddle, and renewed the fight. The cavalry came up, and, between the two columns, the enemy was fairly cut to pieces or forced into the lake.

But Guatemozin had heard that Cortes was about to advance upon Xochimilco, and had raised an army for its relief. The Spaniards entrenched themselves in the city, and awaited the coming of the enemy. For a time, the result of the battle seemed doubtful; but gradually the arms and discipline of the Spaniards triumphed over the numbers of the Aztecs, and the latter were driven from the field with such dreadful slaughter that they made no attempt to renew the battle.

Four men were captured by a party of the enemy, they having strayed away from their command. The Spaniards rarely allowed themselves to be taken alive, as they knew very well that such captives were reserved for sacrifice. These men were devoted to this fate; and the ferocious young chief of Mexico caused their arms and legs to be cut off and sent around to different cities, with the assurance that this would be the fate of the enemies of Mexico.

Meanwhile, Cortes was threatened by yet another danger. Some of his men had become dissatisfied, although they had not used his permission, given at Tlasecala, to return to Vera Cruz. To remove Cortes would be to give the command to some of his trusted officers, who would as persistently push toward the capital as he was doing, and who would besides take bloody vengeance on those who had killed the leader. The mutineers therefore resolved to kill Cortes and all who were especially attached to him. But the very enormity of the plot defeated it; and one of the conspirators, unable to persevere in that which must lead to the death of so many gallant soldiers, revealed the plan to Cortes on the day before that appointed for the perpetration of the deed. The ringleader was seized by Cortes himself, and

brought to trial, found guilty, and executed. No attempt was made, however, to ascertain the names of others who were engaged in it; Cortes himself destroying a paper containing a list of their names. By this means he attached them firmly to himself; since, conscious of their guilt, the conspirators tried to show him, by their devotion, that they had had nothing to do with the plot.

The vessels for the siege of Mexico had been built in sections, and transported to Tezcuco; but there must be a canal dug connecting the two lakes, before they could reach the waters of that in the midst of which the city of Mexico was situated. This had at last been completed; and Cortes, having thus thoroughly reconnoitered the surrounding country, and reduced many cities to submission, returned to Tezcuco to launch his brigantines.

His forces were more considerable than they had ever been, excepting during the short time that the full army of Narvaez had been under his orders. Eighty-seven cavalry, one hundred and eighteen arquebusiers and crossbow-men, and seven hundred foot-soldiers supplied with less formidable arms, made up his army, which had, for its artillery, three large field-pieces and fifteen falconets.

He divided this force into three parts, placing one at the extremity of each causeway. Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval were the respective commanders. The first duty which was assigned them was to cut off the supply of water from the garrison of Mexico; which was done by cutting the pipes that supplied the city with fresh water; for the lake, it should be remembered, was salt. This was not done without opposition; but it was accomplished; and in the latter part of May, 1520, began the formal siege of Mexico, for which Cortes had been preparing for so many months.

Cortes himself had taken command of the fleet; and the first conflict in which he engaged was so decided a victory that the squadron was thenceforth undisputed master of the lake. The prows of the great vessels bore down the small, light canoes of the Indians, and the guns completed the work thus begun.

The city was completely blockaded by the Spaniards, but Cortes was afraid to trust to this means of reducing it; fearing lest his followers, and particularly his Tlascalan allies, should become tired of the siege and desert him. He accordingly arranged for an attack upon the city along the great causeway.

Showers of missiles fell upon them as they came; and, when they reached the street which continued the causeway, stones and other heavy objects were rained upon them from the roofs. Cortes ordered his Indian allies, therefore, to demolish the buildings as they passed along; thus giving the enemy no such vantage-ground.

There was a stubborn fight about the palace which had been assigned by



Montezuma to the Spaniards, and that very temple whence they had once dislodged their enemies; but, although the victory inclined to the Spanish side, there was no decisive result; and the white men withdrew at night to their camps.

This was repeated again and again; but still the siege continued; for in spite of the utmost vigilance, the Mexicans received supplies from the neighboring cities by means of their innumerable canoes, which often, under cover of darkness, eluded the watchfulness of the Spanish sailors. It was only when these cities, seeing that the people of Mexico were unable to drive off the besieging army, concluded that it would be wisest to make terms with the white men, that the supplies were stopped, and famine began to threaten the gallant but doomed defenders of the city.

Three months after the first assault, there was one more desperate than any that had preceded it. In this, Cortes, who was mounted, and at the head of a division, was stopped by a chasm in the causeway, and thus unable to effect a junction with others of his forces. Here he was vigorously assailed by the Indians, six of them attacking him at one time; he was rescued by his faithful followers, but so seriously wounded that, after the retreat had been sounded, he was obliged to confide the direction of affairs to Sandoval for a few days. In this fight, sixty-two of the Spaniards were taken alive; and from the camps their comrades could see them led to sacrifice at the summit of the pyramid, bound on the altar, and the heart torn from the body before it ceased to beat. The bleeding body was then hurled down the slope, where thousands were waiting to receive this material for a horrible banquet.

The triumphant Mexicans boldly shouted out to the besiegers the prophecies of their priests, that their gods had been appeased, and had again taken the Aztecs under their protection. Within eight days, they asserted, their enemies would be delivered into their hands.

Alarmed by this prediction, the Indian allies who had gathered around the standard of Cortes from all the neighboring country began to desert him; and even the Tlascalans fell off in considerable numbers. The eight days passed away; and the allies who had thus wavered in their allegiance returned to the Spanish camp.

But Cortes had formed a new plan. He had experienced much difficulty from the condition of the causeways and from the canals which intersected so many of the streets; he resolved that every building in the city should be destroyed as fast as his troops gained possession, and the materials be used for filling up the breaches in the causeways and the canals. He set the example himself of engaging in this work, that none of the proud hidalgos might wish to excuse themselves; and found willing assistants by thousands among the Indians.

Having made these preparations for the complete destruction of the city,

Cortes sent three envoys to the Emperor, to demand a capitulation. Councils were held; but the advice of the priests, who knew that submission to the white men meant their destruction, prevailed; and after two days the Spaniards received an answer to their demand in a general sortie of the Aztec forces. The guns were so arranged, however, that they were driven back without much difficulty. Day after day they would rush upon the men engaged in tearing down buildings or filling up their carefully constructed canals; but day after day the destruction of the beautiful city went on.

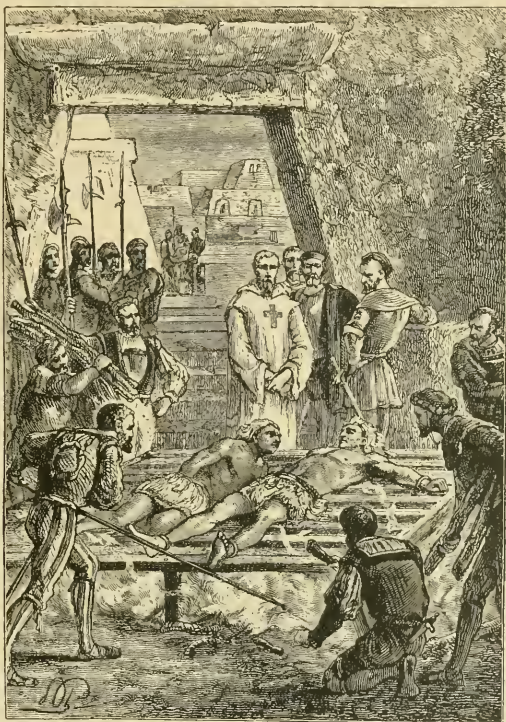
Famine, thirst, and disease among the beleaguered people were assisting the besiegers. Seven-eighths of the city had been laid in ruins, and the great temple had been given to the flames. All efforts to secure a surrender of the Mexicans had failed, and Cortes determined to make one last assault, which should be final.

It was the 13th of August, 1521. The battle speedily became a butchery. Guatemozin attempted to fly in a canoe, but was captured. The news that he was taken spread among his followers, and the fight, which seemed to have been maintained simply to cover his retreat, ended. Mexico had been conquered.

The number of the Aztecs and their allies who survived the siege and were permitted by Cortes to withdraw to the surrounding country, is variously given; the estimates ranging from thirty to seventy thousand men, exclusive of non-combatants. Authorities differ, also, as to the number of those who fell during the siege; the figures ranging from one hundred and twenty thousand to two hundred and forty thousand. Whatever the numbers of the Aztecs may have been, the conquest of Mexico, viewed as a military achievement, is simply wonderful.

But although the Spaniards had crushed the Aztec power forever, they had failed in one thing: the amount of treasure found fell far short of their expectations; it was not even equal to the amount which they themselves had been obliged to abandon when they fled from the city on the "Melancholy Night." The soldiers clamored for Guatemozin to be put to the torture, that he might be forced to reveal where the treasure was hidden; Cortes resisted this demand until it was broadly hinted that he had a secret understanding with the Aztec monarch, by which the soldiers and his imperial master Charles V. would be equally defrauded. Then, to save his own honor, he yielded, and allowed the Emperor and his principal minister to be put to the torture. It is reported that while the Spaniards were stirring the fire which burnt below the gridiron upon which the two victims were extended, the minister turned his head towards his master and apparently begged him to speak, in order to put an end to their tortures; but that Guatemozin reproved this single moment of weakness by these words: "And I, am I assisting at some pleasure, or am I in the bath?" An answer which has been praec-

tically changed into, "And I, do I lie upon roses?" But all that could be learned from the tortured prince was that much gold had been thrown into the water. The lake was dragged, but very little was recovered.



THE TORTURING OF GUATEMOZIN AND HIS MINISTER.

A detachment sent out by Cortes penetrated to the borders of the Pacific, at a point farther north than any white man had yet reached its shores. Taking possession of it in the name of the Emperor, they returned by a more northerly route, and brought rich specimens of gold and California pearls. Cortes, his imagination excited by the idea of having reached the Pacific by this route, at once set about making preparations for a colony on its shores.

Cortes was also busily occupied in rebuilding the city of Mexico, having

decided that this was the best site for the capital of New Spain. He also dispatched messengers to Spain, bearing the imperial fifth of the spoils, and a letter announcing the conquest of the country. The treasure, however, fell into the hands of a French privateer, by whom it was transmitted to the King of France; and the letters were delivered alone.

But before these letters were delivered, there had been strong influence at work against Cortes at the court; and it did not cease to be exerted when the news of his achievements reached Spain. We have neither space nor inclination for the petty details of court intrigue; but after both sides had appealed to the Emperor with all the eloquence that they could muster, Charles V. referred the whole matter to the decision of a board selected for that purpose. Fonseca and Velasquez pleaded that Cortes had exceeded his powers, had trampled on the rights of the natives, had embezzled the Emperor's share of the spoils, and was squandering the public revenues in rebuilding the capital on a plan of such magnificence. The friends of Cortes replied by showing the falsity of these claims; they could easily prove that the Emperor had received more than one-fifth, and, having refuted every other argument of their antagonists, brought forward that which was unanswerably triumphant—the splendid results of this expedition, which had added such a vast empire to Spain.

“Nothing succeeds like success,” and the board decided that neither Fonseca nor Velasquez should attempt to interfere with Cortes, whose acts were fully confirmed. The Conqueror—*El Conquistado*, the old Spanish chroniclers love to call him—was named Governor, Captain-General, and Chief-Justice of New Spain, with power to appoint to all offices, and to banish any one from the country whose presence there he judged prejudicial to the interests of the Crown. An ample salary was decreed him, to enable him to support the dignity of his position; and his followers were rewarded with the praise of their royal master and ample grants of land.

Some two years after the conquest, Cortes had sent Olid with a sufficient force to establish a colony in Honduras. News reached him that Olid, supposing himself at a safe distance from Mexico, had asserted his independence of Cortes, and proposed to govern this colony without any superior but the Emperor. Cortes sent an expedition under Las Casas to reduce the rebel to subjection. This expedition was wrecked, but subsequently reached land, marched against Olid, defeated him, and he was put to death as a traitor.

Cortes, however, heard only of the shipwreck; and, determined that his authority should be upheld, marched in person against Olid. While on the way, which presented almost incredible difficulties, he learned that the Indians who accompanied him had plotted against him. Since the conquest had been accomplished, he had kept Guatemozin constantly at his side; fearing treachery on his part. This information implicated the late chief of the Aztecs as

the ringleader; and Cortes seized him and some others, hastily tried them, condemned them to death, and hanged them on a tree by the wayside.

Arrived at his destination, Cortes found that the matter had been settled without the need of his intervention. He remained in Honduras for some time, arranging the affairs of the colony; and returned to Mexico at the urgent solicitation of his friends; for the government there was falling into anarchy, and the report of his death was current. His enemies even went so far as to seize upon his property, wherever any could be found, in the name of the State.

His return to Mexico was hailed with delight by the people; and he at once set about restoring order. His action regarding those who had in his absence set his authority at naught is by some condemned as weak; but, since he was the one to suffer by it, this may be regarded as no blemish in his character.

But, although Fonseca and Velasquez had both died within a year after the decision which forbade them to interfere with Cortes, there were still many about the Court who envied him; and, in accordance with their representations, a commissioner was appointed to inquire into his administration of affairs. This was no unusual thing in the case of a governor entrusted with the almost absolute power which had been given to Cortes; and the selection of the commissioner, in this instance, showed that it was no sign of the Emperor's displeasure. But the commissioner died within a short time after his arrival in Mexico, and the deputy whom he named his successor was an enemy of Cortes.

This man, Estrada, seemed to delight in annoying Cortes as much as possible; his recommendations were disregarded; his friends were mortified or insulted; his attendants were outraged by injuries; and when he protested against the infliction of a severe punishment for a trifling offense, the offender being a servant of his faithful cavalier Sandoval, he was actually ordered to leave the city.

"It is well that those," he said, in bitter irony, "who at the price of their blood have won the capital, should not be allowed a footing in it."

His followers would have taken up arms in his defense; but he forbade all resistance of Estrada's authority, and quietly retired to a villa which he possessed, a short distance from the city.

Meanwhile, his enemies at the Court were not yet satisfied, but managed to insinuate that there was danger of his asserting his independence of the Crown. But the friends of Cortes were equally active, and procured the recall of Estrada. He was superseded by a commission entitled the Royal Audience of Spain. These officers were instructed to send Cortes to Spain; peaceably if possible, forcibly if they must.

He had for some time been considering the question of returning and lay-



ing this affair before the Emperor; and had about made up his mind to do so when the commissioners arrived. His intention created a sensation through the country; and the commissioners saw at once that things had been carried too far. They tried to compromise the matter; but although Cortes met them with friendly courtesy, he could not be persuaded to adopt any other course.

He arrived in Spain in May, 1528. Some time was lost by illness, and some was spent in devotion before a favorite shrine, before he presented himself at court. His simple and manly eloquence, backed by the magnetic qualities of his manner, and the knowledge of the great deeds that he had achieved, scattered the plans of his enemies like chaff before the wind; and the Emperor received him with marked favor. It is even recorded, with due solemnity, befitting the narration of an event of great importance, that on one occasion, when Cortes lay sick of a fever, the Emperor actually visited him, and remained some time in the sick chamber; and the historians seem to think that this alone was ample reward for all that he had endured and all that he had accomplished.

But other and more substantial rewards were given him. It was thought then and there that the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca was no mere empty honor, and even the republican simplicity of our own day does not entirely disdain such titles when they are won by the bearer; in addition to this, Cortes was granted a vast tract of land in the rich province from which the title of his marquisate was taken, his domain containing more than twenty towns and villages, with twenty-three thousand vassals. The language in which this grant was expressed, acknowledging in the amplest terms the "good services rendered by Cortes—the sufferings he had undergone \* \* \* \* and the fidelity and obedience with which, as a good and trusty vassal, he had ever served the Crown," made it all the more valuable in the eyes of the faithful servant who was thus rewarded.

We have alluded to the use of the term Conqueror to designate Cortes; from this time forth he has another title—the Marquis; and the title alone, without the name of the individual, is used to indicate Cortes, just as the title the Admiral is used to designate Columbus.

But although the Emperor was quite willing to heap honors upon Cortes, he was not willing to reinstate him in the position which he had held. Perhaps Charles was not fully convinced that the Conqueror had no intention of becoming the independent sovereign of Mexico. At any rate, he steadily refused to appoint him to the civil government; finally investing him with the military authority, under the title of Captain-General of New Spain and of the coasts of the South Seas.

Early in the spring of 1530, Cortes again set sail for New Spain; being empowered to make discoveries in the South Seas, with the right to rule over such lands as he should colonize. Being delayed two months at Cuba, he

did not reach Villa Rica until the middle of July. But the Royal Audience treated him with such contumely that he withdrew to the city of Cuernavaca, within the limits of his marquise, which thenceforth became his favorite residence.

A tranquil life did not long content him; however; he was soon busily engaged in fitting out a squadron for the exploration of the Gulf of California. The first squadron was scattered and wrecked, and Cortes undertook the command of a second fleet in person. But he was not much more successful. It is true that the coast was explored for a short distance; but he encountered such storms, and met with such hardships, from famine and other causes, that he was glad to return to the port whence he had set out. A third expedition, this time under the command of a lieutenant, proved more successful; and the Gulf of California was explored along its whole coast, the southern point of the peninsula doubled, and the line of the western coast followed to a point as high as the twenty-ninth degree of latitude. In these and previous expeditions sent out by Cortes, the western coast of North America had been explored from the Gulf of Panama almost to the southern boundary of the United States. The Spaniards have shown their appreciation of his services to the science of cosmography by naming the great body of water between Mexico and the peninsula of California, the Sea of Cortes.

But his schemes of further explorations were interrupted by the new Viceroy, Mendoza; who had heard rumors of vast mines of gold to the northwest, and claimed the right of exploration for himself, as the representative of the Crown. Cortes protested against this claim, as encroaching upon his rights as Captain-General of New Spain and the Coasts of the South Seas; and, the dispute being still unsettled, resolved to go to Spain to maintain his rights.

He embarked in 1540, accompanied by his eldest son, a boy of eight years. The Emperor was absent from Spain at the time of his arrival, so that his suit could not be decided. He was received with marked honors, however, by the Royal Council of the Indies; but they were but empty honors.

We find him taking an active part in the expedition which the Emperor led against Algiers in 1541. The siege, which was designed to break up a nest of pirates, was at last abandoned. Cortes offered to reduce the place himself, if a force were given him; and regretted, in the hearing of the council of war, that he had not a few of the veterans who had followed him to the conquest of Mexico; but his advice was rejected, and his offer derided, as that of a romantic enthusiast.

But the magnificence of this conquest was now dimmed by the gleam of the gold being sent home by Pizarro; and Cortes himself was regarded as a man too old to render much service to the Crown. He came to be looked upon as a person whose claims were too large to be allowed. "He found, like Columbus, that it was possible to deserve too greatly." Wearied by the delay

with which he met everywhere, he at last resolved to approach the Emperor directly. He made his way through the press that surrounded the imperial carriage, and mounted its steps.

"Who is that man?" demanded Charles, conveniently failing to recognize him.

"I am the man, sire," replied Cortes, with a pride equal to his own, "who has given you more provinces than your ancestors left you cities."

The years passed on, and still the Council of the Indies had not reached a decision, to be submitted to the sovereign for his approval. The last letter which Cortes addressed to the Emperor was dated in February, 1544. In this he begged that the Council of the Indies and the other tribunals which had cognizance of his suits might be ordered to come to a decision; but the order was never given; and, after waiting three years more, he resolved to return to Mexico.

He had gone as far as Seville, when he fell sick; and the disappointments which he had suffered so preyed upon his mind as to affect his bodily ailment. Finding that his strength was rapidly failing, he executed his will, Oct. 11, 1547. Finding that the constant stream of visitors annoyed him in his weakness, he withdrew to the neighboring village of Castilleja de la Cuesta, and there awaited death with the same courage with which he had faced it on the field of battle or in the beleaguered city.

It came Dec. 2, 1547. To the silent dust were accorded those honors which had often been denied to the living man. His remains were first interred in a chapel of a monastery in Seville; but afterwards removed to the New World. No less than five sepulchres at various times received the remains of the conqueror of Mexico, before the revolution which made that country independent of Spain. In 1823, the mob, anxious to show its contempt for all connected with the Spanish government, sought to break open his tomb in the capital, and fling his ashes to the wind; but friends of the family entered the vault by night, and secretly removed the relics to a place of safety.

## CHAPTER XII.

### FRANCISCO PIZARRO, THE DISCOVERER OF PERU.

To America—San Sebastian—Grim Determination—Darien—First Expedition to Peru—Hunger—Attacked by Natives—Pizarro's Desperate Situation—Return to Panama—Second Expedition to Peru—Exploring Party—Reinforcements—Dispute between Pizarro and Almagro—The Drover and the Butcher—Pizarro's Address to His Men—Wonderful Stories—Return to Panama—The Third Expedition Planned—Pizarro Goes to Spain—The Great Capitulation—Deceived Officials—Discontent of Almagro—Embarkation at Panama—The Land of Emeralds—Outrage Upon the Natives—Disaster and Disappointment—Reconnoitering and Exploring—San Miguel Founded—Into the Heart of Peru—Pizarro sends Malcontents Back—Envoy from the Inca—Crossing the Andes—An Embassy to the Inca—Seizure of Atahualpa Planned—The Inca Enters Caxamalca—A Call to the Unconverted—Atahualpa's Resentment—Slaughter of the Peruvians—Pizarro Defends Atahualpa—The Inca a Prisoner—He Offers Ransom—Immensity of the Treasure Promised—Atahualpa's Rival Murdered—Silver Horse Shoes—Reinforcements—Atahualpa Brought to Trial—His Execution—De Soto's Rebuke—Story of Pizarro's Resentment—To Cuzco—Challenchima's Rebellion and Punishment—Manco's Submission—Spoil of Cuzco—Pizarro Assumes Title of Governor—He Builds Lima—A Messenger to Spain—New Recruits—Difficulties with Almagro—Almagro Leaves for Chili—Manco Escapes—Battles with the Peruvians—Cuzco Besieged—Almagro's Disasters—Returns from Chili and Takes Cuzco—Agreement between Pizarro and Almagro—Capture, Trial, and Condemnation of Almagro—His Execution—A Mission to Spain—Investigation Ordered—Conspiracy of the Men of Chili—The Plot Betrayed—Pizarro Attacked—"Down with the Tyrant!"—Death of Pizarro—Burial.

**S**OME time about the year 1471, in the city of Truxillo, in the province of Estremadura, Spain, was born a boy who was christened Francisco; his father being Gonzalo Pizarro, a colonel of infantry, who had served with some distinction in foreign wars.

In 1510, Alonzo de Ojeda, the gallant cavalier who had followed Columbus to Hispaniola, fitted out an expedition from that island to form a settlement on the continent. His partner in this enterprise was a Spanish lawyer, usually called the Bachelor Enciso, being a bachelor of laws; Enciso remained in Hispaniola to gather up recruits and perform various other duties connected with the founding of the colony, while Ojeda assumed the more dangerous and adventurous task of finding a place for its establishment.

The isthmus which connects the continents had been granted to Ojeda and a rival, the line between the two provinces being carefully marked out; that which was assigned to Ojeda was the more southern, and he had decided that his colony should be on the coast of what is now called the Gulf of Darien. The expedition prospered fairly well; the site was selected, a fort and the necessary buildings put up, and Ojeda returned to Hispaniola for supplies; leaving, as the commander of the garrison, Francisco Pizarro.

Those who remained at San Sebastian, as the colony was called, agreed to

wait fifty days for the return of Ojeda. Should he not come or send by that time, they were to return to Hispaniola, if they so desired. The time went by, and Ojeda neither came nor sent. But here arose another difficulty: the two small brigantines which they had would not accommodate the seventy



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men who composed the garrison. The character of Pizarro is shown by the determination at which the colonists, threatened daily by disease, famine, and the poisoned arrows of the Indians, arrived: they would wait until these three agencies had so reduced their numbers that the survivors could find transportation on the vessels they possessed.



These terrible days of waiting for each other to die were not many; and, killing the four horses and salting their flesh, they made such other preparations for the voyage as lay within their means. The two brigantines sailed toward Hispaniola; but one was wrecked in a storm, going down with all on board before the eyes of those in the other vessel, unable to extend a helping hand. The other, of which Pizarro was the commander, kept its course until the harbor of Carthagená was reached. Here the returning colonists fell in with Enciso, who was on his way to San Sebastian with considerable reinforcements and the necessary supplies.

With great difficulty, and by exercising all the authority which the appointment of the Crown had given him—this most ably seconded by the fact that he had a much larger force, well-armed and well-fed, at his back—Enciso succeeded in persuading Pizarro to return with him to the main land. For a while, his history is obscured by the history of the colony; he held so low a rank that the chronicler could give him no attention.

He attached himself to the fortunes of Balboa; and when that splendid figure put on the trappings of the Governor of Darien, Pizarro became one of his most trusted lieutenants. He was one of those who followed Balboa across the isthmus in 1513, and saw, for the first time, the great Pacific stretching away to the South. When Balboa fell into difficulties, Pizarro seemed to have kept clear of danger; and attached himself to Don Pedro Arias de Avila. The present writer does not mean to uphold or condemn Pizarro for this course; it is hard to see how a faithful follower who has been regarded with affection by his chief can fail to share that chief's misfortunes, unless there is cold-blooded desertion of the falling house; but it may be urged in excuse that Pizarro had been reared in a rough school; probably from his infancy he had been accustomed to fight his way; receiving cuffs and curses from those who were stronger than he, and ready to pass them on to those who were weaker.

Employed by Avila in several minor expeditions against the Indians surrounding the settlement, he gained by these means the training which was so useful to him afterward. The most noted of these, in the light of future events, was in 1515, when he was selected as one of the leaders of an expedition which was to cross the isthmus and trade with the natives. It was then, probably, that he first conceived the idea of extending his journey toward that southern Land of Gold of which Balboa had heard.

It might be thought that after Balboa's death, Avila would have hastened to explore the country in which such immense wealth was said to exist; but there is a record of only one expedition, before that undertaken by Pizarro; and this did not go any farther than the part of the coast which had already been explored by Balboa.

But although this enterprise had not been successful, it had prepared the

public mind to take a keen interest in the subject of gold-seeking in the South. Under such circumstances, Pizarro, who had been assigned, as the reward of his military services, a tract of land and a certain number of Indian slaves to work it, formed the plan of heading such an expedition himself. He was too poor, however, to bear all the expenses; and two others became his partners in the venture. One of these was Diego de Almagro, a soldier of fortune who was probably a little older than Pizarro, and not much better off; the third was Hernando de Luque, vicar of Panama, and formerly schoolmaster at Darien. The priest furnished the greater part of the funds for the expedition, and probably was instrumental in securing the permission of the Governor for undertaking such a venture. Authorities differ as to whether Avila contributed anything to the expenses or not; but certainly he stipulated that he should have a share in the profits.

Two small vessels were purchased, the larger having been built by Balboa for an expedition to the south, but it had lain dismantled in the harbor of Panama since his death. This was speedily fitted out, and something more than a hundred idle, reckless adventurers, who had not yet made their fortunes in this New World, enlisted. Pizarro set sail from Panama about the middle of November, 1524; leaving Almagro to follow in the smaller vessel as soon as it could be prepared.

Almagro had counted upon their being able to obtain provisions in plenty from the natives as they went on; but they were tossed about on the angry waves, and ran short both of food and water. When they at last landed, it was only to make their toilsome way through dense forests where no sound was heard but the splashing of the rain on the leaves, and of their own footsteps as they sank into the deep oozy mud. For it was the rainy season, when discomfort and danger of disease attend the traveler through these lands.

His men began to murmur loudly; but Pizarro was determined not to go back and acknowledge that he had failed. He soothed their discontent with a promise of supplies; and sent one of his officers back to the Isle of Pearls with the ship and nearly half of the company.

No trace of native habitations could be found; and the wretched Spaniards were reduced to feeding on such roots and berries as they could find in the woods. Some of these proved poisonous; and some of those who refused to risk death by this means died of starvation.

More than twenty of his followers had died, yet Pizarro, sharing all their discomforts, retained his cheerfulness and resolution; and, by his efforts to obtain food for them and his unwearied care of the sick, made himself beloved by these rough soldiers of fortune.

As they wandered almost hopelessly through the woods, they emerged at last into an open space, where they found an Indian village. The inhabitants

fled at first; and the famished Spaniards, rushing to the huts, seized upon the provisions. Gathering confidence as they saw what necessity had compelled this deed, and not so well acquainted with the Spaniards in general as to know that, hungry or well-fed, they respected no Indian rights, the natives returned to their village, and naively inquired why the white men did not stay at home and cultivate their own land, instead of roaming about to rob others. Had they been better acquainted with the new-comers, the poor Indians would have known that the rude golden ornaments which they wore were more attractive to the white men, when once their hunger was appeased, than all that could be won by agriculture.

After more than six weeks, the vessel brought the supplies for which it had been sent; and the expedition proceeded on its way. Pizarro kept close to shore, "wandering in the dark, feeling his way along inch by inch, as it were, without chart to guide him, without knowledge of the seas or of the bearings of the coast, and even with no better defined idea of the object at which he aimed than that of a land, teeming with gold, that lay in the south."

Having cast anchor off a bold point of land which he named Punta Quemada, Pizarro disembarked, with the greater part of his force, to explore the interior, which he believed to be inhabited. Less than a league from the coast he found a village, defended by palisades, and larger than any that he had seen. It was deserted at their approach, and the Spaniards helped themselves to the golden ornaments which they found in the huts. But the Indian warriors had held council; and when the Spaniards attempted to reconnoiter the country, they were suddenly attacked by unnumbered foes, springing from their ambush in the hills. The fight was a stubborn one, though the ground was continually shifted, as the natives would retreat, only to advance again to the attack from another and unexpected quarter. Pizarro was speedily recognized by them as the leader of their enemies, and directing their missiles at him more than at his followers, they succeeded in inflicting seven wounds, although he was clad in armor.

The Spaniards were at last driven back by the fury of their innumerable assailants; and Pizarro, as they retreated down the slope of the hill, defending themselves as they went, slipped and fell to the rain-soaked earth. The boldest of the Indians, uttering their savage war-cry, sprang forward to dispatch him; but on his feet in an instant, in spite of the heavy armor which encumbered him, he struck down two, and held the rest at bay until his followers came to his rescue. The Indian, whether of North or South America, has a great respect for a man who fights hand-to-hand, rather than with missile weapons; and, in admiring fear of Pizarro's prowess, they faltered in the attack. At this moment, the remainder of the force which had landed, which had become separated from him, came up; and, by the united exertions of all, the Indians were driven from the field.

It was decided, however, by the Spaniards in council, that they were in no condition to go on; and the vessel returned to Panama. Pizarro himself remained at Chicama; for he was unwilling to present himself before the Governor before he had succeeded. Here he was joined by Almagro, who had followed in Pizarro's track, and, having reached the fourth degree of north latitude without meeting him, had turned back. A system of notching the trees, similar to that by which a North American pioneer "blazes" his way through the pathless woods, enabled Almagro to identify the places at which he had landed as being the same where Pizarro had touched.

Both felt much encouraged by the success with which they had already met; for although the amount of gold obtained was not in itself considerable, the finding of such ornaments in outlying villages gave rich promise of the treasure of the capital. They resolved to fit out another expedition; and, in prosecution of this resolve, Almagro set out for Panama, to secure the continued good-will of the Governor, while Pizarro remained at Chicama.

Avila was not easily persuaded to consent to a second expedition; charging Pizarro, particularly, with the loss of many of his followers. When he finally gave the desired permission, as Father Luque persuaded him to do, he named Almagro as equal in command with Pizarro; although in the first expedition there had been a difference made between them.

A compact was made, and signed March 10, 1526, between the three men interested in the first expedition. Father Luque was the only one of the three who could write his name, the signatures of the others being marks, attested by three respectable citizens of Panama. According to the terms of this agreement, the proceeds of the expedition were to be divided equally among the men who had planned the former expedition, Pizarro, Almagro, and Father Luque; the soldiers were to do the work, while the priest furnished the money, twenty thousand *pesos de oro*; other documents of the time show that in this he was acting as the agent of another person, to whom he assigned all the rights guaranteed him by this instrument. The Governor of Panama, who had had, as will be remembered, an interest in the first expedition, now concluded that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush; and formally resigned to the adventurers all claim to a share in their profits, for the consideration of one thousand *pesos de oro*.

Two vessels were purchased, somewhat larger than those which had been used before; and stores were laid in, on a somewhat more liberal scale. But it was not easy to get recruits for the venture; nearly one-fourth of those who had followed Pizarro and Almagro to the South had died there; and the condition of the survivors, ragged and half-starved as they were, did not bear out the promise of rich booty to be obtained. Strangely enough, however, some of these very men re-enlisted; and about one hundred and sixty, in all, were mustered. A few horses were bought, and ammunition and military stores;

but there was great difficulty in obtaining anything of the kind, since everything must be brought across the rugged barrier of the mountains which are continued along the isthmus.

Standing out to sea, they only sailed toward the shore when near the latitude of the furthest point which Almagro had reached, the mouth of the Rio de San Juan. Landing here, they attacked an Indian village, and carried off a considerable booty of gold ornaments, with a few of the natives.

The leaders knew very well that their force was too small; and it was now decided that this first success should be used to secure reinforcements. Almagro returned to Panama, to carry the news of the treasure which they had secured; the pilot, Bartholomew Ruiz, with the other vessel, reconnoitered the coast to the south; while Pizarro, with the rest of the force, was to remain in the neighborhood of the river.

Ruiz went as far south as Cape Pasado, about half a degree south of the equator; his vessel being the first under the command of a white man that, sailing down the Pacific coast, had passed the Line. The one important event of this voyage was his meeting with a kind of raft, which was remarkable as being the first instance with which the Europeans had met of a native vessel with a sail. Intercourse with the Indians on board only increased his astonishment; their fine wool garments, dyed in the most brilliant colors, the richness of their ornaments and of the gold and silver articles which they were carrying to a certain point for trading, even a pair of scales for weighing the precious metals, all these indicated a higher degree of civilization than had yet been found among the Indians. In addition to this, his interest was still further aroused by the assertion that some degrees to the south there was a country, whose fields were covered with large flocks of the animals from whose backs the wool for their clothes was obtained, and that gold and silver were as common as wood in the palaces of its ruler. Seizing some of these Indians, Ruiz returned to the rendezvous; considering that Pizarro had better hear the stories from their own lips; and also, that when these captives should have learned Spanish, they would be valuable as interpreters.

This report, and the arrival of Almagro with a reinforcement of about eighty men and a quantity of supplies, somewhat encouraged those who had remained at the mouth of the river with Pizarro, and who had been almost on the point of deserting their commander.

As they proceeded on their way, there were many evidences that the long-sought land of gold was almost at hand; but the inhabitants appeared to be a war-like people, ready to defend their country against the invasion of the Spaniards. On one occasion, Pizarro had landed with a body of his men, wishing for a conference with the Indians; but they seemed eager to fight, and he could not make them understand that he came in peace; arms and armor seemed to tell them that he and his followers were hostile. The Span-





PIZARRO EXHORTS HIS MEN TO FOLLOW HIM TO THE CONQUEST.

iards, hotly pressed by an enemy far outnumbering them, might have fared badly had not one of their cavaliers been thrown by his horse. The Indians were so astonished at this division of what seemed a single being into two separate creatures, neither of which seemed to suffer by the separation, that they fell back, and the Spaniards, taking advantage of the pause, regained their vessels in safety.

The Spaniards again saw that their force was inadequate to the work which they had undertaken. Almagro proposed to return once more to Panama for recruits; Pizarro objected to this division of duties, as he was left to contend with hardships, while his colleague was comparatively safe from them. Almagro offered to be the one to remain; but the dispute which had arisen was not easily settled; and they came almost to blows. Finally, however, it was decided that Almagro's first plan should be adopted: and they set about finding some safe and convenient spot for Pizarro's quarters.

To avoid the natives, who appeared everywhere hostile, and the uninhabitable wastes of forest farther north, it was decided to encamp on the little island of Gallo. But against this, the soldiers who were to remain, protested bitterly; and wrote many letters to their friends and acquaintances at Panama, to be carried by the vessel in which Almagro sailed. That commander defeated their purpose, as he thought, by seizing all letters; but one had been too wary for him. A soldier named Sarabia had obtained a ball of cotton, which he wished to send to the Governor's wife as a sample of the products of the country. It looked innocent enough, and was delivered to the lady; who found inside of it a letter accusing the two commanders of having placed their followers in the most miserable condition; and calling on the authorities of Panama to interfere by sending a vessel to rescue them. The letter closed with a bitter characterization, in verse, of the two commanders as partners in a slaughter-house; the doggerel is thus rendered by Prescott:—

“Look out, Senor Governor,  
For the drover, while he's near;  
Since he goes home to get the sheep  
For the butcher, who stays here.”

Don Pedro de los Rios had succeeded Avila as the governor of the colony; and he gave orders, as soon as his wife brought this letter to his notice, that two ships should be dispatched to bring home the adventurers. But the same vessel carried to Pizarro letters from Almagro and Lupue promising assistance if he would only remain where he was.

To a man of Pizarro's determination there was only a faint gleam of hope necessary. Drawing a line on the sandy beach with his sword he thus addressed his wavering followers:—

“Friends and comrades, on that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm, desertion, and death; on this side, ease and pleasure. There

lies Peru with its riches; here, Panama and its poverty. Choose, each man, what best becomes a brave Castilian. For my part, I go to the South."

As he stepped across the line, he was instantly followed by Ruiz; then, a moment afterward, by Pedro de Candia and eleven others. This conduct the officer sent with the vessels regarded as rebellion against the authority of the Governor, who had sent for them to return; he refused to leave one of the vessels with the fourteen determined men—for Pizarro had dispatched his own ship to Panama for repairs—and it was only with difficulty that he was persuaded to give them a part of the stores which had been sent for the relief of the party. He consented, however, to allow Ruiz to return to Panama in his ship, to co-operate with Almagro and Luque in securing assistance.

Nor was it easy to obtain from the Governor permission to fit out a vessel to go to Pizarro's aid. At length this was accomplished, but only on the condition that Pizarro should return to Panama, whatever came about, within six months.

While the vessel was being prepared, Pizarro and his companions determined to move their quarters to the neighboring island of Gorgona, which possessed several advantages. Here they remained for seven months; trying to give each other courage, and persuade themselves that their mission of rapine and blood was under the direct protection of Heaven, by constant devotional exercises. At last the vessel came, but it brought no new recruits; and the little handful of men sailed away to the unknown South.

The first place of any importance where they landed was Tumbez, on the Gulf of Guayaquil. Here they were received very kindly by the wondering natives; those who had been taken prisoner by Ruiz assuring their countrymen that the Spaniards were a wonderful race, who had come thither for no harm, but solely to become acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. Perhaps these captives believed what they said; but how much they had been deceived if they did!

The Spaniards were visited by a native who was evidently a nobleman, who seems to have come officially to investigate the strangers. Pizarro sent one of his men to return the visit, accompanied by a negro who had come from Panama with Almagro. The Indians did not know whether to wonder most at the color of the white man or of the black man; but appeared to think, when they found that the dye of the African would not rub off, let them try as they might, that he was rather the more wonderful of the two. Some swine and poultry had been sent by Pizarro as presents to the great man, since neither was to be found in the New World until brought hither by the Europeans; and the natives, when the cock crew, demanded to know what he was saying.

The soldier brought back such wonderful stories of the temple which he had seen, blazing with gold and silver, that Pizarro dispatched a more trustworthy messenger the next day, to see how much of this brilliant description

was true. The man chosen was the good cavalier Pedro de Candia, who had followed Ruiz across the line on the sand before any other; and he was dressed in steel armor, with his sword by his side and his arquebus on his shoulder.

Candia returned with a description even more glowing, which was accepted by Pizarro as the truth; although one historian of the time says that when they returned to Tumbez they found it a lie from beginning to end, except in regard to the temple; Candia having given a glowing account of a structure which he styled a convent, where the girls intended for the Inca's wives were kept.

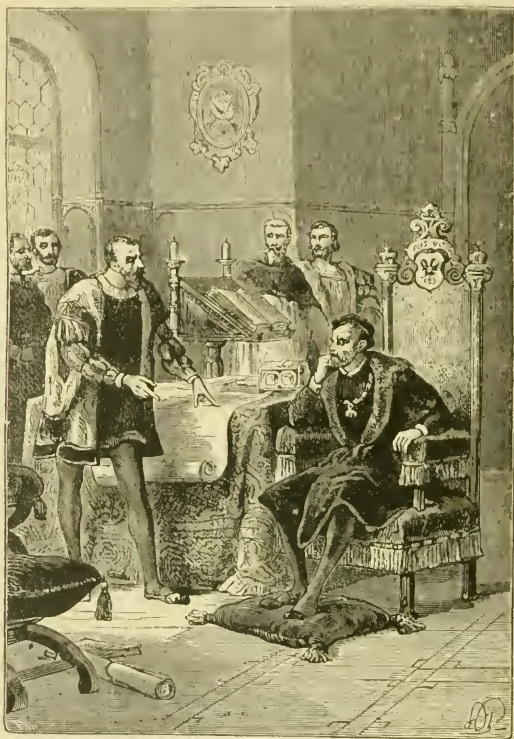
It was evident that they had reached the country which they sought, though as yet they had only arrived at the northern part. They accordingly left Tumbez, and followed the coast southward, till, passing the Punta de Aguja, they found their course alongshore tending toward the east. Everywhere they were received with the same kindness, and everywhere they heard the same accounts of a powerful monarch, whose palaces were fairly alight with the gleam of gold and silver. It is true that they saw but little of these precious metals, except in the temples which they dared not violate; but the evidences of civilization were so many and so strong that they saw there must be some foundation for these reports.

They had passed the point where the city of Truxillo now stands, when Pizarro's followers begged him to turn back. They had done enough, they said, to prove, not only the existence, but the actual situation of this great empire; and their force was too small to attempt anything more. Recognizing the justice of what they said, he consented to do so, and sailed to the northward. They stopped at Tumbez, where some of the Spaniards, at their own request, were put ashore; and a few of the Peruvians taken on board. By this means, Pizarro told himself, he would have Spaniards who were acquainted with the language and customs of the Peruvians, and Peruvians who were acquainted with the language and customs of the Spaniards.

Confident that the measure of success which they had achieved was such as to interest the Governor, the leaders of the expedition applied to him for assistance in organizing another, of sufficient magnitude to undertake the conquest of this country. He replied, coldly, that he had no desire to build up other states at the expense of his own; nor would he be led to throw away more lives than had already been sacrificed by the cheap display of gold and silver toys and a few Indian sheep, as the llamas were called.

Luque advised that they should apply directly to the Crown for assistance; and, after some discussion, Pizarro was authorized by his colleagues to go to Spain and lay the matter before the Emperor. To so low an ebb had their fortunes sunk, that they had some difficulty in fitting him out in proper style to go to court; but finally, fifteen hundred ducats were raised, and in the spring of 1528, Pizarro sailed for Spain, taking with him some of the native Peruvi-

ans, two or three llamas, various pieces of cloth, and as many specimens of gold and silver articles, brought from Peru, as could easily be obtained; the booty, of course, having been divided among the men engaged in the enterprise.



PIZARRO BEFORE THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

The Bachelor Enciso happened to be in Seville at the time of his landing; and as Pizarro had been in his debt since the days of the early colony at Darien, he at once procured the arrest of the adventurer, and had him thrown into prison.

Fortunately for Pizarro, the fame of his achievements had reached Spain at least as soon as he did; and the Emperor, hearing of his misfortunes, com-



manded that he should be released at once, and allowed to proceed on his journey. When he arrived at Toledo, where the court then was, and was admitted to the presence of Charles V., the Emperor listened with much interest; being even moved to tears by the story of his lonely stay, with a handful of followers, on the island of Gorgona; and commended Pizarro's affairs in the most favorable terms, to the consideration of the Council for the Indies.

But Spanish officials were slow-moving bodies, as many a gallant explorer, before and after the time of Pizarro, found; and the future Conqueror of Peru might have become heartsick with hope deferred, had it not been for a powerful friend. Cortes was then in Spain; and, after the Emperor had left for Italy, interested himself in expediting the affairs of Pizarro, who was distantly related to him. The Queen, who had been named Regent during her husband's absence, accordingly executed the great "Capitulation" which defined the powers and privileges of Pizarro.

In this instrument, Peru was called New Castile; and Pizarro was given the right of discovery and conquest in it for two hundred leagues south of Santiago. The offices of Governor and Captain-General were united in him with those of Adelantado and Alguacil Mayor, for life; and his services were to be rewarded by a salary equivalent, in values of the present day, to something like eight thousand dollars a year. Almagro was named commander of the fortress of Tumbez; and Luque was appointed Bishop of Tumbez and Protector of the Indians of Peru. Ruiz was given the title of Grand Pilot of the Southern Ocean, and Candia was placed in command of the artillery; the other eleven faithful followers of Pizarro were appointed to dignities in prospect, with the title and rank of *hidalgoes* and *cavalleros* in present.

Pizarro was bound to raise within six months, from the date of the instrument, or by January 26, 1530, a well-equipped force of two hundred and fifty men; and he was to be prepared to sail within six months from the time of his return to Panama. The Government furnished only a trifling assistance in the purchase of artillery and military stores.

Among the followers whom he enlisted were his four brothers, Hernando, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, and a half-brother by his mother's side, Francisco Martin de Alcantara. But he did not have two hundred and fifty men enlisted by the time stipulated; he therefore sailed away in one vessel; and when the officers of the Crown came to inspect the armament previous to its departure, to see that the terms of the Capitulation were complied with, the number of men who they were told had sailed with Pizarro himself made up the required two hundred and fifty. They were easily deceived, perhaps, because they were willing to be misled; and the other two vessels set sail for the New World.

When Pizarro rejoined his associates, and told them what offices had been conferred upon each, they were not slow to express their discontent. He had

promised to consider Almagro's interests as well as his own; and Almagro now objected because the great offices were combined in one for Pizarro, while he, who should have held an equal rank was given only the command of a single fortress. Pizarro urged that in other colonies there had been so much trouble between the civil ruler and the military authority, that the ministers of the Crown had not been willing, in this case, to invite such trouble in Peru, by giving the offices of Governor and Captain-General to different individuals. Whether Pizarro had indeed proved a traitor to his associate, and been the means of his having only a subordinate office, cannot now be told; he had certainly absorbed all of any consequence for himself, excepting that which was given to Luque; but a layman could not well be appointed a Bishop, which fact perhaps explains why Luque got this high office.

A reconciliation, or what passed for one, was patched up between the two, and the preparations for transporting the cannon and stores across the isthmus were begun. By the time that they arrived at Panama, the required force of two hundred and fifty men had shrunk to one hundred and seventy. With this little force, with twenty-seven horses for his cavaliers, he embarked in three vessels, early in January, 1530, and sailed away from Panama on his third expedition to Peru.

Almagro, as usual, remained behind to secure more recruits. It was the intention of Pizarro to steer straight for Tumbez; but contrary winds obliged him to come to anchor in the Bay of St. Matthew; where, after consulting with his officers, he resolved to disembark the greater part of his force and advance alongshore, while the vessels followed closely at a convenient distance from the land.

The first place which they reached was the town of Coaque, where, to use the words of one of the old chroniclers, who had taken part in the expedition, "we fell on them sword in hand; for, if we had advised the Indians of our approach, we should never have found there such store of gold and precious stones."

This was the region in which emeralds were abundant; and Pizarro secured one of these stones as large as a pigeon's egg. He sent a considerable portion of the gold back to Panama, that the sight of so much treasure might allure recruits to his standard. But, as he advanced along the coast, his immediate force began to repine at the difficulties which beset them; the road was often but a sandy waste, and men and horses, blinded by the sand, were scarcely able to keep their footing on the treacherous surface; besides this, the tropical sun poured down its beams till they almost suffocated in their armor of burnished steel or their doublets of thick quilted cotton. A dreadful disease broke out among them, which worked with such rapidity that sometimes those who lay down well at night were unable to lift their heads in the morning.

Still they toiled on, through a land deserted by its inhabitants at their approach; and at last their hearts were gladdened by the sight of another vessel. Certain high officers had been appointed by the Crown to attend the expedition; but Pizarro, when he sailed in such a hurry, left them behind. This vessel had them on board, together with some needed supplies.

Reinforced at Puerto Viejo by thirty men, Pizarro now advanced boldly toward Tumbez, which he regarded as the outpost of the Peruvian empire. He did not proceed directly to the city itself, but established himself upon the island of Puna, in the mouth of the Guayaquil River. He was hospitably received, and his troops were provided with comfortable quarters; but he was warned by his Peruvian interpreters that the islanders meditated treachery against him. Satisfied of the existence of a conspiracy, he surrounded the place where the ringleaders were holding a meeting, and made prisoners of the suspected chieftains. These were abandoned to the people of Tumbez, who had come in considerable numbers to visit him; and as there was a feud of long standing between the inhabitants of Puna and those of Tumbez, although they were now nominally at peace, the triumphant party instantly massacred them before the eyes of the Spaniards.

The people of Puna were aroused by this outrage; and at once attacked the camp of Pizarro. Although they far outnumbered the Spaniards, it was naked bodies opposed to cold steel and balls hissing hot from the muskets, and darts and arrows falling against steel-coats. They rushed madly at the authors of this massacre; but the Spaniards, well-disciplined, received them on their long pikes, or swept them down by volleys of musketry. Then the little body of cavalry charged into their midst, and drove them into the depths of the forests. St. Michael and his legions, said the devout Spaniards, fought out again, in the air high over their heads, but still in plain sight, that battle with Lucifer which was decided before the beginning of the world; and by this example encouraged the Christians who were contending with the followers of the devil. In commemoration of this event, the city of San Miguel was named by Pizarro for the Archangel.

Three or four of the Spaniards fell in the fight, and many were wounded. In addition to this, Pizarro was kept in perpetual alarm by the islanders, always ready to steal out of their fastnesses on the enemy's camp or on his straggling parties.

But two vessels were soon despatched off the island. They brought a reinforcement of one hundred volunteers, under Hernando de Soto, whose name is so closely connected with the history of the great river of North America. Pizarro now felt strong enough to cross over to the continent and begin his career of discovery and conquest. He felt the better prepared for this, as he had recently learned that his enemies were divided by internal dissensions.

Huayna Capac, Inca of Peru, had died some years previously, dividing his

great empire between two of his sons. The Incas of Peru were supposed to be the Children of the Sun, which luminary was worshipped by the people as the chief god. In order to preserve the purity of blood, it was forbidden for any one who was not of this lineage on both sides to ascend the throne; so that it became a custom for the reigning Inca to choose, for his lawful wife, his sister; and their son was his father's successor, no matter how many other sons of the sovereign might survive him.

Huayna Capac had three sons of importance in Peruvian history, Huascar, Manco Capac, and Atahualpa. Huascar was, in accordance with the principle just stated, the heir to the throne; Manco's mother was a cousin of his father's, and therefore of the Inca blood; but Atahualpa's mother had been a stranger by birth. It often happens, in such families, that the heir-at-law is not the best beloved child; and it was so in this case.

Huayna Capac had conquered the neighboring kingdom of Quito; the defeated and dethroned monarch had died of grief; and the conqueror received his beautiful daughter among his numerous wives. This was the mother of Atahualpa; and, when Huayna Capac had felt his death drawing near, he resolved that Atahualpa should rule the kingdom of Quito, while only the original dominion on the Incas was left to Huascar.

For five years the two young monarchs ruled their respective realms in peace with each other; but difficulties then began which terminated, shortly before Pizarro reached Peru, in the defeat and capture of Huascar, and Atahualpa's usurpation of the throne of the Incas. The different accounts vary greatly; but it is said that Atahualpa put to death a very great number of connections, because he feared their superior title to the crown; but certainly he did not put to death his brother Huascar, who was the legitimate ruler, or Manco, who was the next in succession.

This had taken place just a few months before Pizarro arrived in Peru, and the news of it afforded him great encouragement. Such encouragement was needed; for their first experience, when reaching the main land from Puna, was one of disaster and disappointment. Having ordered a few of his men to transport the military stores and the commander's baggage on some of the native rafts, while the greater part of the force was crossed in the ships, Pizarro learned that the men on board one raft, three or four in number, had been captured by the natives, carried off to the woods, and there massacred. A considerable portion of the stores was rescued only by a determined sally of some horsemen, who saw the attack made on the raft where they were.

This was surprising behavior on the part of the people of Tumbez, and Pizarro was still more surprised to find their town deserted and almost entirely demolished. The natives were followed to the woods, and the officer governing the city brought back. He assured them that the town had been

destroyed by the wars which they had waged with the people of Puna; and deplored the massacre of the three Spaniards as the act of some lawless persons, who had acted without his knowledge. As there was no way of proving that he was lying, and, as he promised obedience in his own name and that of his followers to the authority of the Spaniards, Pizarro took no further notice of his hostile reception; but questioned the chief regarding the Spaniards who had been left in the town.



PIZARRO AND HIS MEN IN PERU.

Others were questioned at the same time; and while each assigned a different cause for the death of the Spaniards, all united in testifying that they were dead. This unpleasant subject being disposed of, the Peruvians began



to give a glowing description of the riches of the country surrounding the capital. Perhaps, knowing how large an army was maintained by their sovereign, and that the most of his men were veterans of many fights, they wished the Spaniards to press forward to the gold which was, in this instance, but the bait of a deadly trap.

But Pizarro's followers did not believe half of what was told them; they had heard that the temple of Tumbez was covered with plates of gold and silver, and when they reached Tumbez the temple had been dismantled. Nor did they place any faith in a statement on a bit of paper which, Pizarro asserted, an Indian had given him, it having been delivered to the native by one of the white men who had been left in the country. This was the writing:—

“Know, whoever you may be that may chance to set foot in this country, that it contains more gold and silver than there is iron in Biscay.”

Pizarro was quite capable, morally speaking, of forging such a relic; but he could not write, and he was too acute to trust any one to do it for him: nevertheless, the paper only excited the ridicule of the soldiers, who, perhaps, overrated the scholarly attainments of their captain.

Pizarro declared that it was the inaction of his troops which was leading to mutiny, as giving them time to recount their grievances to themselves and to each other. He accordingly determined upon action. Part of his company must be left at Tumbez, for they were in such bad health as not to be able to endure the hardships they might be called upon to endure in journeying through the country; a detachment under De Soto was sent to explore the skirts of the mountain-range, while he himself led the remainder of his force along the low country of the coast, reconnoitering the land before deciding upon his plan of operations.

Maintaining a rigid discipline during the march, and severely punishing any of his men who inflicted injuries upon the natives, he acquired a good name among the people of the country, who speedily forgot all the dreadful rumors that they had heard concerning him. Everywhere he was received hospitably; and the proclamation made wherever he went that he came in the name of the Holy Vicar of God and the sovereign of Spain, and required the obedience of the inhabitants as true children of the Church and vassals of the Emperor, was received without opposition by a people who did not understand a word that was said; and the notary gravely recorded, as a well-attested fact, that these people had submitted to the Pope and the Emperor.

Pizarro's first care was to find a site for a settlement, which should be the base of future operations; and he decided upon a valley some thirty leagues south of Tumbez, where the city of San Miguel was founded. A church, a magazine for public stores, a hall of justice and a fortress were built, and a regular municipal government, patterned after that of Spanish cities, was

organized. The surrounding ground was portioned out among the inhabitants, and to each a certain number of Indians was assigned, to assist him in tilling the soil; the Spaniards thus asserting, in the midst of the highly civilized empire of the Incas, the same right to the services of the people which they had claimed among the naked savages of the West Indian Islands.

Like Cortes, Pizarro persuaded his men to relinquish their share of the gold which had already been collected; not as a gift to the Crown, but as a loan to himself and his companions in the venture; and dispatched the ships back to Panama, sending the gold to pay off the ship-owners and those who had furnished stores. He remained at San Miguel for several weeks after sending the ships off, in hopes of receiving reinforcements; for, divided as the kingdom was against itself, he feared that his little force was too small to contend even with one-half of the armies of Peru.

The whole force now amounted to something less than two hundred and fifty men. Leaving fifty at the settlement, Pizarro marched, Sept. 24, 1532, from the gates of San Miguel, boldly into the heart of the country where, he had been told, he would find the camp of the Inca, with his thousands of victorious veterans.

On the fifth day after leaving San Miguel, he halted his troops to give them a little rest and to review them more thoroughly. They numbered one hundred and seventy-seven men, of whom sixty-seven were cavalry, three arquebusiers, and not more than twenty crossbow-men. They were well-equipped, and most of them seemed to partake of his own resolute spirit; but there were a few of them who seemed to be discontented. He knew that a little leaven of mutiny or discontent can leaven the whole lump, and determined to put an end to this spirit at once. Calling them together, he briefly addressed them; it was a daring thing, to offer the choice that he gave them; for he could not tell how many of them might conceal the same spirit beneath an affectation of devotion to him.

He told them that their affairs were in such a condition, that no man should think of going forward who had not his whole heart bound up in this expedition, or who had the least doubt of its success. If any one regretted having come, it was not too late to turn back; San Miguel was poorly garrisoned, and he would be glad to see it stronger. Those who chose to return would be placed on exactly the same footing as those who had been left there; while with those who chose to go forward with him, be they few or many, he would pursue the adventure to the end. Nine decided to return; the others, animated by a new enthusiasm and committed again to the schemes of their leader, since they had refused to go back when the opportunity was offered, resumed their march toward the camp of the Inca.

Two days later, Pizarro judged it wise to send a reconnoitering party out under DeSoto. They were gone for eight days, and the commander had be-

gun to be very uneasy about them, when they returned, bringing with them an envoy from the Inca. This ambassador, duly presenting a gift of considerable value, although far inferior to the magnificent offerings of Montezuma, brought from Atahualpa a message of welcome, and an invitation for the strangers to visit him in his mountain camp; for the forces of his brother had not been subdued so long that he was able to live at ease in his capital.

Pizarro readily saw that this was but a device by which the Inca might inform himself fully of the strength and purpose of the Spaniards; but gave no sign of his suspicions, and satisfied the curiosity of the envoy in regard to all the strange articles which the noble Peruvian now saw for the first time. On his departure, Pizarro presented him with a cap of crimson cloth, some glass ornaments, and similar trifles; bidding him tell his master that the Spaniards, the subjects of a great prince far away, having heard much of Atahualpa's victories, had come to pay their respects to him, and to offer their services against his enemies.

The report which De Soto brought so fully confirmed all that they had heard or surmised concerning the power of the Inca, that they were held in check by their wary leader, who still had hopes of reinforcements. None came, however, and they pushed forward to the foot of the Andes.

Here two paths presented themselves. One was a broad and easy road which led to Cuzco; made smooth by all the engineering arts which were known to the Peruvians; the other was a tortuous succession of mountain-passes, where a handful of men might dispute the way at almost any point, though an army confronted them. Many were of the opinion that the army should abandon the route originally marked out, and go at once to Cuzco; but Pizarro's purpose was not to be easily shaken. He had accepted the Inca's invitation to visit him in his camp, and no weakness or cowardice on their part must bring upon them the contempt of the monarch.

"Let every one of you," he cried, "take heart and go forward like a good soldier, nothing daunted by the smallness of your numbers. For in the greatest extremity God ever fights for his own; and doubt not that he will humble the pride of the heathen, and bring him to the knowledge of the true faith, the great end and object of the conquest."

"Lead on!" they shouted, in answer to his appeal; "Lead on wherever you think best, and we will follow. We can do our duty in the cause of God and the King!"

At dawn the next morning, Pizarro, with a body of sixty men, went forward to reconnoiter the ground. It proved even worse than he had thought; and in many places the mountain paths were so steep that his horsemen were obliged to dismount and lead their horses; while the precipices were so sheer that they might well have turned the strongest brain.

As the Spaniards advanced into the heart of the country, they found a civ-

ilization not inferior to that of Mexico; and the gigantic public works appeared wonderful even to the ignorant soldiers of fortune, who did not understand half the difficulties which had been overcome in their construction. A great roadway had been constructed, of immense stones, twenty feet broad and from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles long; valleys had been filled with stone, streams had been bridged with plaited osiers, steps had been cut in precipices, and tunnels, leagues in length, cut through the living rock, that this road might be completed; and posts were established at the distance of about five miles apart, throughout its length, where runners were stationed. By such means, the Inca was enabled, when at Cuzco, to feast upon fresh fish that had been caught three hundred miles away; and his orders were transmitted with a rapidity which astonished the Spaniards.

The buildings constructed by the Peruvians were not so imposing in their outward appearance as those of other countries; but the interiors were adorned with a vast treasure of silver, gold, and precious stones; while the beauty of the workmanship more than doubled the values of these ornaments. It is worthy of remark that the Peruvians had advanced farther in the art of fortification than the Europeans of that period; Pizarro was to find, when he reached Cuzco, a city walled, not with long stretches of ramparts, but with a regular and carefully planned arrangement of re-entering angles, such as are used in the construction of modern forts.

Of the temples of Peru, space does not permit a full description. The most remarkable was that at the capital, where the refulgence of gold and jewels was such as to "make a sunshine in a shady place;" and where the eyes of even the avaricious Spaniards were dazzled with the richness of the ornamentation.

Past mighty fortresses, constructed with a skill that rivalled that of the best engineers of the day, they toiled, their spirits rising when they found these strongholds untenanted; thus showing clearly that the Inca did not mean to dispute their advance. Long accustomed to the heat of the tropics, they suffered greatly with cold as they ascended the heights; and their spirits sank again as they saw no vegetation but the dried, yellow grass which, seen from below, has such a glowing golden color, and no sign of animal life but the condor which seemed waiting to feast on their bodies.

The rear had been summoned to follow, and the force was reunited when they reached the summit. Here Pizarro received another embassy from the Inca, with friendly messages. But the descent was almost as difficult as the ascent; and it was with great satisfaction that they at last saw just before them the little city of Caxamalea, with the white tents of the Inca's army lying "thick as snowflakes," as one of the old chroniclers says, along the slope of the hills, for the distance of several miles.

The Inca's envoy had explained that the city had been abandoned by its

inhabitants to make room for the white men; and Pizarro, as he formed his little army into three orderly divisions and marched into it, found not a living thing within its walls.

Pizarro determined to send an embassy at once to the Inca; and assigned De Soto, with fifteen horsemen, to that duty; but afterward, considering this too small a number, sent his brother Hernando after the first party with twenty cavaliers. Dashing along the wide causeway which, stretching across the meadows, connected the camp and the town, they distrusted the strength of a wooden bridge which was thrown across a stream surrounding the Inca's position; and, plunging into the broad but shallow waters, reached the opposite side in safety; unmolested by the battalion of Indian warriors drawn up in line, under arms, at the end of the bridge.

Conducted into the presence of Atahualpa, De Soto and Hernando Pizarro stated their errand; they had come to acquaint him with the arrival of their commander and his force in the city of Caxamalca; they were the subjects of a mighty prince far away, they said, and repeated Pizarro's fairy story about helping him against his enemies; finally, they brought an invitation for Atahualpa to visit the general the next morning.

The Inca might have been a marble statue for all the sign that he gave of understanding one word of the interpreter's version of this; and one of his highest nobles answered for him:—

“It is well.”

The Spaniards, however, insisted upon having an answer from his own lips; and he then told them that he was keeping a fast, but that it would end the next morning, when he would visit the stranger with his chieftains.

De Soto had noticed that Atahualpa seemed to be more interested in the fiery horse which the gallant cavalier bestrode than in anything else about the part; and, making free use of his spurs, he gave the champing war-horse the rein, and displayed all the beautiful movements of the animal as well as his own perfect horsemanship. Suddenly checking him so near the point of starting that some of the foam from the horse's sides was thrown on Atahualpa's garments, the astonished Spaniard remarked that not even this disturbed the composure of the monarch. Some of his subjects, however, drew back as the strange animal passed close to them in his mad course; and the angry Inca, who had noted this even though he seemed marble, caused them to be put to death that very evening for showing such weakness before the strangers.

The embassy brought back such news of the strength and equipment of the Inca's forces, that their companions lost heart. Pizarro, seeing how they felt, went around among them; and telling each of the faint-hearted that it mattered not what power was on the side of the enemy, the arm of Heaven was on theirs. By thus insisting upon the religious nature of the enterprise,



he rekindled their enthusiasm, and they were once more ready to follow him to the death.

When this had been accomplished, he called together his officers in council; not, it seems, to ask their advice, but to acquaint them with the plan which he had already formed. This was nothing less than the seizure of Atahualpa, when he came to visit their camp the next morning. The Spaniards being fully prepared, and acting in concert, he argued, would be able to accomplish this, even though the Inca should bring a much larger force with him than Pizarro commanded.

Nov. 16, 1532, dawned; and Pizarro, having informed his men of what was contemplated, made the necessary dispositions of his troops. All arrangements having been completed, and every man being fully instructed as to his duty, mass was performed with great solemnity, and in all earnestness the Spaniards invoked the aid of the God of battles in their act of perfidy.

A messenger from the Inca informed Pizarro that the monarch would come with his warriors fully armed, as the Spaniards had come to visit him, and, although the adventurous Castilian might have preferred that he should come unprepared for fighting, he dared not object. It was noon before the Indians were on the way; and when they arrived within half a mile of the city, they coolly pitched their tents, and Pizarro received word that they would remain where they were for the night, and enter the city the next morning.

The Spanish leader, knowing well how hard it would be to maintain his men in the same readiness in which they had held themselves since dawn, protested against this change of purpose; sending the Inca word that everything had been prepared for his entertainment. Atahualpa at once declared that he would come at once, but attended only by a few of his people, and without arms. Against this change of purpose, it may be supposed, Pizarro did not protest.

Preceded by some hundreds of servants sent to clear the way, and attended by soldiers robed in scarlet, white, or azure, on a throne of massive gold which was born on a litter lined with the plumes of tropical birds and studded with plates of gold and silver, Atahualpa entered the city a little before sunset. The procession entered the great square; and the well-drilled soldiers formed in lines to the right and the left, to allow the palanquin, with its immediate attendants, to be borne forward. Not a Spaniard was to be seen, as, in the midst of profound silence, the monarch traversed the square.

“Where are the strangers?” he asked, in natural surprise.

In answer to the query, Pizarro’s chaplain, a Dominican named Fray Vicente de Valverde, stepped forward with his breviary—or a Bible, according to another account—in one hand and a crucifix in the other; and proceeded to expound to the great Peruvian sovereign the whole Christian doctrine, show-

ing most clearly, as he thought, how Pizarro derived his authority to conquer and convert the people of this country from St. Peter himself. His teachings were interpreted by one of the Indians who had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, whom they had named Felipillo; and he gravely explained to the Inca, when the great doctrine of the Trinity was touched upon, that the Christians had three Gods and one God, which made four.

However inaccurate the interpreter's version may have been, the priest's call to the Peruvian monarch to acknowledge himself the vassal of Charles V. and abjure his heathen gods for the Christian faith could not be misunderstood.

"I will be no man's tributary," rejoined the indignant and insulted Inca; "I am greater than any prince on earth. Your Emperor may be a great prince; I do not doubt it when I see that he has sent his people so far across the waters; and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the Pope of whom you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries which do not belong to him. For my faith, I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men whom he created. But mine still lives in the heavens, and looks down on his children."

Atahualpa demanded the priest's authority for saying these things, and was shown the book which he held. The Inca took the volume, turned over its pages hastily, then threw it down and exclaimed:—

"Tell your comrades that they shall give me an account of their doings in my land. I will not go from here, till they have given me full satisfaction for all the wrongs they have committed."

The priest hardly stayed to hear the interpretation of this speech; but, picking up the sacred volume which had been so insulted by the sun-worshiper, sought out Pizarro.

"Do you not see," he said to the leader, "that while we stand here wasting our breath in talking with this dog, full of pride as he is, the fields are filling with Indians? Set on at once; I absolve you."

Thus urged to action by the representative of the Church, Pizarro gave the signal to the gunner; the piece was fired, and instantly, from every quarter, the Spaniards, uttering their war-cry of "Santiago and at them!" rushed into the square. The Indians, taken wholly by surprise, deafened by the discharge of the cannon and muskets, and blinded by the sulphurous smoke that rolled along the square, were panic-stricken. They had no arms with which to resist the assault of these dread riders with their gleaming swords, even had they been less surprised by the suddenness of the attack. They choked every avenue of escape; and when these were barred by the bodies of dead men and the living wretches who vainly endeavored to force their way, others, pressed back against the wall of the plaza, actually burst through that structure of stone and dried clay, and made an opening more than a

hundred paces wide, through which the wretched natives pressed, only to be followed and cut down by the cavalry.

Throned on his gorgeous litter, Atahualpa beheld the slaughter of his subjects. Some of the Spaniards, afraid that he might, after all, escape them, assaulted the sovereign.



ATAHUALPA TAKEN PRISONER BY PIZARRO.

(From an Old Engraving.)

“Let no one who values his life strike at the Inca!” thundered Pizarro; and stretched out his own arm to avert a blow which would have proved fatal. It was too late for the soldier who aimed it to stay his hand; and the stroke fell, although with less force than had Pizarro not spoken. It inflicted on the hand of the leader the only wound received by a Spaniard during the action.

Still the nobles who surrounded the litter as a guard made some effort to defend their master; but one by one they fell before the swords and muskets of the strangers, and Atahualpa was a prisoner. The massacre—for it could not be called a battle—had lasted barely half an hour; yet the slaughter is estimated, by contemporary historians, at from two thousand to ten thousand Peruvians.

A banquet was served in the great square that night, before all the bodies of the slain had been removed; and Atahualpa was seated beside his captor. If we may believe the Spanish historians, he expressed his admiration of their adroitness in entrapping him in the midst of his army. He told them that their progress had been constantly reported to him; but that he had not opposed it, for he had intended to select such of them as he chose for his own service, secure the wonderful arms and horses, and put the men whom he did not choose to death. Such, at least, was the account of his motives with which they were furnished by their interpreter.

The great army of the Inca melted like snow before the sun; his soldiers seemed to have lost all heart when they heard of his capture; and they looked with superstitious awe upon the men who could so audaciously seize the Child of the Sun in the very midst of his dominions.

So great was the number of prisoners, that the question of disposing of them became a serious one. Some of Pizarro's followers considered that the safest plan would be to put them to death; others thought it would be enough to cut off the right hand of each, that they might be disabled from using arms; but Pizarro himself decided upon a more humane course; and, retaining a considerable number of them to wait on him and his followers, dismissed the others to their homes, with the assurance that they should not be harmed if they offered no resistance to the white men.

Pizarro dispatched a messenger to San Miguel with the news of what had been achieved; and set to work, since he did not wish to advance upon the capital until he had received some reinforcements, to provide his soldiers with a place of worship. Whether they actually built a church or only adapted some existing building in Caxamalca to this purpose, mass was regularly performed by the Dominican fathers, though we have no evidence that the soldiers became any more humane as the result of this regularity.

Atahualpa was doubly anxious to regain his freedom; for he could not tell when his brother Huascar would bribe his guards and assume the title of Inca, which Atahualpa had usurped.

"If you will set me free," he said to Pizarro one day, "I will give you as much gold as will cover the floor of this room."

For he had learned that the Spaniards valued gold above everything else. He received no answer but a smile, which seemed to scoff at his promise as being impossible of fulfillment; and he said with more emphasis:—

“ I will not only cover the floor, but will fill the room with gold this high ; ” and, as he spoke, he extended his arm high above his head, standing on tip-toe to reach the highest point possible. Still they regarded it as an empty boast, though they had heard, from Atahualpa and others, such glowing descriptions of the richness of the country. However, it was safe to accept the offer; retaining the Inca a prisoner, of course, until the precious metal should be brought. Drawing a red line along the wall at the height indicated, Pizarro caused the terms of the proposal to be recorded by the notary. In two months’ time it was to be accomplished; the articles to retain their original form, and the Inca to have the benefit of the intervening spaces; and he further agreed to fill a certain smaller room twice with silver.

It is only by reducing this proposal to figures that we can comprehend fully the vastness of the treasure which Atahualpa proposed to pay for his freedom. The size of the room is variously given; but the smallest dimensions stated by any authority are seventeen by twenty-two feet, while they agree that the red line was nine feet from the floor. The total cubic contents of such an apartment would be more than three thousand cubic feet; but from a single cubic foot of gold, more than three hundred thousand standard United States dollars could be coined. If we accept the smallest estimate, and allow more than three-fourths of the space for interstices, the treasure would still be more than all the wealth of the Vanderbilts and the Astors.

But as soon as Huascar heard what a ransom had been offered by his brother, he sent word to Pizarro that he would pay even more for his own liberty. The Spanish leader announced his intention of sitting in judgment between the two brothers; Atahualpa, alarmed by this, and fearing that the Spaniard would reinstate Huascar, as a more pliant tool in their hands, at once dispatched his orders to his adherents who had Huascar in charge; for he was permitted to communicate freely with his subjects. In obedience to this mandate, Huascar was drowned in the Andamarca River, declaring, as his guards were about to complete their assigned duty, that the white men would avenge him, and that Atahualpa would not long survive him.

Atahualpa pretended the greatest surprise and indignation when he heard that his brother had met with a violent death; but although this did not deceive Pizarro, he had no means of proving the Inca’s guilt, and could not punish him without forfeiting all hope of the promised treasure. The returns came in slowly, for distances were considerable and roads often difficult; and Atahualpa, as anxious as Pizarro to hasten matters, urged that a party of Spaniards be sent to secure the gold in the great temple of Pachacamac. Hernando Pizarro and twenty horsemen undertook the errand; they failed to secure an amount which corresponded with their ideas of the expectations of the Inca; for the priests, receiving warning of their coming, had made off with most of the treasure.



But hearing that the great general of the Inca, Challeuchima, was not far off, Pizarro determined to capture him; and marched upon his camp. On the way, the horses experienced great difficulty on the rough and stony ground; for their shoes were quite worn out. Iron was not obtainable; but there was plenty of silver; and with silver the horses were accordingly shod. The mission was completely successful; as the wily Spaniards persuaded the general to accompany him on a visit to the Inca.

The great temple at Cuzco afforded an immense amount of treasure, although the Spaniards, at the request of the Inca, spared the gold-embossed chairs in which the royal mummies were seated; and the great golden cornice was too firmly imbedded in the walls to be removed. Seven hundred plates of gold were torn from this temple; besides a vast quantity from other buildings. The natives eagerly despoiled the city, in order to be rid the sooner of the messengers, who behaved with the most disgusting rapacity and wanton insolence.

While the ransom of Atahualpa was being collected, Almagro had arrived with about two hundred men, of whom fifty were mounted. He reached Caxamalea about the middle of February, 1533; and, in spite of many efforts which had been made to sow discord between him and Pizarro, they seemed resolved to bury all past differences.

Atahualpa alone saw in this reinforcement a new swarm of enemies; and, looking up to the sky, where a comet had recently made its appearance, exclaimed that such a sign had been seen shortly before the death of his father; and, from that day, became possessed of a brooding sadness.

The rich spoil of the ransom was divided among the soldiers; Almagro's followers receiving a small share of it, which still amounted to a considerable sum, so great was the total. But Atahualpa was not released. Pizarro had caused the notary to record the terms of the offer, but had evaded giving any promise on his own part. Of course, in allowing Atahualpa to proceed, and in insisting upon the fulfillment of his part of the agreement, the Spaniard had virtually agreed to release the monarch when the ransom should have been paid; but he still retained the captive, and added insult to injury by accusing him of instigating a rising of his people against the Spaniards.

"Am I not a poor captive in your hands?" he said to his accuser. "How could I harbor the designs of which you suspect me, when I should be the first victim of the outbreak? And you little know my people, if you think that such a movement would be made without my orders, when the very birds in my dominions would scarcely venture to fly contrary to my will."

But the Spaniards, particularly the recent recruits, clamored for his death. There were some who opposed any such measure, and Pizarro seemed to be one of them; the chief opponent of any such violence was De Soto; and it shows the insincerity of Pizarro, who pretended to resist the importunity of

his bloody-minded followers, that he sent De Soto on a reconnoitering expedition at this time.

During his absence, Atahualpa was brought to trial. He was charged with having caused his brother Huascar to be murdered; with having squandered the public revenues since the Spaniards had entered the country; with idolatry, and with having indulged in a plurality of wives; and finally, in having attempted to excite an insurrection against the Spaniards.

It matters not what the charge may be, when the judges have determined beforehand on the verdict and the sentence. Atahualpa was found guilty, and condemned to be burned alive in the center of the plaza of Caxamalca, that very night.

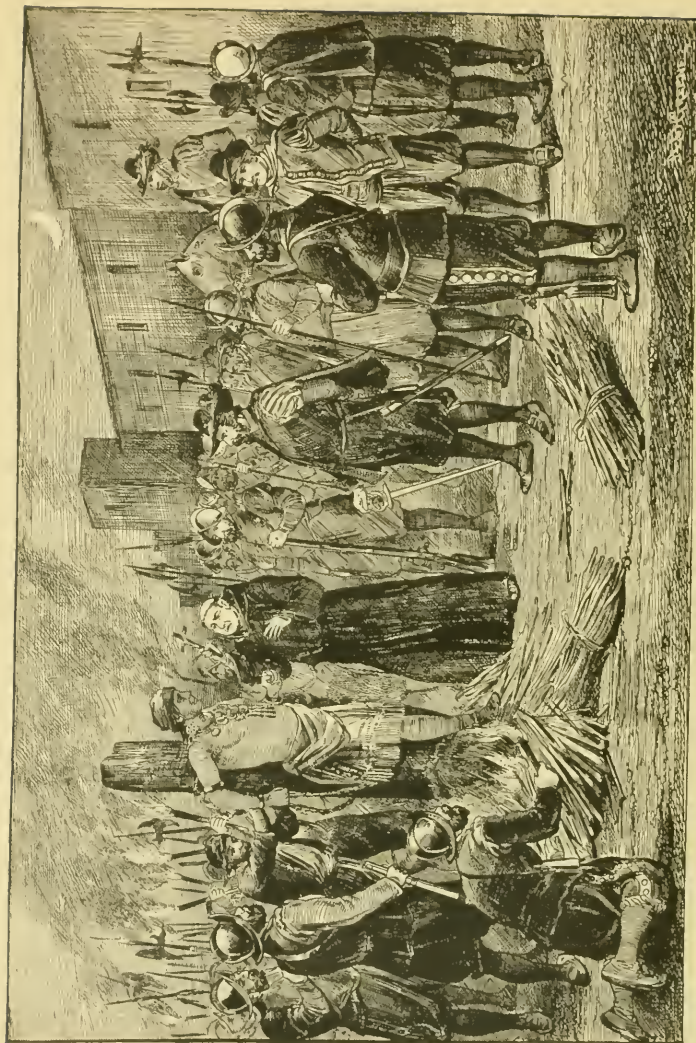
"What have I done, or my children, that I should meet such a fate?" asked the Inca, when the sentence was communicated to him; "and from your hands, too, you, who have met with friendship and kindness from my people, with whom I have shared my treasures, who have received nothing but benefits from my hands!"

Pizarro, visibly affected, turned away from the Inca; for, against the voice of the army, he had no power. Atahualpa, finding his entreaties vain, offered double the ransom which he had already paid; but the Spaniards were deaf even to the offer of gold; and, recovering his composure, he submitted to his fate.

Two hours after sunset on the 29th of August, 1533, the Inca was led out to the square, chained hand and foot; Father Valverde at his side, making a last effort to convert him to the religion of his conquerors. The victim was bound to the stake; and the priest, not ceasing his ministrations even then, besought him to embrace the cross and be baptized; promising him, not life, but a milder form of death if he would consent. Atahualpa inquired if this were true; and Pizarro confirmed the words of his chaplain. Then, in order that he might be garroted instead of burned, the prisoner consented to adopt the faith of the stranger; and Valverde baptized him by the name of Juan de Atahualpa. Immediately afterward, he was executed; meeting his death with a calm dignity which the Spaniards, remembering his terror of the stake, had hardly expected.

Many of the followers of Atahualpa, especially his wives and sisters, rushed into the church where his funeral services were being held, and declared their intention to sacrifice themselves on his tomb that they might bear him company to the land of spirits. The Spaniards, horrified at this expression regarding a man who had died a Catholic, caused the women to be excluded. Several of them, however, carried out their intention, and actually killed themselves.

De Soto heard with astonishment and indignation, on his return, that the Inca had been executed; for he had been sent to ascertain what truth there was in the rumor of a conspiracy against the Spaniards.



THE EXECUTION OF THE INCA.

"You have acted rashly," he said, bluntly, to Pizarro; "Atahualpa has been basely slandered; there is no rising of the natives. I have met with nothing on the road but demonstrations of good will, and all is quiet. If it was necessary to bring the Inca to trial, he should have been taken to Castile, and judged by the Emperor."

Pizarro tried to excuse himself by saying that this action had been forced upon him by some of his associates; these associates in turn denied the accusation; and the dispute ran so high that they actually gave each other the lie.

There is a story which is told of Pizarro which explains his conduct toward the Inca by personal resentment. The Inca had asked a soldier to write the name of God on his finger-nail; the request was complied with; and the monarch, showing it to several persons in succession, thought it but little short of a miracle that all should read it alike. Pleased as a child with a new toy, he displayed the writing to Pizarro; the Spanish general remained silent when asked to read it, and never forgave the exposure of his ignorance.

It is probable, however, that the guilt was divided among a great number, and that Almagro's followers had no small share of it. Their consciences, however, were not troubled; but they marched as gaily toward Cuzco as if they had never broken the moral law.

Crossing the Abancay, and nearing the sierra of Vilcaconga, he learned that a considerable body of Indians lay in wait for him among the mountain passes; and, while the Spaniards were trying to get across the sierra before nightfall, these enemies fell upon them in a furious assault. Their attack was not upon the main body, but upon a party of sixty horse, commanded by De Soto; and this strong body of cavalry was nearly defeated by the Indians. Night came on, however; and De Soto sent a messenger to Pizarro to ask for help. The general dispatched Almagro with a reinforcement and the increased force routed the Peruvians the next morning.

This attack was charged to a conspiracy in which Challeuchima was a principal; and that captive chieftain was, like his master, brought to trial, sentenced to death, and executed. In his case, however, there was no commutation of the sentence; it was death by fire, with all its horrors.

As they neared Cuzco, a Peruvian noble came in state to visit Pizarro. It was young Manco, the claimant to the throne of the Incas, since the death of his two elder brothers. He announced his pretensions to the throne, and claimed the protection of the strangers. The Spanish chieftain, seeing in this the submission which he had desired, received him with great cordiality, and promised him the protection which he requested.

Late in the afternoon of Nov. 14, 1533, they came in sight of Cuzco; and the next morning the Spaniards entered the Peruvian capital. On entering, Pizarro issued an order, forbidding the soldiers to offer violence to the dwell-



ings of the inhabitants; but the spoil was too tempting for a Spaniard to resist plundering temples and palaces. Even the sepulchres were invaded and robbed of the ornaments which had been placed upon and around the dead.

What was the value of the treasure here obtained, is a matter which is differently stated by different historians; but the adventurers accounted to the Crown for a sum equivalent to nearly seven millions of dollars of United States money; as the spoil of the public buildings of this single city. Only the gold is reckoned in this sum; one part of the silver which they secured consisted of ten great solid bars, twenty feet long, one foot wide, and two or three inches thick. These alone, which were intended to be used on the residence of a Peruvian noble, were worth about a half million of dollars; and money then would purchase about three times what the same amount would secure now.

The booty being divided, Manco was placed upon the throne with all the ceremonies usually observed by a Christian prince on the eve of his coronation. The supremacy of the Castilian Crown over Peru was asserted and acknowledged; and Pizarro's next duty was the formation of a municipal government for Cuzco. He now assumed, for the first time, the title of Governor.

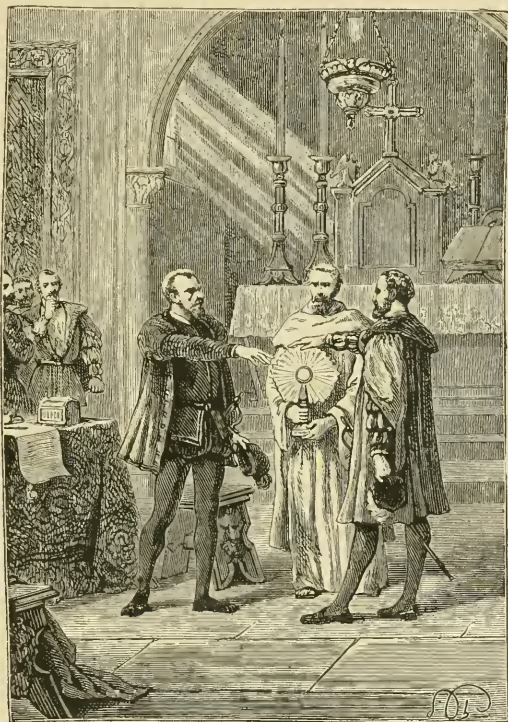
There was some difficulty with the natives, who made their last stand under a chief whom his own soldiers, worn out by the hardships of the campaign against the Spaniards, finally murdered. Pizarro's next danger was from that Alvarado who had been one of the followers of Cortes, and who had conceived the idea of exploring and subduing the territory to the north of Peru. This danger, however, passed away, for Alvarado endured such hardships on his march across the mountains that when he was confronted with the hardy veterans of Pizarro he was glad to acknowledge the claims of the Governor of Peru, and return to his own territory of Guatemala.

Pizarro's next care was to decide upon the site for a capital; for Cuzco was situated too far inland, and was too difficult of access. He selected a site in the valley of Rimac, where he began, January 6, 1535, the Ciudad de los Reyes, or City of the Kings, as he called it from the fact that it was begun on the festival of Epiphany, when the visit of the Three Kings to the infant Saviour is commemorated. The sounding Spanish name has long since been discarded for a corruption of the native name for the valley; for Lima is the capital which Pizarro founded.

Hernando Pizarro was now sent to Spain, to bear the royal fifth of the treasure that had been collected, and to report what had been done. He was received as graciously as the golden success of the expedition warranted; and the former grants were fully confirmed. In addition to the honors which had been conferred upon Almagro, that cavalier was authorized to take possession of a tract two hundred leagues in extent, south of the territory occupied by Pizarro, whose limits were extended seventy leagues southward.



A fleet, greater and better appointed, probably, than any since the time of Ovando, sailed for the New World, to bear those who had newly enlisted under the banner of Pizarro; but the vessels were scattered by the winds; and when they arrived off the coast of the Isthmus, being detained there for several months before they could cross the mountains, they suffered from famine and disease.



PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO SWEARING PEACE.

The news of the grant to Almagro reached Peru before the document was actually transmitted there; and Pizarro was at once filled with anxiety lest Cuzco should be within the limits of his rival's jurisdiction. He removed Almagro from the government of the city, and placed his brothers in charge;

a measure which was the cause of a bitter quarrel between the two. But this was finally patched up, the reconciled contestants solemnly swearing on the sacrament that neither would malign the other to the Emperor, or attempt to hold communication with the Government of Spain without the knowledge of the other.

The extension of his own territory was not known to Pizarro when he feared that the capital would fall into the hands of his rival; and that knowledge set his mind at ease. Almagro, levying such recruits as were willing to desert the proved riches of Peru for possible greater treasure to be found in the South, departed for his dominions; and Pizarro turned to the new difficulties which beset him.

The Peruvians, seeing the dissensions of the Spaniards and the weakening of their force by the departure of Almagro, formed a plan for a general rising. The Inca Manco left the city by stealth to put himself at the head of the movement; but unfortunately there was a body of Northern Indians, the subjects of the Incas, but too recently conquered to be attached to them, in Cuzco; and they noted and betrayed the absence of the monarch to Juan Pizarro. He was pursued and discovered in a thicket of reeds, arrested, and brought back a prisoner to Cuzco, where he was placed under a strong guard.

But Manco had made friends with Hernando Pizarro, who caused him to be given a greater degree of liberty; and even, when Manco told him of a statue of pure gold and life-size which had been erected to his father, Huayna Capac, permitted him to go, with two Spanish soldiers as a guard, to the secret fastnesses of the mountains where it was hidden, to bring it back as a gift to the Spaniard.

After a week had gone by, and Manco had not returned, a force of sixty soldiers was sent to search for him. They met the two soldiers who had been his guard, who informed them that the country was in arms and that Manco was at the head of his army.

Juan Pizarro, the leader of this detachment, met the Peruvians in battle shortly afterward; but the first day's fight was not decisive; the Indians drawing off at night into their fastnesses. The Spaniards reckoned it a victory, but it had cost them dear; and the next morning showed them that their enemies were as resolute as ever.

Another day was spent in similar unprofitable hostilities, when a hasty summons came, bidding him return at once to Cuzco, which was now besieged by the enemy. He obeyed, to find that city surrounded by a countless horde of the natives; who, not content with desperate assaults, shot fiery arrows and threw stones wrapped in cotton which had been soaked in some bituminous product and set on fire, into the city, and thus kindled a conflagration which the Spaniards were powerless to extinguish.

But although the whole force of the besieged did not number more than

two hundred white men, they resolved not to abandon the city; it would, indeed, have been as dangerous to attempt to fight their way to the coast as to remain in their present quarters.



BATTLE WITH THE PERUVIANS.

Juan Pizarro was killed at the head of his men, and many other brave Spaniards bit the dust; their loss but imperfectly balanced by the death of ten natives for each white man that fell. Weeks passed away, and famine added its horrors to the siege; while the fact that the Governor did not come to their rescue led them to believe that he had perished, and they were left alone in the midst of these hordes of barbarian enemies.

Pizarro the Governor had indeed been threatened by the insurgents, but had repulsed them from the valley of Rimac. He made several efforts to relieve the garrison of Cuzco, sending four different detachments, numbering more than four hundred men in all, to its assistance. In two cases, not a man returned to tell the story; in two others, a few stragglers made their way back to Lima to tell of their surprise and defeat by vast numbers of natives.

Pizarro's immediate followers began to talk of the wisdom of returning to Panama; but he cut short all that kind of talk by sending every vessel under his command to the Governors of various provinces, describing his condition and asking aid.

Five months passed away; and the besiegers as well as the besieged were in danger of famine. The Inca therefore sent the greater portion of his forces back to their homes, to till the fields, that a supply of food might be secured. The Spaniards took advantage of this lessening of the blockading force to make desperate sallies in search of food; and secured a sufficient number of Peruvian sheep to place them above all danger of want for some time to come. Yet these sallies were not made without danger, but constant skirmishes took place.

While these disasters were befalling the Spanish arms in Peru, Almagro was not more fortunate; but having reached a point some thirty degrees south of the equator, and finding nothing but hardship, his men insisted on returning. Nor was he averse to making claim once more to the rich city of Cuzco, which is not more than a league from the boundary line between the territory assigned to him and that assigned to Pizarro. He marched northward, and arriving before Cuzco while it was beleaguered by the Indians, entered into negotiations with Manco. At the same time, he summoned the commander of Cuzco to yield possession of the city to him, the rightful Governor of this province. The authorities of Cuzco answered that they must consult certain learned pilots about the position of the Santiago River, from which the distances were measured; and employed the time thus gained in strengthening their position.

Almagro, hearing what they were doing, and also that, in consequence of Pizarro's appeal, Alvarado was sending a force to relieve Cuzco, took advantage of a stormy night to enter the city, in violation of the treaty, and make himself master of it. This was accomplished April 8, 1537.

But Pizarro's appeal for aid had been answered by others as well. Espinosa had sailed from Panama with a corps of two hundred and fifty men, and Cortes had sent provisions, military stores and other necessary supplies from Mexico. With a force of four hundred and fifty men, half of whom were cavalry, the Governor marched from Lima toward Cuzco. Scarcely had he set out before he learned that Almagro had taken Cuzco and thrown his brothers into prison; and that Alvarado's force had been disastrously defeated by the captor of the city.

He returned to Lima and there prepared to defend himself. At the same time, negotiations were begun by him, which terminated in an interview between the two commanders at Mala, November 13, 1537. At this conference it was settled, after much warm discussion which more than once came near merging into blows, that the captive Pizarros should be released, and

that Almagro should retain possession of Cuzco until the arrival of definite instructions from Castile.

Almagro had scarcely left when Pizarro called his officers together and recounted all that he had suffered at the hands of his rival—the capture of Cuzco, the imprisonment of his brothers, the defeat of his troops—and declared that the time had come for revenge. He deputed the command to his brothers, saying that he was now too old to take charge of the campaign; and, after urging that he had entered into certain agreements with Almagro before his release, Hernando Pizarro accepted the duty laid upon him by his brother.

Almagro was notified that the treaty was at an end; and the army of Pizarro followed his own toward Cuzco. He reached the city about the middle of April, 1538; the Pizarros and their forces about ten days later; and, on the 26th, there was a bloody struggle which ended in the defeat of Almagro's forces, and the capture of that leader himself, prostrated by illness.

He was treated with every attention by Hernando Pizarro, who assured him that he only waited to obtain formal permission from his brother to release him. But while the captive was thus consoled by kind treatment, the captor was securing accusations against him from all sides. The process was completed July 8, 1538, and Almagro was pronounced guilty of levying war against the Crown, of entering into conspiracy with the Inca, and of dispossessing the royal Governor of the city of Cuzco; and condemned to death. Then, and not until then, did he receive intelligence of the trial which had been conducted.

By the terms of the royal grant, Almagro was empowered to name his successor in the government of his province. He bequeathed these rights to his son, naming Diego de Alvarado administrator during his minority; and all the property that he had accumulated, in Peru or elsewhere, he left to the Emperor; hoping by this means to secure the monarch's favor for the boy.

It is doubtful what part the Marquis Francisco Pizarro, for the royal grant had given him that title, had in the execution of Almagro. According to some accounts, he was surprised and shocked when he heard what had been done. According to other authorities, a messenger had come from Hernando Pizarro, asking what should be done with the prisoner; and the Governor had returned this answer:—

“Deal with him so that he shall give us no more trouble.”

Hernando afterward shielded himself from blame in regard to Almagro's death by instructions which he said were received from the Governor. It is certain that had Pizarro wished to do so, he might have prevented the death of Almagro.

When he did reach Cuzco, Diego de Alvarado applied to him on behalf of his ward, young Almagro, for the government of the southern provinces.



"The marshal, by his rebellion, has forfeited all claims to the government," was the stern reply.

Alvarado persisted; but Pizarro bluntly broke off all pleadings by the declaration:—

"Our own territory covers all on this side of Flanders."

And doubtless he swore when he said it some such oath as are associated with the name of "our army in Flanders."

Pizarro now assumed more the manner of a conqueror and of a tyrant than ever; treating the natives with great severity, and the followers of Almagro with much contempt. Hernando Pizarro was about to go to Spain again; and, before he went, he counselled his brother to "beware of the men of Chili," as Almagro's men were called; and characterized them as desperate men, who would do anything for revenge. The Governor, however, laughed at his fears, saying that "every hair in the heads of Almagro's followers was a guarantee for his safety."

Hernando sailed from Lima in the summer of 1539. The story that he had to tell was not wholly pleasing to the Court; but it was difficult to take action to correct the evils without making them worse by the effort. It was obvious, too, that only one side of the story had been presented. The Crown accordingly sent the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, a member of the Royal Audience of Valladolid, to Peru as a royal judge, to consult with Pizarro concerning the best method of amending and preventing evils, and to transmit to Spain a fair account of the state of the country. In case of Pizarro's death, he was to produce the royal warrant by which he was named Governor of Peru.

Meanwhile Pizarro busied himself in building up the province of which he was the Governor; despising the scattered followers of Almagro too heartily to take any precautions against them. They were indeed very poor; so that it is said of twelve who lived in one house, that they had but one cloak among them, and while one of them went out and wore that in his turn, the other eleven remained at home, too proud to acknowledge that they had no cloak.

When these men heard of the appointment of the royal judge, their spirits were greatly raised; for they hoped that their young leader would be put in possession of the government of Chili, and that all their wrongs would be redressed. Two of them, dressed in mourning, were deputed to wait on him as soon as he should arrive.

But his coming was long delayed; and at last the news was received that the squadron had met with heavy storms, that most of the vessels had foundered, and that the commissioner had doubtless perished. Their last hope of legal redress was gone; and the desperate men resolved to take the law into their own hands, and revenge the death of their leader upon the Governor who had allowed him to be executed.

The day fixed for the assassination of Pizarro was Sunday, June 26, 1551.

Eighteen or twenty of them were to assemble in Almagro's house, and fall upon him as he came from mass; a white flag flying from an upper window was to summon their comrades to their support.

But there was one of the conspirators who found this plot too heavy a burden for his conscience. He revealed it to his confessor; and the priest told Pizarro's secretary, Picado. The Governor himself was informed.

"It is a device of the priest's," he replied, scornfully; "he wants a miter."

Pizarro repeated the story to Velasquez, the judge; but he seemed no more, anxious about it than the Governor.

"You need have no fear," he assured the ruler, "for no harm shall come to you while the rod of Justice is in my hands."

Yet he took no pains to trace the conspirators or prevent their meeting. The sole precaution that was taken was that Pizarro, under pretense of illness, remained at home that day, instead of going to church as usual.

The conspirators, when they learned of this change of plan, were uncertain what to do. While they were debating what course would be best, one of them, throwing open the door of the house where they had met, cried out:—

"Follow me, or I will proclaim for what purpose ye have met," and rushed out, toward Pizarro's house, followed closely by his comrades, reanimated by his example.

It was noon, the fashionable dinner-hour of the sixteenth century. As they rushed along, the streets were nearly deserted; but many came out to see what the excitement was about. There seems to have been now no effort at concealment of their purpose, but still there was no interference; Pizarro was not popular.

Two domestics, loitering outside his door, were met, and one was struck down; the other escaped into the house, and gave the alarm.

"Help! Help! The men of Chili are all coming to murder the Marquis!"

Pizarro, surrounded by a party of friends, made no effort to escape, although most of them made their way into a corridor which overlooked the gardens, and let themselves down that way. Thus deserted by nearly all, Pizarro called out to an officer in his antechamber to secure the door, while he and his brother buckled on their armor. Had this order been obeyed, the conspirators could have been kept at bay; but the officer parleyed with the assassins, who forced their way past him, running him through the body as he resisted.

"Where is the Marquis?" they shouted; "Death to the tyrant!"

There was a brief but bloody struggle, Pizarro and his few companions fighting desperately against the equally desperate conspirators. Two of them fell by his own hand; but their numbers were so far superior that they could relieve one another in the hand-to-hand combat, and thus wear out the strength of the defenders. At last the chief of the conspirators cried:—

"Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!"

A moment more, and Pizarro reeled and fell to the floor, a sword having wounded him in the throat; instantly the swords of the chief and several of



THE KILLING OF PIZARRO.

his men were plunged into his body. Tracing a cross on the bloody floor with his finger, the wounded man bent down his head to kiss it; when, even in this moment of devotion, he received another blow, and that proved fatal at once.

Thus died the Conqueror of Peru.

The men of Chili hastened to recognize young Almagro as Governor and Captain-General of Peru, and to install their own partisans in the government of the city; but there were no acts of violence. Some of them desired to drag the corpse of the late Governor to the market-place, and set the head upon a gibbet; but this was prevented by the more moderate of the party, and Almagro gave his friends permission to inter him.

One faithful attendant assisted his wife in wrapping the body in a piece of cotton cloth, and a few black servants removed it to the cathedral. Here a grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, and by night and in secrecy, the darkness around them made visible by a few small tapers, the bloody corpse of Pizarro was buried, while, in the words of the old chronicler, "there was none even to say, 'God forgive him!'"

A few years later Pizarro's remains were removed to a conspicuous part of the cathedral; and in 1607, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, where they have been permitted to rest.

With the death of Pizarro closes the history of the discovery and conquest of Peru. What followed is national history, which has no place in the present pages.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### FERDINAND DE SOTO, DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Birth and Descent—Youth and Education—The Young Man's Love—A Stern Parent—A Treacherous Foe—Dangerous Honors—De Avila Recalled—De Soto in Peru—Return to Spain—Marriage—His Great Expedition—Efforts to Colonize North America—Ponce de Leon—Narvaez—An Unfriendly Reception—Difficulties of the Journey—A Disgusted Lieutenant—The Indian Princess—Tuscaloosa—The Fight at Mobile—Discovery of the Mississippi—Advancing Westward—The Retreat—De Soto's Death—Burial in the Mississippi—Return of the Expedition—A Broken Heart.

**A**UTHORITIES differ as to the year in which Ferdinand De Soto first saw the light; some historians assert that it was in 1496; some place an interrogation point after this date; and others say that it was four years later. It is most probable that he was born in 1500; since he was evidently but a boy when he first sought the hand of a noble Spanish lady.

Of that, however, there shall be more hereafter; our first concern must be with the circumstances of his childhood and youth, before he had any idea of being a squire of dames. He was a native of Xeres, a small town about a hundred and thirty miles southwest of Madrid. The town is walled, not only by battlements reared by the hand of man, but by rugged hills which completely surround it. On the summit of each hill rises an ancient castle, the residence of some noble Spaniard of the long ago; but these are all in ruins now. One of them, at least, was not far from that condition four hundred years ago; it was that which sheltered the Soto family; their fortunes as ruined as their castle.

Ferdinand was a younger son, so that in any case he would not have succeeded to a fortune; but as it was, his father was so poor that he could not afford to give his son even the education of a gentleman of the time. As we have elsewhere noted, it was the custom then to place boys of good birth under the protection of some great noble, who, in return for a certain sum of money paid him, had the boy educated in his household as a page and later as a squire; interesting himself, when the youth had achieved the dignity of knighthood, to see that he had opportunities to acquire distinction, or was given some lucrative post by the Crown. Young De Soto, however, had no such advantages; whatever he learned of Latin—then a necessary part of every gentleman's education—and the polite arts was probably derived from the village priest; his acquaintance with the manly accomplishments in which he was such a proficient was picked up from the training of some old servant who had been in the wars, as every man of the times was apt to have



been, and from some brief advice of his father. Fortune denied him every advantage; but nature gave him all that it was in her power to bestow.

Tall, well-built, graceful, active, the youth had the good fortune to attract the attention of Don Pedro Arias de Avila, or Pedrarias, as he is frequently called; the very tyrant by whose command the gallant Balboa had been executed. Pedrarias could be generous as well as cruel; and he sent young De Soto to the University, where he might acquire some of the education which had seemed to be denied him. The youth does not seem to have remained there long; for in 1519 we find him thirsting for adventure in the New World.

Pedrarias had been recalled from his post as Governor of Darien, but in the year mentioned had again been appointed to that high office, and was about to sail to the scene of his rule. In the midst of his preparations, young De Soto, who had always been treated by him and his household as a beloved child, sought an interview with the high official. He did not ask for preferment, however; his suit was of another kind.

Pedrarias had, six years before, betrothed his eldest daughter to the unfortunate Balboa; his second daughter was now growing up to womanhood, and had seen and been seen by the youthful dependent on her father's bounty. De Soto and Donna Isabella had fallen in love with each other, and the young man asked her father's consent to their marriage.

The haughty old Spaniard started like a spirited horse under the lash. This penniless adventurer, this beggar who fed from his bounty, marry Isabella de Avila? Never. The boy was surely mad; as for the girl, she would come to her senses before long.

But Donna Isabella vowed that before she would marry any one else she would retire into a convent. The threat was an alarming one; for against it the father was powerless. If the girl chose, in a momentary fit of resentment, to enter a convent, he, as a good Catholic, could not oppose her; if she decided to become the bride of Heaven, he would be worse than a heretic who would attempt to prevent her. The affair was one to be managed very carefully.

Rating but lightly the lives of those who stood in his way, the first impulse of Pedrarias was to cause De Soto to be assassinated; but reflection convinced him that this would not do at all; Donna Isabella would, in grief for her martyred lover, retire to the convent at once; and Pedrarias doubtless had some richer and more powerful noble in tow to whom he designed to give her.



FERDINAND DE SOTO.

In the meantime young De Soto had gone home to his father's house, burning with the remembrance of the insults which the angry Pedrarias had heaped upon him; and was brooding over the poverty which had caused him to be rejected. For his family was as noble as his lady love's, his character was above reproach; it was poverty alone which made him the butt of her father's contempt. How should he remedy the evil? How, but by seeking fortune in the New World, where so many others had found it? Who could tell what incalculable wealth might lie hidden somewhere in the far interior of the great continent? Cortes and Pizarro had not yet undertaken their careers of conquest; but every European devoutly believed in the enormous possibilities of America.

While he was thus dreaming, and casting about to find some means of reaching the Golden Country, he was astonished to receive from Pedrarias himself an invitation to join the expedition to Darien which he was then fitting out. De Soto could not imagine the reason for this sudden change, unless the stern father really meant to relent at last, and was giving the suitor an opportunity to show his worth. In fact, Pedrarias had no such intentions. He knew perfectly well that there are many dangerous errands to be done by the followers of the ruler of a new country, and that dangers are sought as honors by the brave. It was his benevolent purpose to honor De Soto in this way until he should succeed in getting the young man killed by the natives. Isabella would doubtless mourn for a while; but she could be persuaded that it was her duty to submit to an overruling Providence, and would in time forget her gallant young lover.

It was probably about this time that De Soto went to an astrologer, who consulted the stars on his behalf and informed him that he should not live longer than the gallant and ill-fated Balboa, whose life his own would resemble. As this gave him something like twenty years yet to live, the young man decided that it was sufficiently favorable, and accepted with thanks the invitation of the crafty hidalgo.

He received a captain's commission, and his outfit was provided by the generosity of his early patron, Pedrarias. They set sail, and arrived at Darien in safety. Once there, De Soto felt that Pedrarias had indeed restored him to favor; for every dangerous and difficult mission was intrusted to him. There was constant trouble with the natives who, under Balboa's benign rule, had been peaceful and unoffending; for it was the policy of Pedrarias to provoke them by wanton cruelty, and then to punish their outbreak by confiscation and slavery, if not by the kinder infliction of death. No tongue can tell what the aborigines endured at the hands of the early Spanish settlers; and the heart sickens at the meager recital sometimes given.

But De Soto's hands were clean; often he disobeyed the orders of the governor, anxious as he was to win that governor's approval, and to insure wealth

for himself. There has come down to us one instance of such disobedience, and the manner in which the crafty Pedrarias tried to turn the tables upon De Soto, and get rid of his troublesome young protege.

Pedrarias had resolved that a certain native village should be destroyed; his reasons matter little now, but it was an outrage, pure and simple, which he designed. He detailed the plan to a certain Captain Perez; the huts must be burned, and every living creature slain; and bade him carry to De Soto orders to proceed against the place. De Soto, who was on the frontier, as we should say, received the messenger, and listened composedly to what he had to say; the whole plan of the governor was laid before him.

"Go back and say to the governor, Captain Perez," returned De Soto, forcing himself to such calmness as becomes the soldier receiving the commands of his superior, "that my life and services are always at his command when the duty to be performed is such as may become a Christian and a gentleman. But in this case, Captain Perez, I think that he would have shown more discretion by intrusting you with this commission, instead of sending you with the order to me."

Pedrarias had not expected that De Soto would obey the order; had discipline been stricter, he might have punished him for refusing; but then, too, there was another reason why he should not treat De Soto as he had treated Balboa. He simply shrugged his shoulders, smiled slightly, and said to Perez, who was a noted duelist, and never missed his man in such a rencontre:—

"Well, my friend, if you, who are a vigorous young soldier, can patiently endure De Soto's insolence, I see no reason why an infirm old man like myself should not show equal forbearance."

The hint was so broad that a less fiery soldier than Perez might well have seen it; and he lost no time in challenging his comrade. To decline such a challenge was impossible for any man who did not wish to be rated a coward, no matter in what other ways he had proved his courage; and De Soto valued his honor too highly to think of avoiding such a quarrel. But Perez, who had always killed his man in previous duels, met his match this time. The duel took place in the midst of all the officers and gentlemen of the colony, and was a rare exhibition of skill in fencing. Much to the mortification of Perez, a clever stroke of his antagonist's sent his weapon spinning from his hand. Disarmed, he was too much ashamed to beg for his life, but maintained a sullen silence when De Soto demanded that he should ask for quarter.

"A life that is not worth asking for is not worth taking," exclaimed the victor, sheathing his sword, and turning disdainfully from his prostrate antagonist.

Perez, mortified at his defeat by a mere youth, who had not yet achieved distinction as a soldier, resigned his commission and returned to Spain. De

Soto remained at Darien, resolved to achieve fame and wealth, but not to sacrifice his honor. De Avila's hatred for him increased daily; and a friendly astrologer warned the young man that the utmost caution would be necessary if he would avoid a disgraceful death. This hint was given in return for Soto's having saved the diviner's life; but although it was pretended that the information was gathered from the stars, it is far more probable that the astrologer had secret knowledge of de Avila's intentions, which he dared not betray, but against which he wished to warn his benefactor.

Five years went on in this manner; but the lover had received not a word from his lady, nor she from him; the power of the governor had been used to intercept all letters of the kind. The enmity of the official grew more open as time went on; the term for which he was appointed was almost at an end, and the hated suitor still lived. Something must be done.

Such was the condition of affairs when a certain man was tried for some offense, and sentenced to death. He had been unfortunate enough to provoke the governor's resentment in some way, and his trial was the merest mockery; the trumped-up charge was proven to the satisfaction of the prejudiced judge, and the so-called justice was about to take its course. But De Soto was truly a brave man; his courage showed itself, not on the battle-field alone, but in the city and in the court as well. He protested vehemently against the execution of an innocent man; and de Avila, enraged at his presumption, caused him to be arrested and thrown into prison. The attempt to prevent such an outrage against justice was dubbed treason, since he was trying to interfere with the royal court; and the gallant defender of the innocent was himself sentenced to death. Only the timely arrival of the new governor, de Avila's successor, saved him from Balboa's fate at the hand of Balboa's deadly enemy.

It may readily be believed that De Soto was not anxious to follow his former patron to Nicaragua, of which Pedrarias had now become governor; nor was he desirous of remaining at Darien; ten years' residence there had convinced him that not on the isthmus was fame to be won or wealth to be secured. It had not been his privilege to be enrolled among those daring spirits who had followed Cortes to the gates of Mexico, and after such unheard of adventures had become the conquerors of the Montezumas; but there was another adventurer who had more than once invited De Soto to become one of his followers, proffering him a high command in his little army. But De Soto, as proud and high-born as he was poor, had always hesitated to enroll himself as a follower of the base-born, illiterate, cowardly, cruel Pizarro. Now, however, it seemed to be the only thing left; and when Pizarro, organizing that last and successful expedition against Peru, offered De Soto the second place in his little army, the offer was accepted.

We need not follow the progress of the Spaniards here; it has already been

detailed in the chapter devoted to the leader of the expedition against Peru. What part De Soto took in the war cannot now be determined; we know that he reserved to himself the right to disobey orders, the carrying out of which would, according to his ideas, have left a stain upon his honor; and we know that Pizarro frequently contrived some means of getting him out of the way whenever a particularly disgraceful action was contemplated. When the cruel and perfidious Spaniard, for instance, had determined that the unfortunate Inca should die, De Soto was sent upon an errand of a military nature which would keep him away until they should have had time to perpetrate the outrage. In this case, again, the reader is referred to other pages for the account of De Soto's resentment when he discovered the truth.

Yet we cannot hold our knight blameless in this matter. It was his manly bearing which led the Peruvians, many times, to repose a trust in his countrymen which they were far from placing in the others. However he may have abhorred their practices, he continued to be one of Pizarro's followers; and although he tried very hard to lessen the amount of ransom which the luckless Atahualpa was condemned to pay, we do not read that he protested against accepting that part of it which was allotted to him as his share of the spoils.

The story of the expedition reached Spain, where it was told with more truth than might have been expected. With what delight Donna Isabella, who still remained faithful to her knight, heard that to him was due much of its success, we can better imagine than describe; and we may be sure that she did now weigh against his courage, his prudence and his humanity any thoughts of what he might have done had he been more consistent.

Disgusted with the character of Pizarro, and resolved that he would no longer follow the leadership of such a ruffian, De Soto returned to Spain, laden with his share of the spoils. "An hundred and fourscore thousand ducats," says the old chronicler, made up the fortune which he carried from Peru to Castile; a sum equivalent to nearly four hundred thousand dollars of United States money. This was at a time when the purchasing power of money was about three times as great as at present, so that we may fairly consider De Soto a millionaire when he returned to Spain.

He was now a highly desirable "catch" for Donna Isabella de Avila, who must have been somewhat *passee* by this time, and who was still faithful to him. They were married; and the happy couple settled at Madrid. De Soto had been received at court with the highest marks of favor, and created a marquis in recognition of his services to the Crown in the conquest of Peru. It seemed that they had nothing to do but to live happy ever afterward in their magnificent mansion.

But the mansion proved a little too magnificent for their fortune, vast as it was; and two years had barely passed when De Soto found that his capital



had been diminished to one-half the original amount. This was not to be endured; he had no mind to retrench, lest he should become the laughing-stock of his associates and flatterers; so he determined to seek new adventures, new honors, and a new fortune in the world beyond the waters.

He had tried the isthmus, and found that no wealth was to be acquired there; he had tried South America, but was convinced that those who were already in possession, his former comrades, would hold with a firm hand all that was to be found there; Cortes and his followers were masters of Mexico; it was farther to the north that he must seek distinction and wealth. Surely, in the vast stretches of the northern continent there must be at least one more Peru, with its incalculable treasures of gold and silver and gems; that would he find for himself, his actions untrammelled by association with men of Pizarro's stamp; there would be found an empire, which if not—

“Broad-based upon his people's will,  
And compassed by the inviolate sea,”

should be loyal to the King and beneficent to the people.

There had been some previous attempts to explore the northern continent. Ponce de Leon was the first whose name is connected with its history. He had been a companion of Columbus on the second voyage of the great discoverer, and had been by him appointed to the governorship of the eastern part of Hispaniola. In 1508 he had sailed on an expedition to Porto Rico, which he conquered, and of which he became the duly appointed governor in the succeeding year. His rule there was marked with such vigor that the Columbus family exerted all their influence to have him removed from this high position, as one whose administration was calculated to disarrange all the affairs of neighboring islands. In 1512, he sailed from the scene of his late rule to search for the fabled Fountain of Youth, of which his advancing years made him feel the need. This was supposed to exist somewhere in the Bahamas; but a search among those islands failed to disclose its whereabouts. Ponce de Leon then sailed for the main land, and, on Easter Sunday, 1512, arrived off the coast of the continent of North America. The shores of that peninsula which extends southward toward Yucatan were covered with a profusion of beautiful foliage and flowers, and from their appearance, and from the Spanish name for Easter—the Feast of Flowers—he named the new found land Florida.

The designation has since become restricted to the peninsula alone, but in the days of which we write it was applied to the whole northern continent. The discoverer, therefore, when he received the title of Governor of Florida, became the nominal ruler of all North America. His efforts to colonize his possessions, however, were ill-fated; wounded by one of the natives, he returned to Cuba, where he died shortly afterward. The colony, it is needless to say, did not long outlive its founder.

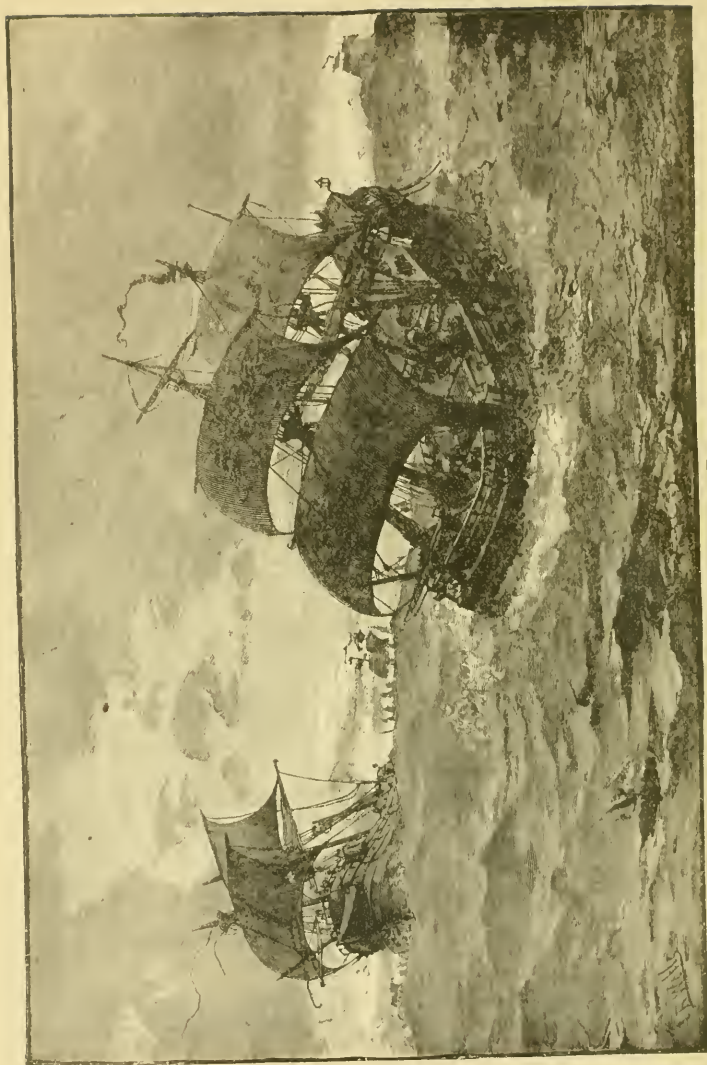
Fifteen years afterward, that same Pamphilo de Narvaez who had gone to Mexico after Cortes and had been defeated by the great conqueror of Montezuma, made an attempt to found a second colony on the coast of Florida; having received the royal commission as governor. Four hundred men followed his standard; but contrary to their expectations, they found the country sparsely populated, the people poor. He met with such bitter hostility on the part of the war-like tribes whose country he attempted to invade, that he and his men were glad to escape from the inhospitable shores in rude boats, which they constructed hastily. Their proposed destination was Mexico; but a storm overtook them near the mouth of the Mississippi, and the greater part of the adventurers, including the leader, were lost. A handful of them escaped, and spread abroad the story of their effort.

Disastrous though its results were, these returned adventurers did not altogether blacken the character of the country in which they had met with misfortune. They rather intimated that had they had a different leader, or had he been willing to follow their advice, the expedition would have met with success. Certain it is that De Soto became fired with the idea of planting an empire on the northern half of the lately discovered continent, and requested the royal permission to undertake the colonization of Florida.

As he gave the royal officers distinctly to understand that he proposed to fit out this expedition at his own expense, and asked nothing whatever from the royal treasury, the desired permission was not withheld; and he was duly invested with the sounding titles, dear to a Spaniard's heart, of Governor of Cuba and President of Florida.

Recruits flocked to his standard; many came because they thought it offered an opportunity of gaining such wealth as De Soto himself had acquired in Peru; others came because there must be honor in following De Soto, a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*; and whether they went for gold or glory, they felt assured of success, because their leader risked his own wealth and reputation. Everything was sacrificed to procure suitable outfits; one man found himself obliged to take his wife with him, since after procuring the needful articles for his journey, there was nothing left for her to live upon. From the army of those who offered, De Soto selected six hundred; it was impossible to take a larger number; and some of those who had sacrificed their estates to fit themselves out were denied the privilege of accompanying the expedition. According to some authorities, four hundred of them persuaded him to relent in their favor, so that his total force numbered a thousand. Certain it is that he had ten ships in the fleet which set sail, in the early part of April, 1538.

What became of the Donna Isabella? She would not deny her husband his right to seek new adventures in that New World where he had achieved distinction and won the wealth which brought her father's tardy consent to their



DE SOTO'S VOYAGE TO FLORIDA.

marriage; but she would not let the broad Atlantic separate them again. With true wifely devotion she accompanied him as far as Cuba, where the adventurers spent some time in feasting and merry-making, as well as in more serious preparation for the journey.

A supply of excellent horses was obtained here, the descendants of the animals brought from Spain by the first settlers; a prominent Cuban, who was anxious to secure a fresh supply of Indian slaves to work his mines, became lieutenant of the expedition; and May 18, 1538, they sailed from Havana.

It was a week before they came in sight of the coast of Florida, so stormy was the weather; and the shallowness of the water prevented them from approaching within two leagues of the shore. Upon the beach, stretching away to the north and the south, beacon-fires shone through the darkness of the night; a sign that their coming was perceived and regarded as a danger by the natives. In truth, the Indians had only too good cause to look upon the white man as an enemy; such had been the treatment which they had received at the hands of those composing the two previous expeditions. Narvaez and Ponce de Leon had sown the wind, and De Soto was to reap the whirlwind.

Morning showed the Indians gathered upon the beach near which the Spaniards had cast anchor for the night, and many hostile demonstrations showed the white men that they would not be permitted to land without opposition. De Soto judging that in this case discretion was the better part of valor, and hoping that if an immediate conflict were prevented, he might be able to make friends with the natives, gave orders to proceed about two leagues farther up the bay, and there try to effect a landing.

They had anchored in Hillsboro Bay, a branch of Tampa Bay. They succeeded in landing without coming into collision with the aborigines, and De Soto dispatched several strong parties inland on reconnoitering expeditions. One of these, having gone about ten miles, captured two or three fugitive Indians, and took them to the leader. He questioned them, by signs and by the help of some West Indian natives who had accompanied him; and learned from them something of the inhumanities practiced by Narvaez and his followers; their chief, Ucita, had been mutilated, his mother had been murdered, and a thousand nameless indignities been offered his unoffending people, who had received the strangers with much kindness.

It is said that De Soto now saw for the first time why the Indians received him with such hostile demonstrations; it seems hardly credible when we reflect that he had been in Peru at the time of its conquest, and knew that two other expeditions had preceded his own. He endeavored, however, to conciliate the natives; and loading the captives with presents, bade them return to their chief. The message which that justly indignant warrior returned was not reassuring:—

"Bring me no speeches or promises from these men," said he; "I want only their heads."

De Soto recognized the importance of being on good terms with this powerful coast tribe, so there would be no enemy between him and the sea if he were compelled to retreat; but Ucita was obdurate; neither gifts nor fair words could move him; and the Spanish leader's lieutenant, Vasco Poreallo, the Cuban, asked and received permission to punish the stubborn and hard-hearted chief.

When he returned to camp, Poreallo announced, he would bring with him Ucita and as many of his people as could conveniently be transported to Cuba; and, arraying himself in a suit of glittering armor which might have become a knight at a tournament, he set out. Nothing could check the impetuosity of his advance; and even when he came to the edge of a bog he determined that he would not listen to his followers, who advised him not to attempt to cross it, since it would not bear horsemen as heavily accoutered as they were. He rode forward at the same rate of speed as when his way lay over dry ground; but was soon forced to advance more slowly. Gradually he became more and more deeply involved; his horse sank beneath his weight, and floundered helplessly about in the mud; and it was all that his followers, nearly overcome with laughter at his position, could do to get him out of the mud.

Poreallo resigned his commission and returned to Cuba; a difficulty well out of De Soto's way, since the presence of a determined slave-hunter could not but be a source of danger to him and his followers. He had, in a previous expedition, however, accidentally served his leader well; for he had come upon a certain Juan Ortiz, a Spaniard who had been a follower of Narvaez, and who had been captured and condemned to death by Ucita. The chief's daughter, however, pitied the captive, and assisted him to escape—not, indeed, to his own people, but to the village of the chief to whom she was betrothed, and on whom she naturally exercised more influence than upon her father. Through Ortiz this friendly chief, Mocoso, became their friend, and provided them with a guide when it became necessary.

De Soto now prepared for a journey inland; and sent his ships back to Cuba with orders to return at a specified time with such supplies as would be needed by his men. He then left forty men as a guard for the ships when they should return, and advanced to the north, sending an advance guard under Don Balthasar Gallegos before the main body, under the guidance of a friendly Indian of Mocoso's tribe. This party had reached a point some fifty miles north of the main camp when they came upon an Indian village, the inhabitants of which had fled at their approach. Messengers soon came, on behalf of the chief of that village, offering any service in their power. As an answer to these friendly advances, Gallegos caused the messengers to be loaded with



chains, and required them to tell him where he could find a land abounding in gold and silver.

Indian craft proved equal to Spanish cruelty, and the captives gravely told him of a land far to the northwest, where there was eternal summer, and where gold was so plentiful that the people wore hats or helmets of it. The Spaniards greedily swallowed these stories, and Gallegos at once sent eight of his men to carry the welcome news to De Soto; the leader and all his soldiers, says the worthy chronicler, "were very much comforted by the assurance that their toils were about to be rewarded by the discovery of another Peru."

De Soto, with the main body, at once hastened forward, to hear again the welcome news of the riches of the country which lay beyond. Many difficulties beset his way. Mocoso, the only chief who was at all friendly to the Spaniards, had been persuaded by his allies to refuse to furnish any more guides to the strangers; the actions of Gallegos had been such as to make bitter enemies of the Indians through whose country he was now advancing; and they harassed his movements in every possible way. A thousand times the warriors, concealed behind the trunk of a tree, fired upon the advancing army of Spaniards; or a body of nimble Indians, rushing from the forest, would discharge a flight of arrows among the Spaniards and retreat to its shelter again before the white men had fairly laid hold of their weapons.

Nor were the swamps a small part of the difficulties which impeded their advance. Several days were consumed in searching for a path by which they could cross Long Swamp, which is more than three miles wide; and at last they set themselves to building rafts for the purpose. Even with that help, they were two days in crossing it. Mounted men were sent ahead as scouts, but were frequently ambushed by the Indians, and their fate known only when their dead bodies were found. More than once, captives were made to serve as guides; but they literally chose to die rather than to guide the strangers into their own country; for they misled the Spaniards, pretending to have lost their way, and calmly met death at the hands of the enraged whites.

De Soto now resolved to change his policy; and having, after crossing a second morass and a sluggish stream where they lost several men by the arrows of concealed enemies, taken some prisoners, he caused them to be loaded with gifts and sent to their homes; trusting that they might persuade their chief, the cacique of Aguera, to conclude a treaty with him. The chief replied that with such as the Spaniards he wished to be always at war, and that the only kindness they could do him or his people was to leave the country. All De Soto's arguments were unavailing; and, finding that the Spaniard would not take "no" for an answer, the Indian began to threaten the strangers. These threats were emphasized by bloodshed wherever white men were

found alone or in small parties; and De Soto lost fourteen men inside of twenty days.

Despairing of drawing the Indians into an open battle, in which his followers would have stood some chance, the knight withdrew at last to Ocala, forty miles farther north. They had hoped to find provisions here, but were disappointed; for the village, the largest that they had yet seen, was deserted. The Spaniards had consumed almost their whole stock of food, and for some time the prospect before them included, among other hardships, starvation.

As they advanced northward, however, they were encouraged by the sight of extensive corn-fields, which promised an abundance of food for themselves, their horses, and the vast drove of hogs which they had with them, to supply meat for their party. The ground, too, was firmer; no morasses beset their way; but still the natives were as unfriendly as ever; nor did they learn that they were near the summerland whose inhabitants wore hats of gold.

They seemed, however, to have met with a friend; a chief named Vitacucho invited them to visit him, and entertained them in rude magnificence. But his purpose was a treacherous one; let the Spaniards once be lulled into a feeling of security, and he and his people would massacre every one.

Four of the Indians who acted as guides to De Soto were taken into the secret, Vitacucho supposing that they would be as anxious as he to rid the country of these invaders. They had been kindly treated by their new master, however, and that had won their gratitude; they betrayed the counsel of the chief to him; he feigned ignorance of the plan, and trusted that when the chosen time should come he should be able to save himself and his men.

Vitacucho perfected his plans, and then invited De Soto to witness a display of his forces. The invitation was perforce accepted, and De Soto, under pretense of showing greater respect for the chief, ordered his soldiers to appear armed as for actual battle. The chief did not like this any better than the Spaniard had liked the invitation, but had no better reason for objecting, so accepted the compliment. With the greatest friendliness of manner the two commanders walked side by side to the field where the double display of warlike strength was to take place.

An impenetrable thicket was on one side of the place where the Indian force was drawn up, several thousand strong; on their other hand were two small lakes. They were all well-formed, athletic men in the prime of life; and their plumes, which once had decked the swan and heron, made them appear of the stature of giants; but they were wholly unarmed. Opposite them were the Spanish foot-soldiers, and ranged between the two infantry forces was the Spanish cavalry. At a suddenly given signal from Vitacucho, the Indians snatched up the bows and arrows which they had hidden in the long grass at their feet, and rushed upon the enemy. De Soto instantly

sprang upon his horse, and gave the signal for the cavalry to advance; while the twelve soldiers who formed his body-guard seized and bound the faithless chief. The onslaught of the cavalry was slightly delayed by the fact that the leader's horse was shot almost as soon as he had mounted; but quickly disencumbering himself from the dead animal, De Soto mounted another and charged furiously upon the Indians. Their line of battle was soon broken, and they fled in confusion; but many of them plunged into the lake, and from beneath the broad water-lily leaves shot arrows at the Spaniards; keeping up this singular species of warfare for ten hours. At last, however, they were either killed or captured, and Vitacucho and many of his tribe remained as prisoners in the hands of the Spaniards. A week later, however, in a desperate attempt to regain their liberty, they met the kinder fate, death.

But the Spaniards, victorious as they were, were disheartened by the death of so many of their comrades and by the stories which the Indians had told them of the hardships and difficulties which they had yet to encounter. They insisted upon returning to the coast, to sail for Havana as soon as the ships should return. De Soto alone, "a stern man, and of few words," was determined to advance; and it proved that his inflexible will ruled his hundreds of followers.

"You who are so easily discouraged," he said, "may stay behind. You have never yet seen me shrink from the post of danger; and I will now advance, with two hundred men, or even a smaller number, and meet all the enemies that are likely to offer any opposition to our progress."

Had he asked each individually to accompany him, he could scarcely have found two dozen, much less two hundred; but, in the face of such determined courage as he displayed, each man was ashamed to back out; and they encamped for the winter at the head of Appalachee Bay. From this point a message was dispatched to Cuba, directing that supplies be sent thither early in the spring. The winter passed without event; and the spring brought the expected supplies. What is of more interest to us, now, is the letter which Donna Isabella wrote to her husband at this time. She urged him to give up the effort to penetrate into, conquer and settle the country, if it must be accompanied by the same cruelties which similar efforts had been attended by elsewhere; she had probably heard for the first time, since her coming to Cuba, of the treatment which the natives usually met from the hands of her countrymen. "Not for all the riches of the country would I have you commit one act, the remembrance of which would be painful to you hereafter," wrote this devoted woman. De Soto probably shared, to no small extent, the humane feelings which made these actions seem so horrible to her; but he had become callous by long habit, and he had gone too far to retreat; to go back now, meant ruin. He who had won such wealth

and renown could not bear the thought of going back to poverty and obscurity.

They left their winter quarters in March, 1540, and proceeded on their journey; the leader refusing to believe that the stories of the country's wealth were untrue, until he had seen with his own eyes the poverty of its people. They were really on the way to the gold fields of Georgia, and at one time were assured by their guides that they would reach the land of gold in four days; but for some reason they turned aside, and those mines remained undiscovered.

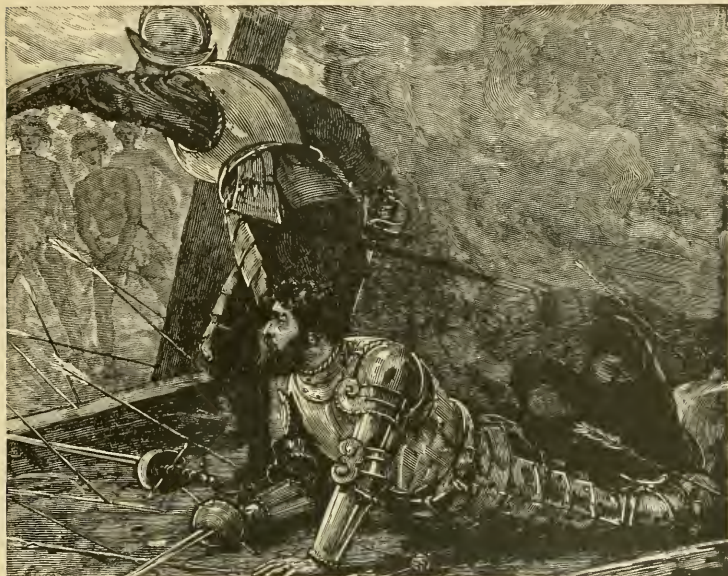
The food with which they had been supplied by a friendly chief began to run low; and the path which they had followed through the forest failed them. Almost starving, they wandered through the trackless wilds, and, after enduring hardships that can scarcely be imagined, entered a more open and cultivated country. At last they came in sight of an Indian town, Cofachiqui, situated at the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers. On the river bank they were met by a deputation of the principal men of the tribe, who crossed in canoes, and who, after many salutations which the Spaniards only partly understood, demanded to know if the strangers came in peace or in war. De Soto replied as usual that he wished to be at peace with the people, and desired to secure further supplies of provisions. The ambassadors re-answered that their last crop had been so small that they scarcely had food for themselves; but that his request should be made known to the maiden who was their ruler.

Unfavorable as it may seem, this answer greatly raised the spirits of the Spaniards; for it was one of the characteristics of the golden country of which they had been told, that its people were ruled by a young girl. When she visited their camp, a few hours later, her appearance confirmed their hopes; for she was richly adorned with ornaments of great value. She repeated what her ministers had told them of the failure of the crop; but added that one of her two magazines of grain should be appropriated to the use of the strangers; and presented her necklace of valuable pearls to De Soto.

The governor now showed himself a worthy disciple of Pizarro. Instead of treating this Indian princess as her generosity and her position among her own people demanded, a strict guard was set upon her, while the temples and tombs of her people were sacked for such treasures as they might contain. In truth, the gallant and knightly De Soto had become so engrossed in the pursuit of wealth that he was ready to adopt any means of obtaining it.

His followers were anxious to turn back with the booty which they had secured; but convinced that there must be more beyond, he refused to do so. They proceeded on their journey, taking the unhappy princess a captive in their train, and compelling her to make her subjects furnish assistance of every kind, from the providing of food from the scanty stores to the carrying

the baggage of the soldiers on their backs. A few days after setting out, however, she contrived to escape; and De Soto, at last ashamed of his treatment of her, would not permit her to be pursued.



THE FIGHT AT MOBILE.

Their treatment of the gigantic chief, Tuscaloosa, came near resulting in their own destruction. He had been invited, after their stay at his village, to accompany them; and a Spanish guard of honor given him. It was thought that he did not suspect himself to be a prisoner, they treated him with so much deference; but he knew his real position as well as they. As they approached Mobile, a village then occupied by a chief who was tributary to him, he sent forward a messenger to order that a grand reception should be prepared for his friends the white men; sending at the same time a token which told more than the words of the message.

The chief of Mobile lost no time in mustering his warriors for the rescue of Tuscaloosa. As the Spaniards approached the town, they were astonished at the strength of the fortifications, and not a little alarmed at the prepara-



tions made for their reception. They were welcomed with warmth, however, and Tusealoosa, having shown the Spaniards to their quarters, excused himself, having, as he said, some directions to give to his people. It was impossible, under the circumstances, to control his movements; but De Soto, having given orders that breakfast should be prepared for them—for they were accustomed to eat at the same table—sent again and again to summon the chief to the meal. At last Gallegos commanded his presence.



DE SOTO'S ENCAMPMENT IN THE FOREST.

“What would these unmannerly people have with my chief?” was the angry demand of a warrior who heard the order: “Down with the villains! We can endure their insolence no longer!”

Gallegos raised his cutlass, and with a single stroke cleft the Indian's skull. It was the signal for the fight to begin. The flint-headed arrows of the natives penetrated the joints of the armor which the Spaniards wore, and De Soto saw his men falling fast around him. To fight longer was impossible; to retreat was to invite pursuit and massacre. Snatching an axe, and followed

by a faithful few who understood his purpose, he rushed toward the wooden walls of the town which defended the Indians from the fire of his men; and by vigorous and desperate strokes made a breach wide enough for the admission of his cavalry. The Indians retreated to the houses, to which the Spaniards set fire. Something of the horrors of the scene may be imagined from the single fact that more than a thousand women were burned to death. Tuscaloosa and a few of his faithful followers made a stand in the market-place, where not even the charge of the cavalry could disperse or put them to flight. Once De Soto and Tuscaloosa came face to face, and it seemed that the fight might be decided by a single combat between the chiefs. But his people loved the Indian chief, and were ready to defend him; again and again devoted warriors threw themselves between their chief and his mail-clad antagonist, and thus saved Tuscaloosa from the encounter with the knight. When at last they met, Tuscaloosa raised his mighty war-club for a deadly blow; but lowered it harmlessly when he saw an arrow strike De Soto between the joints of his armor. De Soto concealed this wound, for fear of dispiriting his followers; and the fight continued with unabated fury.

At last Tuscaloosa, seeing that the case was hopeless, rushed into a house, where he was almost instantly buried by the falling timbers. Not an Indian escaped to tell the tale of the battle by which the Spaniards gained possession of the ruined town.

About the middle of November they marched forward, having spent almost a month in recruiting the strength of the wounded. Their encampment for the winter was probably at a point in the northern part of the present state of Mississippi, although the place cannot be more exactly identified. This was reached only with considerable difficulty, as the Indians disputed their advance, and every step was harassed by their hostility.

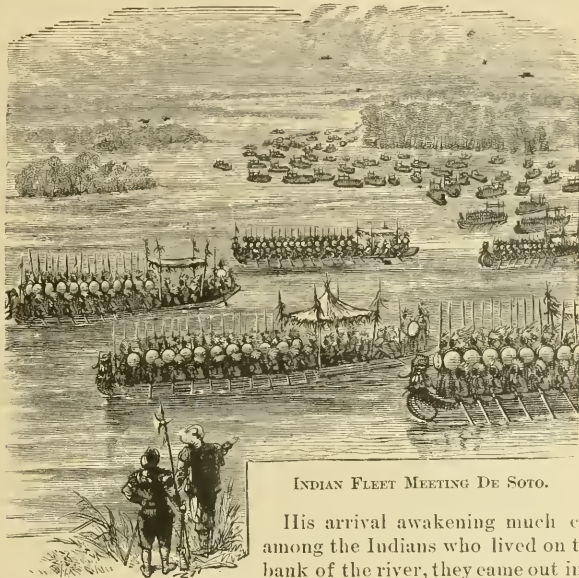
Much of their baggage had been lost at the burning of Mavilla, or Mobile; the remainder was destroyed when the Chickasaws, in one of whose villages they had established themselves for the winter, chose to burn their homes in order to dislodge the hated invaders. Had they been as resolute as Tuscaloosa's warriors, they would have been successful in their attack upon the encampment, but they speedily withdrew into the forests. Here they remained for a week, which time the Spaniards employed in erecting forges, tempering swords, and fashioning lances; so that when the natives finally summoned up enough resolution to attack them again they were prepared for resistance.

The fire in this Chickasaw village had destroyed what they had saved from the flames of Mavilla, and the force that marched northward in the spring of 1541, then, was a miserable remnant of a once gallant army. Their gay doublets replaced by skins and mats of ivy. For seven days they struggled through a seemingly impenetrable forest; then, from the height on



DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE GREAT MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

which stood an Indian village, De Soto gazed upon that mighty yellow flood which sweeps down from the far North and from the equally far West the rich alluvium which has made its valley the garden spot of the western world; for the first time in the history of the world, a white man beheld the Mississippi.



INDIAN FLEET MEETING DE SOTO.

His arrival awakening much curiosity among the Indians who lived on the west bank of the river, they came out in a great

multitude, armed with bows and arrows, and gaudily painted, and crowned with nodding plumes, their chiefs sitting under the awnings of two hundred large canoes, and bringing gifts of food to the Spaniards.

They encamped here for nearly a month, building boats on which to cross the river. The Indians at first appeared inclined to be hostile, but were evidently a little impressed by the numbers and arms of the white men. At length eight large scows were built, and in these the river was crossed.

Their route lay toward the northwest, and they reached a point probably near the White River, about two hundred miles west of the Mississippi. Their treatment by the Indians had at first been inspired by a reverential fear; they were called the Children of the Sun, and the blind were brought to the strangers, to be given their sight.

"Pray only to God," the leader gravely told the savages, "for whatsoever you need."



Their winter, however, was spent among those who regarded them with less awe; and, although we cannot get at the whole truth, since we have only the narrative of the Spanish historians, it is not improbable that they were more than once defeated by the Indians. It is quite certain that many Indian villages were burned by order of De Soto during this winter.

As the days grew shorter, hope grew less; and when the sun turned upon his path, and the days again became longer, there was no change in their fortunes. At last, even De Soto saw that there was nothing to be done but that which his followers had so often urged him to do; sadly he gave the necessary orders for breaking camp in the spring; for the only course open to them was that over which they had come. The enterprise must be given up.

If their forward march had been attended with difficulties and dangers, what shall be said of their retreat? At one time, they spent eight days in the effort to penetrate the cane-brakes, and advanced but thirty miles. Remembering the mistake which had been made by some of the Indians, De Soto said to a chief from whom he hoped to obtain assistance that he was descended from heaven.

"Dry up the river, and I will believe that you are a child of the sun," answered the Indian, insolently; and he never forgave the attempt to deceive him.

De Soto was in the midst of a vast wilderness; more than half of his army had perished by disease, accident and the devastation of war; and nearly all who survived looked upon him as the author of all their sufferings. They had hoped to be cured of their diseases by drinking of the hot springs of Arkansas, whither the natives had directed them; there, they thought, might be that Fountain of Youth which Ponce de Leon had sought, and perished in the seeking; but this hope, too, had been in vain. The behavior of the cacique on whom he had tried to practice the deception mentioned above, was insulting in the extreme, and two years before, his land would have been laid waste, his people murdered. But now, the proud Spaniard must submit to every affront—revenge or resentment could not be his.

Nevertheless, many of the natives revered De Soto as something more than human; it was only when sickness overtook him that they saw that he was subject to like infirmities with themselves, and therefore of the same clay. Oppressed by sickness of body and heart at once, De Soto looked about him and saw that of all the remnant of his host, there was not one who could inspire the Indians with a wholesome fear. Worn out, he sank under the disease, and at last a monk of considerable medical skill, who had accompanied the expedition, told him that there was no hope. With the courage of a truly brave man, he called his officers about him and bade them choose his successor; intrusted one of them with a message for Donna Isabella; and having thus set his house in order, and made his peace with Heaven, he



closed his eyes upon the weary wilderness which he had hoped to subdue.

May 21, 1542, was the date of his death. His followers concealed it from the Indians, and dug his grave secretly, by night, lest they should discover it. Announcing the next day that their leader was better, although not yet able to leave his tent, they instituted a kind of tournament, in rejoicing over his recovery; and rode backward and forward over the grave which had thus secretly received its tenant.

But the searching questions of the Indians showed that they suspected the truth; and fearful that the Indians would desecrate the grave of him who had caused the tombs of their people to be rifled and defiled, the Spaniards exhumed the body of their leader, and wrapping it in a winding-sheet heavily weighted with lead, lowered it, at midnight, into the waters of the Mississippi.



BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

Thus died De Soto, and thus was he buried. Of his followers, but little more need be said.

No longer led by the spirit that would press onward, no matter through what difficulties and dangers, the Spaniards resolved to proceed towards New Spain without delay. It was unanimously decided that a journey by land would be less dangerous than one by water, and they undertook to find a way to Mexico through the pathless forests. After wandering two hundred miles west of the river, they turned back in despair, and sought the banks of the Mississippi again. Here they devoted themselves to the construction of brigantines, no easy matter for men in their condition, and, more than a year after De Soto's death, were ready for their voyage. Seventeen days after their departure, followed by the arrows and the hate of the Indians, they had traveled the five hundred miles to the mouth of the Mississippi, but thirty-



DEPARTURE OF THE SPANIARDS.


three more had passed before they reached Panuco, a town on the coast of Mexico about two hundred and sixty miles from the boundary of the present state of Texas. Here they remained for a considerable length of time, quarreling among themselves so much that, after three hundred and eleven of them had perished by each other's hands, the viceroy was compelled to interfere.

What of Donna Isabella? The story is not complete till we have told what became of the heroine. For three years after the return of the ships she waited for news; at first hopefully, then doubtfully, then despairingly. At last, some one came from Mexico who had seen the few survivors and heard their story; from him she learned what had been the fate of her husband; and three days afterward, she closed her eyes forever.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### JACQUES CARTIER, THE DISCOVERER OF CANADA.

St. Malo—Youth of Cartier—Verazzano's Voyage—The Fisheries—Cartier's First American Voyage—Sighting Newfoundland—The Mainland—Taking Possession—Protest of Natives—Donacona's Friendship—His Sons Embark for France—Cartier Ascends the St. Lawrence—Returns Home—The Second Voyage—At the Mouth of the St. Lawrence—An Indian Drama—Visits Hochelaga—Curing Diseases—Returns to Ships—Fort Built—Tobacco and Scalps—Scurvy—Working and Praying—An Indian Remedy—Cartier Takes Possession of the Country Again—Donacona and his Sons Embark for France—Arrival at St. Malo—A Cool Reception—Cartier's Third American Voyage—A Colony Attempted—Failure—Cartier Returns to France—Roberval's Effort—After Years.

N an island less than three miles in circumference, at the mouth of the Rance River, in the modern department of Ile-et-Vilaine, which is a part of the old province of Brittany, is an old fortified sea-port of France, St. Malo. The place has its advantages for all that; it has an excellent harbor, large and well-sheltered; and is so defended by forts that it could scarcely be captured by an enemy.

It is now, in commercial importance, the twelfth sea-port of France; but there are more sailors registered there than at any other town, and those advantages of which we have above spoken gave it great repute in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when wars were of much more frequent occurrence than they are in the nineteenth; and when piracy was a thing of present and frequently recurring danger. But these are not the circumstances which commend St. Malo to our consideration; of more interest is the fact that, preserved in the public museum of the town, are portions of the ship which first bore Jacques Cartier to the shores of the New World: treasured there with a jealous care, because he was of Breton birth, and St. Malo was the port from which he sailed.

He was born near the village of Limoilin, not far distant from the strait which separates the island town from the main land, in the year 1494. Like so many of the great navigators of his time, his youth is shrouded in obscurity; of his education we know nothing; but the people of all the surrounding country had the love of the sea born in them; and it is fair to suppose that young Cartier was no exception to the general rule. According to the custom of the place, even his early boyhood was passed upon the sea; and he was a veteran sailor before the down shaded his lip.

In the chapter devoted to what we know of Henry Hudson, will be found an account of the first American voyage of John Verazzano, an Italian navigator in the service of King Francis I. of France. It is a curious circum-

stance that the discoverer of the New World, the discoverer of North America, and the first explorer of the Atlantic coast of what is now the United States, should have been Italians in the employ of other governments than their own; and upon the discoveries of Columbus, Cabot, and Verazzano, the latter supplemented by those of Cartier, the nations of Spain, England and France should base their claims to the World of the West.

It is possible that Cartier accompanied Verazzano on this voyage of discovery; but he certainly did not make one of the number who went on that traditional voyage of the Italian, when captain and crew fell into the hands of the savages, and were killed and eaten.

But Verazzano's discoveries were for a time neglected; for, during his absence, the King had been engaged in war with his great rival, the Emperor Charles V. Francis was defeated and taken prisoner in 1525; in his absence no new enterprise could be undertaken; when he was released he was intent upon other battles in which he might turn the tables upon his enemy. The discoveries on the American coast, however interesting they might be from a scientific point of view, brought no money into the royal treasury; and money has always been esteemed "the sinews of war." It is easy to see, then, that the Government—that is, the King—would not care to advance the interests of discovery in the New World.

But Verazzano had brought home news that there were vast shoals of fish frequenting the waters around the northern part of the coasts which he had explored. This was quite a different matter from the advancement of geographical knowledge; it meant flourishing business relations; and business men at once began to look after their interests. It was decided that settlements near the fishing-banks would be advantageous; and Chabot, who was Admiral of France at the time, and a favored counselor of the King, advised that such settlements should be made as soon as possible.

It is probable that Cartier had been with Verazzano, because he was at once chosen as the leader of the expedition which was to be fitted out; although he may have been a favorite of Chabot's for some other reason. Certainly he was an experienced and skillful seaman when he was commissioned to explore the country and find a place for a colony.

April 20, 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships and one hundred and twenty-two men. On the 10th of May he came in sight of the coast of Newfoundland; but it was so blocked up with ice that he found it impossible to land without greatly endangering his vessels. He accordingly stood out to sea again, and, steering southward, entered a harbor which he called St. Catherine's. Here, while waiting for fair and warmer weather, he fitted his boats for voyages close in shore and up the river.

Proceeding northward as soon as the weather permitted, he explored the harbors and islands of the coast of Newfoundland; naming Bird Island from



the circumstance that he and his crews landed here and shot a great number of birds which were beginning to nest. They ate all that they could, and salted and packed ten or twelve barrels besides for future use.



CARTIER ENTERS THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.

Skirting the coast of the great island he came to the Strait of Belle Isle and continued his voyage along the coast of Labrador, giving his own name to a sound which he enthusiastically declared afforded the best harbor in the world, though, he added, the country about it was the land to which Cain had been banished for killing his brother. Whether the eldest son of Adam was the first inhabitant or not, it was certain that the country was now peopled by a wandering tribe, whose chief occupation seemed to be catching seals.

The inhospitable coast of Labrador afforded no promise of a suitable situation for the colony which France desired to establish, and Cartier turned southward; and, crossing the Gulf of St. Lawrence, anchored in a bay where the warmth of the waters and air was such, after his late experience of the cold currents of air and water along the coast of Labrador, that he named it the Bay de Chaleurs—the Bay of Heat. Here he found wild berries and roses in abundance, meadows clothed with grass, and plenty of salmon,—a confirmation of the experience of one explorer, who states that he found salmon in various rivers, but whose experience is not upheld by that of modern fishermen.

Proceeding eastwardly along the coast as far as Gaspé, he was detained for twelve days by a terrible storm, during which he durst not risk voyaging along these unknown shores. Here he took formal possession of the country, in the name of his patron; causing a cross thirty feet high to be erected on a suitable point of land, bearing a shield on which were engraved the royal arms of France and the legend: *Vive le Roy de France!*

When this had been prepared, Cartier and his followers kneeled reverently before it, and with heads uncovered, hands extended, and eyes lifted to heaven, solemnly invoked the divine blessing upon the right so asserted, and protection against all rival powers. The natives gathered around them in silent admiration for a time, doubtless wondering what it was all about; but as the meaning began to dawn upon them, an old man, dressed in a bearskin robe, vehemently protested by signs, against the strangers assuming any authority or ownership over the land of which he was the chief. With the duplicity which has so often marked the white man's dealings with the Indians, and which we have no wish to excuse, Cartier assured the chief that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, for his guidance when he should return the next year; and promised to come with gifts of all manner of articles made of iron, for the chief and his followers.

The chief, whose name was Donacona, allowed himself to be misled by these representations, and entered into the most friendly relations with the strangers. Cartier invited him and a number of his followers on board the ships, and entertained them with the most flattering hospitality; sending them away loaded with presents of the trinkets which the untutored mind of the savage valued so highly. These visits were frequently repeated, and Cartier returned them, a fact which was hardly less flattering than being so well received on board the vessels. Having thus won the favor of the chief, Cartier begged that Donacona's two sons, stalwart young warriors, should be permitted to go to France with him, to return the next year. Permission was granted, and the two young men, full of the gayest anticipations, embarked.

Leaving the Bay of Chaleurs, Cartier sailed into the St. Lawrence River until he could see land on both sides his vessels. Here was another disappointment; like many another European of his time, he greatly underestimated the width of the American continent, and fully expected to find some sort of easy passage by which he could enter the Pacific Ocean. Such a passage he had expected to discover when he entered the Bay of Chaleurs, attributing the warmth of the air and water to the influence of the South Sea; but further exploration of that inlet convinced him that this was a mistake. The St. Lawrence had brought renewed hope; but as the land closed upon him, and he perceived that the water, removed from the influence of the tides, was fresh, he knew that it was no use to ascend this river any further. The summer was rapidly passing away, and the weather was becoming boisterous;

he accordingly judged that to make any other attempts at exploration would lead into danger of being locked in by the ice all winter; and, to escape this, determined to return to France at once. He coasted a part of Newfoundland again, and then, spreading his sails, stood boldly out to sea, and steered straight for France.



DONACONA'S SONS.

Arriving at St. Malo September 5, 1534, he was received with much favor, not unaccompanied by curiosity, by those in authority. The war was now taking a turn a little more favorable to France; and the King felt better able to spend more in fitting out an expedition for the exploration of this new country, with a view to colonizing it and drawing a revenue from its fisheries. Three ships were fitted out, of one hundred and twenty, sixty, and forty tons' burden, respectively, and many young men of high family distinction embarked

their fortunes in the enterprise, of which Cartier, of course, was the leader. On Whitsunday of the year 1535, they went in solemn procession to church, as a preparation for their long voyage; and May 9, they sailed from St. Malo.

They were scarcely out of sight of land before the ships were scattered by a storm. Fortunately, Cartier had taken the precaution to appoint a rendezvous for such a case, at Bird Island; and there was at least one skillful navigator who had sailed with him on his first voyage on each of the three vessels, who could direct the course to that point.

He pursued much the same course as before, and entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence, bestowed that name upon it. He then ascended the great river as far as the mouth of the Saguenay, when he determined to explore thoroughly the northern coast of the gulf.

Going ashore, he saw with some concern that the natives fled at his approach; for he wished very much to enter into treaties with them, to secure their opinions as to the most favorable location for a settlement, and their friendly feelings toward such a settlement when it should be established. It was now that he felt the advantage of having taken the two sons of Donacona to France, and treated them with such consideration as to make them firm allies. They spoke to their frightened countrymen, and reassured them; and the Indians, to show their friendly disposition, came to the white men with presents of eels and other fish, and corn in ears.

Cartier made suitable acknowledgments of their protests of good feeling, and returned their presents with others of European manufacture. It was while they were thus engaged that they were visited by the Chief Donacona, who came with twelve boat-loads of attendants; ten of these, however, he considerably left at a distance, while he, in one boat, with a few warriors in another canoe, approached the ships. He welcomed the French most cordially; and listened with interest as his two sons told what they had seen in France. He then approached Cartier, kissed his hand with affection, and laid his arm about the Frenchman's neck, in token of gratitude for such kind treatment of his sons.

Cartier was now anxious to find a harbor for his ships; for the season during which exploration was possible would soon be ended. He accordingly communicated his wishes to the Indians, who replied by an entertainment which partook somewhat of the character of a theatrical performance. The rude drama may be briefly described as follows:—

Three men, selected for the purpose by Donacona, attired themselves grotesquely in black and white skins, stained their faces black, and arranged horns upon their heads. It was very plain to the Frenchmen that these were to act the part of demons. Entering a canoe, these actors passed the ships, returning again and again to row around them, constantly haranguing the whites, although the latter, of course, were unable to understand what they

were saying. Pursued by Donacona and his people, they were forced to land; upon touching the ground, they fell down, as if dead, and were carried away by the chief's attendants. When they had reached the point selected, there ensued a dialogue, the substance of which had evidently been arranged beforehand. In this scene, the demons informed their listeners that they were the attendants of the god of Hockelaga—the capital of the country, as Cartier had already learned from the Indians—and that he did not wish the white men to come to see him; for the country was full of ice and snow, and should they try to reach his dwelling, they would perish miserably with the cold.

It was intended that this should be a sufficient warning for the white men; but, like many others who listen with amusement to what is designed for their instruction, they enjoyed the representation, and disregarded the advice which was given. Cartier caused a pinnace and two boats to be made ready, and September 19, began his voyage up the river.

The water was low at that season of the year, so that it would have been impossible for him to have advanced to any considerable distance with even the smallest of his ships; with the smaller boats, however, he anticipated no difficulties; and might, indeed, had no lack of time or provisions prevented, have reached the head of navigation. October 2, he arrived at the island which the natives called Hockelaga, situated opposite the mouth of a smaller river, tributary to the mighty stream which he was ascending.

His coming had been announced by runners, sent by Donacona; and a thousand Indians came to meet him, bringing presents of fish and the other products of the country. Cartier had provided himself with an ample supply of trinkets, chiefly beads and knives, since these were the articles of European manufacture most valued by the Indians; and the exchange of compliments and presents went on at a lively rate.

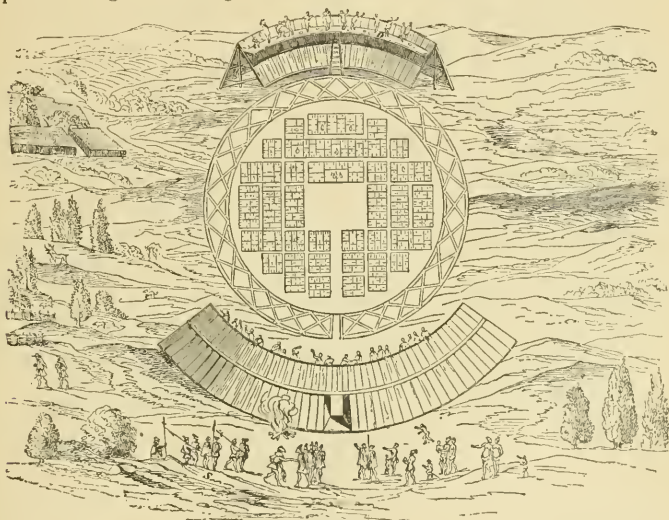
At night, the French sought the shelter of their boats; while the natives amused themselves and their guests, thus seated afar off, by their outlandish dances. Gradually, however, they reached the town on the island; Cartier and twenty-five of his men landed, and were received, together with this native escort which had met them down the river, with great honor.

The chief came in person to meet them, although he was badly crippled by the palsy. The French soon found that they were regarded as heavenly visitants, and possessed of more than mortal powers. The Indians seemed to think that one power, particularly, was possessed by these strangers; they could cure diseases by the simple process of touching those affected. This did not seem so strange a belief to the French, for many Europeans of that day believed that such powers were possessed by certain persons; and, long after the death of Cartier, it was thought that the King of England, whoever he might be, was able to cure scrofula, called "the king's evil," from that very circumstance, by simply touching the person affected.



In accordance with this belief on the part of the Indians, the visitors were besought to touch the bodies of the crippled chief and the sick members of his tribe. Cartier assented; and, repeating some parts of the service in the prayer-book, laid his hands on the chief, and then raised them in supplication. His action seemed to impress the spectators very favorably, for he soon found many imitators among them.

He caused his drums and trumpets to sound, which still further delighted the natives; and they fell to dancing to this strange new music. Like the others with whom they came in contact, these Indians brought him such presents as they could, and received in return the various articles used by explorers for gifts to savage races.



PLAN OF HOCKELAGA FORT.

*(From an Old Engraving.)*

From these Indians, Cartier learned that gold and silver were to be found in a country to the southwest. These metals were recognized by them, when they saw the arms which the French carried decorated with the more valuable minerals. They also informed him that copper was to be found in large quantities near a great inland sea of fresh water, which lay almost directly west. The country where gold and silver were found, they told him, was a fertile, pleasant land, free from ice and snow. These statements show that

the Indians of Hockelaga were fairly well acquainted with the geography of North America for a considerable portion of its extent.

Their town was built on the flat coast of the island, just under the shelter of a hill; and this elevation Cartier dignified with the name of the Royal Mount—Montreal—a name which it still bears and has given to the city of white men which has succeeded the Indian village. It was from the summit of this hill that Cartier saw the course of the broad winding river, and stood by the Indians who pointed out the direction in which lay the mines of silver, gold and copper.

Only two days were spent at Hockelaga, and on the 4th of October he again descended the river. He reached his ships a week later, and found that the men left in charge had occupied themselves in building a rampart and palisade, near where the ships were anchored, in such a way as most effectually to protect the vessels from an attack by land, should the savages, for any reason, become hostile.

Donacona was frequently entertained by them, and invited them to visit him, when he amply repaid the hospitality which had been shown to him. One habit of the Indians, however, was very offensive to the Frenchmen; they had a sort of bowl, made of a corn-cob sometimes, or sometimes fashioned of burnt clay, which they fastened on the end of a hollow reed. In this they placed the dried leaves of a certain plant, and lighting them, seemed to derive much enjoyment from inhaling the smoke of the burning weed. The French could not imagine what pleasure the Indians could find in this practice; perhaps their descendants can understand it better.

It was at this time that they became acquainted with another practice of the Indians, far less innocent than that of using tobacco. They saw in the wigwams certain bits of skin, having hair attached; and perceiving that these were treasured articles, and that the greatest and most respected warriors appeared to possess the largest numbers, made inquiry concerning them; and received in return a description of the process of scalping, as practiced against the fallen foe.

As the autumn wore on, scurvy, that dreadful disease of the era before canned vegetables, made its appearance among the Indians; and shortly afterward it was found that the same diet which caused it among the natives had produced it among the newcomers. It raged for two months, or from the middle of January to the middle of February. At one time out of one hundred and ten men, fifty were sick; and eight or ten died before it abated.

Knowing no remedy for the disease, Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed upon a tree, and all who were in any way able to walk joined in solemn procession, singing the seven penitential psalms, and engaging in other religious ceremonies; hoping by this pilgrimage through the ice and snow to avert the wrath of Heaven, thus mani-

fested by sending disease upon them. At the same time, Cartier vowed to make a pilgrimage to a certain shrine as soon as he should return to France.

It is related of a certain Prime Minister of England, that when a deputation called upon him to ask him to appoint a day of fasting and prayer because of the sickness which had recently visited their town, he advised them, instead of praying, to spend their time in improving the sewerage. The reply offended them very much; and the statesman was severely criticised for his irreverence. Cartier, however, was of different mould; he was determined to work as well as pray.



CARTIER'S MEN PREPARING TO WINTER AT ORLEANS ISLAND.

Confident that exercise would do much to relieve the complaint from which they were suffering, and fearing lest the Indians, suspecting the weakness of his force, should be tempted to attack him, he informed the natives that his men were all very busy inside the inclosure and upon the ships; and that no one of them would be permitted to go outside until the work was done. In the meantime, he set the men who were well, or comparatively so, to hammering and chopping, that the noise which they made might deceive the Indians, and give color to his words. Whenever the Indians came near the inclosed space especially, the hammering and sawing was redoubled.

Their help was to come, however, from these very Indians whom they sought to deceive; for their prayers were answered, not by any miracle, but in the common, every-day manner which we are apt to ignore as an answer.

Cartier, who had wholly escaped the disease, was walking in the woods one day, when he met one of the young Indians who had accompanied him to France. The savage, he knew, had suffered severely from the scurvy during the early part of the winter, and Cartier was surprised to find him still alive; much more, to see him well and strong. The white man demanded to know how he had been cured; the Indian replied that there was a certain tree, known to his tribe, the leaves and bark of which were good for this purpose.

Interested at once, Cartier remarked that one of his men had had the disease, and he would like to know a cure for it. They turned and went toward the Indian village, at the invitation of the young chief, and two women were sent to procure a quantity of the leaves and bark. As soon as they returned, the white man was instructed in the art of preparing and using it; and departed, happy at having obtained a remedy for the disease from which so many of his followers were suffering.

The tree which was thus recommended as affording a cure was certainly an evergreen, since its leaves formed a part of a remedy used in winter; and modern scientists have agreed that the spruce-pine possesses qualities which would fit it for this purpose. Whatever it was, it effected a cure of the dreadful disease, although not before twenty-five men had died of it.

At last the long, hard winter showed signs of breaking up. The ships had been frozen up from the middle of November until the middle of March; and upon a level, where it had not drifted, there was snow four feet deep. Early in May, Cartier took formal possession of the country, erecting a cross thirty-six feet high, bearing a shield with the royal arms, and an inscription in Latin: *Franciscus Primus, Dei Gratia Francorum, Rex Regnat*—"Francis First, by the Grace of God King of the French, Reigns."

This ceremony took place May 3; and, after the cross had been erected, Cartier entertained Donacona and his two sons, with a number of his other followers, on board ship with suitable festivities. Here the chief and his sons were urged to go to France with Cartier, who had made all preparations to sail in a few days. They hesitated somewhat, but were partly persuaded, partly compelled, to assent to the wish of the white men. When this decision was communicated to their families, the grief of the Indians who remained behind was even more touching than the reluctance of the others to leave them. Cartier promised them faithfully that they should return within twelve months, and bade them remember how he had kept his agreement in regard to bringing back the two younger men. Partly from these arguments, partly from their natural aversion to giving vent to their feelings before others, the Indians soon suppressed all evidence of grief, and departed stoically calm.

The little fleet sailed May 6, and arrived at St. Malo just two months later. The authorities were somewhat disappointed at the result of this voyage. There was no evidence that Cartier was instructed to do more than to find a

suitable location for a colony, and complete such treaties with the Indians as might be necessary or desirable before attempting a settlement; but the news of the splendid booty secured by Pizarro and Cortes had made all other nations envious of Spain and desirous of finding some other portion of the continent which would afford as rich a field for conquest as Mexico or Peru. So, because Cartier did not bring with him gold or silver, he was not regarded with as much favor as if he had secured ever so little of the precious metals. That he had a rich cargo of furs, obtained by trading with the Indians, counted for but little; nor did the French of that time realize what a great source of wealth would be found in the fur trade.

It was for this reason that Cartier did not meet with any recognition for some time, and the subject of settlement in New France was dropped. How he occupied himself during the four years after his return, we do not know. The sole record that we have of any of the company is that concerning the three Indians, whom he promised, and intended, to return to their country within a year from the time that he sailed away. These were all baptized, having made profession of the Christian faith; and their conversion was esteemed a great triumph of the Church. But the wild children of the forest pined in the distant land where all were strangers to them, and died there within the period of four or five years.

In 1540, or 1541 according to some authorities, the war between the King and Emperor having been laid aside for a time, there was some leisure and money for other things. The question of a settlement in New France was again considered; Chabot was still Admiral of France, and enthusiastic as ever over the successes achieved by his friend and protege, Monsieur Jacques Cartier. But the bluff sailor, whatever might be his capability as a seaman or his fame as a discoverer and explorer, was no fit representative of the dignity of the Crown of France; that must be a duty assigned to a nobleman of high rank.

Accordingly, when it was finally resolved to send out a colony, Francis de la Roche, Sieur de Roberval, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Canada and Hockelaga, with many a high-sounding title besides; and plain Jacques Cartier, who had braved many dangers and hardships, and knew the country as no other living white man knew it, but who had not had the good fortune to be of noble birth, was named pilot of the fleet. Five ships were prepared for the voyage.

For some reason, the figurehead of the expedition was not ready to sail at the appointed time; and Cartier, with the five ships, left St. Malo May 23, 1540, according to Hakluyt; 1541, according to some other authorities. He encountered strong adverse winds, which so scattered his fleet that they did not reunite for some time; but at length all arrived safely at that harbor which, on his first voyage, he had named St. Croix. This was August 23.



As soon as the natives discovered the presence of the vessels, they came to inquire after their chief and his two sons, who had been gone for several years beyond the time when their return was expected. Cartier feared the result of telling them that all three were dead; and informed them that Donnacona was dead, but that his two sons had married French ladies, and were now great lords in France, refusing to return to their old wild forest life.



CARTIER AT THE ST. CHARLES RIVER, NEAR QUEBEC.

How great was the mistrust which these assertions produced in the minds of the Indians, we shall never know; but it is certain that the statements were not received with favor. The Indians were evidently suspicious of the man who had carried away three of their number, and who, although he had promised so faithfully to bring them back at the appointed time, had failed to bring them at all. The colony founded under such circumstances did not prosper as it might have done had the natives proved friendly as before.

It was nearly a year after the departure of Cartier with his vessel before M. de Roberval was ready to leave France. He sailed from Rochelle April 16, 1542, with three ships and two hundred colonists. On entering the harbor of St. John he espied three ships entering the same harbor; what was his surprise to find that they were commanded by Cartier, and held all the survivors of those who had left St. Malo the preceding May! He angrily ordered Cartier to return to Canada with him; but the pilot had had quite enough of colonizing, and so had all his followers; he escaped from the harbor under cover of night, and sailed to France.

Roberval, finding his lieutenant had thus deserted him, continued his journey and landed before Cape Rouge. Here he caused his followers to build an immense structure, half barrack, half castle; large enough to accommodate under one roof all the workmen of his colony. But the settlement was far from being a prosperous one. Like Cartier's men during the winter spent in Canada, they suffered much from disease. Then their stock of provisions ran low and famine set in. While enduring these hardships the rule of the governor was not in the least relaxed. A man was hanged for a petty theft; quarrelsome men and scolding women were punished at the whipping-post; "by which means," says the quaint old chronicle, "they lived in peace."

But order procured by such severe means was not durable; society thus governed is liable at any moment to a revolt which will overturn all government. Roberval's settlement was only saved from such a fate by the arrival of Cartier, who had been sent to bring the governor and his followers home; because the King had use for the noble Sieur de Roberval in France. Thus ended the first colony in New France. For half a century there was no further attempt to settle it made by the French.

Cartier does not seem to have incurred any disgrace by having deserted Roberval before that official arrived in Canada; on the contrary, his various services to the Crown were rewarded by a grant of the title and privileges of Sieur de Limoilin, his native village. He made no more voyages after that fourth one across the Atlantic, but settled down to the enjoyment of his new dignity.

How long after this he lived, is not certain; for there is no record which gives us the date of his death. All that we know is that he was alive in 1552; but as he was then but fifty-eight years old, we cannot suppose that the hearty, bluff sailor was then enfeebled by the approach of age.

## CHAPTER XV.

### JUAN FERNANDEZ, THE DISCOVERER OF ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND.

Settlement of Chili—Difficulty of Southward Voyage—Expedient of Fernandez—Accused before the Inquisition—Discovers the Island of Juan Fernandez—Settles on Islands—Returns to Mainland—Other Discoveries—Discovery of Southern Land—A Mystery and some Explanations—Superstitions Regarding the Pacific—Alexander Selkirk—Robinson Crusoe.

IN the chapter devoted to Pizarro, the discoverer and conqueror of Peru, will be found a brief account of Almagro's appointment to the government of Chili. Before his time the country had been conquered by the Incas; but of course, on the overthrow of the power of Atahualpa, Pizarro having failed to assert his dominion over them, the Chilians, or Araucanians, as they were called, regained their independence. Almagro met with such determined resistance that he found it best to go back to Peru; and here he became involved in the civil wars which cost his own life and that of Pizarro.

But before the latter event, Don Pedro de Valdivia was dispatched to take possession of this country, and establish a colony there, in accordance with the Governor's plan of colonizing the whole coast; and Pizarro was preparing to follow him with a larger force when Almagro's followers, the men of Chili, as they were still called, entered his palace and murdered him. Valdivia, although this aid had not reached him, founded the city of Santiago, and later, the town bearing his own name: and governed Peru for twelve years.

There was constant intercourse between Peru and Brazil, much of it by sea. But voyages southward were not so easily performed as they would have been were it not that the winds near the coast blow constantly from the south. For many years the mariners of Peru and Chili contended with this difficulty, without finding any means of evading it.

Among the most skillful pilots engaged in this traffic, was Juan Fernandez. We have no record of his early history; but it is probable that he was a son of that Juan Fernandez who had been a follower, first of Pizarro, then of Alvarado, then of Pizarro again; and had been honored by the latter with the command of a vessel. This elder Spanish mariner of this name had been one of the leaders of an expedition of the Spanish government against the Island of Trinidad; tempted by the rumors of gold to be obtained, they had, instead of obeying orders, landed on the main land, where incredible hardships were endured by all, and Fernandez and his companion in the leadership died before the winter was over. This was in 1538.

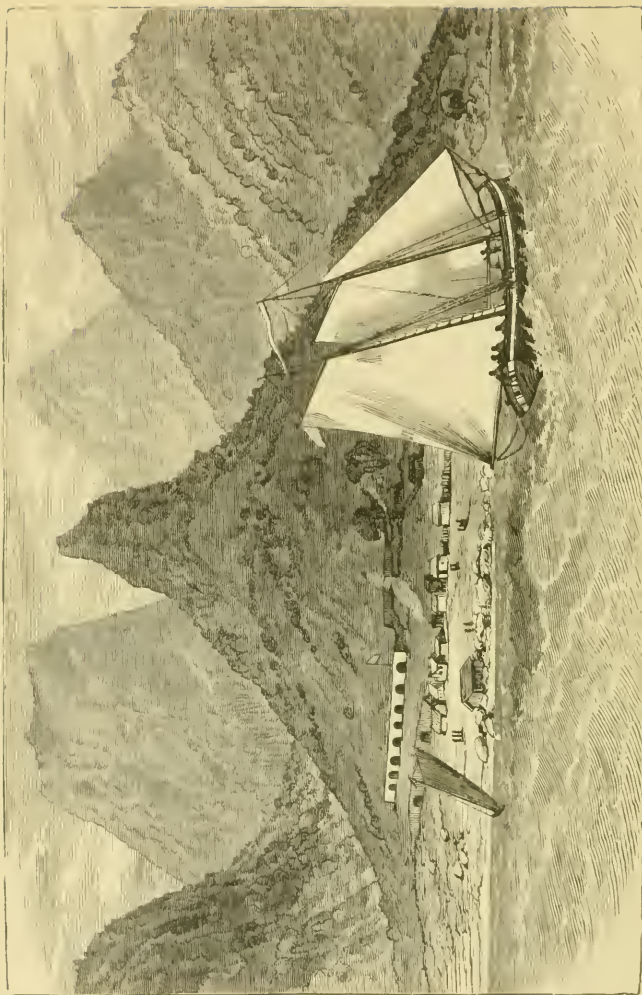
Twenty-five years afterward, the younger Juan Fernandez, having a considerable experience as a pilot between Peru and Chili, and having frequently been delayed by the contrary winds, began to consider some path by which Chili might be reached without encountering this trouble. He was not acquainted with the Pacific Ocean except along the western coast of South America, and knew nothing, either from his own experience or from the teachings of science, about the currents of wind and water elsewhere; but it seemed to him worth while to try the experiment of putting to sea before steering southward.

To the ignorant and narrow-minded men of that day, the man who accomplished anything more than others could do was an object of some suspicion; the first printers were accused of deriving assistance from the devil, because they multiplied books so rapidly; and it was so in the case of Juan Fernandez. He made the voyage from Peru to Chili, by adopting the plan outlined above, in such a wonderfully short time that his rivals concluded there could be but one explanation: he had sold himself to the devil—is not he called the Prince of the Power of the Air?—and by his assistance had been enabled to sail in the very teeth of the wind. The accusation was formally made, and Fernandez was actually brought to trial. At first, he seems to have wished to keep his secret; for there were business rivalries in the sixteenth century as well as now, and the pilot who could bring a ship into port in advance of others was a notable man in his line of life; but this prosecution brought out the truth; he was obliged to disclose to his rivals the secret of his success. Perhaps they kept him in prison while a vessel was sent to make trial of it; certainly it was something unusual for a man accused of such a deed to be cleared.

Either in this first voyage out of the beaten track or in one made shortly afterward, he came in sight of a mass of precipitous rocks, rudely piled into irregular blocks and pinnacles, and rising abruptly out of the waters. His observations told him that this was about four hundred miles west of the coast of Chili, and very nearly in the latitude of Santiago. He named this island *Mas-a-Tierra*, and the neighboring one, nine miles farther west, *Mas-a-Fuera*, the names meaning, respectively, "Nearer the Land," and "Nearer the Sea."

Fernandez petitioned the Spanish Government to grant him the islands which he had discovered, and his request was not, according to the best authorities, refused. As the larger body of land is only thirteen miles long by four miles wide, his request was a modest one. He settled there, thinking that he would devote himself to the quiet and pleasant life of a farmer; and imported stock of various kinds. Of these animals, however, only the goats seem to have prospered.

But however pleasing some men may find it to be "monarchs of all they



ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.



survey," when the all is a little island far out of sight of land, the quiet shore-life did not suit the roving nature of the seaman; and the attempted settlement was abandoned by him. He again engaged in his old work as pilot of a vessel along the western coast of South America.

While some writers fix the date of the discovery of these islands as early as 1563, others place it nine years later. The truth is probably that they were discovered in the earlier year, but that the attempt to settle them lasted for several years. When Fernandez finally returned to the continent, his coming would awaken some interest in the place, practically unknown to others, where he had been living; and thus it would be said that he then discovered these islands.

Two years after his return, he made a voyage between the two countries in which, as was now usual, he stood out to sea before proceeding southward; and discovered two other islands, to which he gave the names of St. Felix and St. Ambrose. Mas-a-Tierra and Mas-a-Fuera had now become better known by his own name, although, properly speaking, it is Mas-a-Tierra which is the Island of Juan Fernandez.

At some time after the settlement on the islands was abandoned, there seems to have been another effort to colonize it; but the settlers found that the goats left there by Fernandez had multiplied to such an extent as to make the island incapable of producing anything beyond their food. A number of dogs were accordingly placed there, in the hopes that they would exterminate the goats, or at least greatly decrease their numbers; but this did not prove completely successful; for the descendants of those very goats still roam the island to-day.

In 1576 Fernandez made still another voyage of historical interest. As all that is known of this voyage is contained in a document usually called the "Memorial of Arias," the date of which is sometime after 1709, we introduce here the portion of this authority relating to Juan Fernandez; using the translation of Alexander Dalrymple:—

"A pilot named Juan Fernandez, who discovered the track from Lima to Chili by going to the westward—which till then had been made with much difficulty, as they kept alongshore where the southerly winds almost constantly prevail—sailing from the coast of Chili about the latitude of forty degrees, a little more or less, in a small ship with some of his companions, in courses between west and southwest, came in two months' time to a coast which he judged to be that of a continent, of a climate most agreeable, inhabited with white people, mighty well disposed, clothed with very fine clothes, and so peaceable and civil that in every manner they could express they offered everything in their power, and of the riches and fruits of the country, which appeared very rich and plentiful. But, being overjoyed to have discovered the coast of that great continent, so much desired, he re-

turned to Chili, intending to go back properly fitted; and to keep it a secret until they and their friends could return on the discovery. It was delayed from day to day, until Juan Fernandez died, when with his death this matter, so important, sank into oblivion.

"In regard to this, it must be observed that many have related this discovery of Juan Fernandez in the following manner, affirming that they had it thus from himself, viz.: That going to the westward from Lima to discover the track to Chili, seeking times for it, and getting off shore—where almost always the winds are from the south—a certain space of longitude, which he would at a proper time declare, and then standing south, with little deviation to the adjoining points, he discovered the said coast of the Southern Continent in the latitude which he would also tell when expedient, from whence he made his voyage to Chili.

"Other relations, much worthy of belief, place this discovery as before related; but whether it happened in this or the other manner, or two different discoveries, it is a thing most certain that he did discover the coast of the Southern Land; for so it has been testified by persons of much credit and authority, to whom the said Juan Fernandez communicated the account, with the above-mentioned circumstances of the country and people which he discovered; and one of these witnesses, whom I can here mention to Your Majesty, was Maesse de Campo de Cordes, a man extremely worthy of credit, as is known, and he has been employed in Chili near sixty years, who heard it from the said pilot, and saw the description he brought of the said coast.

"On this coast Juan Fernandez saw the mouths of very many large rivers, from whence, and from what the natives intimated, because they were people so white, so well-clad, and in everything so different from those of Chili and Peru, he concluded it certainly was the coast of the Southern Continent, which appeared much better and richer than that of Peru."

It is unfortunate for historical geography that Fernandez did not leave some memorandum of the latitude and longitude of the coast which he claimed to have discovered, that his statements might have been verified. The direction he took, and the time that is said to have been taken for the voyage, would point to New Zealand or Australia; but there the probability of its having been one of these bodies of land ends. But where, the reader asks, is there another island that answers the description? There is no other. No other navigator has ever found, on an island south of the equator, a race of people, white in color, and more civilized than the people of Peru; to whom the inhabitants of these lands were especially compared by Fernandez, thoroughly familiar with the history of the Incas and their successors.

There is but one island of the South Pacific which gives any traces of such a civilization—Easter Island, called by the old navigators Davis' Land. But this would not require two months' time to reach it; it could not be mistaken

for a continent by any moderately careful observer, if any time was spent on its coast; and although the people who produced the strange sculptures there found may have been in possession toward the latter part of the sixteenth century, a very few years after Fernandez reached it saw it in the possession of a much lower race of savages, who regarded the relics of former civilization with but little reverence.



NATIVES OF EASTER ISLAND.

There are two other explanations which may be offered of the statements quoted above: the continent which was discovered by Fernandez sank into the ocean again, leaving only scattered islands to show where its mountain

peaks still emerged; or the account which he gave is wholly or partly false. He probably discovered Australia or New Zealand; but his statements as to the natives being white, well-clad, and so on, were probably fabricated for the purpose of arousing more interest in an effort to seek them out again than would be manifested had he admitted that they were dusky savages.

The explorations of Juan Fernandez are of importance, as showing how early the Spaniards became acquainted with the entire western coast of South America. He was certainly a brave man to venture out from shore upon the broad Pacific; for many a Spanish mariner of that time looked with horror upon this ocean. Had it not brought evil to all who had anything to do with it? And in support of his belief the superstitious sailor would reckon the dreadful misfortunes which had befallen those whose names are connected with its history: Balboa, its discoverer, had been beheaded; Magellan, who first sailed upon it from the south, was killed by infidels—and it was reckoned a great deal worse to be killed by infidels than to be slain by those of one's own faith—and the mariner on Magellan's ship who had first descried the boundless waters from the strait through which the vessel had long been journeying, had become a renegade, and was actually a Mohammedan for many years before he died. It shows something of the strength of mind possessed by Juan Fernandez, that he should have been able to set all these things at defiance and venture boldly into the blue waters.

To lovers of books of adventure, that discovery which he undoubtedly made is connected with an incident of much interest. After the abandonment of the island of Juan Fernandez by the Spanish, it was visited by Dampier, that wild sea-rover who was so nearly a pirate. The captain of one of his vessels quarreled with a large number of his men, and actually put five of them ashore. These men remained here for several years; and four years after they were landed their ship again touched at the island and took two of them on board; the others having been captured by the French. At this time, 1704, the captain of this vessel had a violent quarrel with his sailing-master, one Alexander Selkirk, who had been a "ne'er-do-weel" in his Scottish home, and had run away to sea rather than answer for some youthful misdemeanor. This quarrel ended by Selkirk declaring that he would rather go ashore than serve under such a captain any longer; the captain was glad to get rid of him, and ordered that he should be left on the island. Duly provided with certain necessities, he was put ashore. But his courage failed him, and he begged to be taken back on board. This request was refused, and the ship sailed away, leaving him to the companionship of the goats.

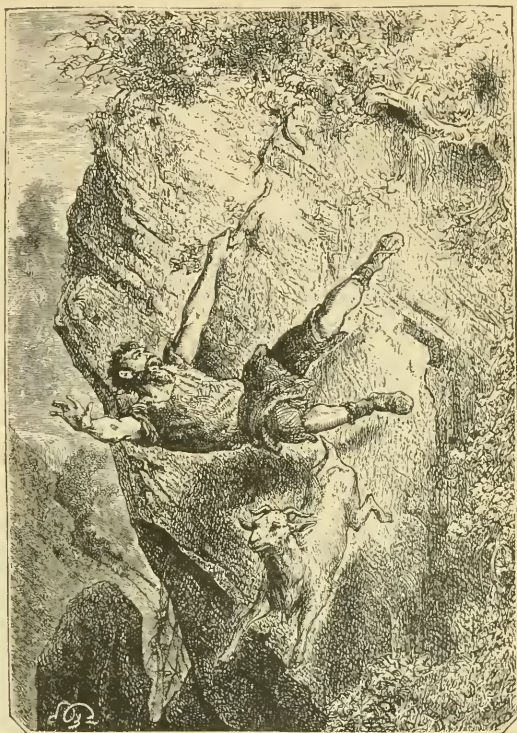
Five years passed; and he learned patience in that time, as well as the means of extracting a certain amount of enjoyment from this solitude, becoming as fleet-footed as the goats which he hunted for his food. It is related that one day he chased a goat so eagerly to the edge of a precipice, which was



concealed by bushes, that they rolled over and over together, until they reached the bottom.

Then, for the first time since his comrades had left him, a ship touched at the island. It was an English vessel, the *Duke*, commanded by Capt. Wood Rodgers. Selkirk was taken on board, and they returned to England, where he became the hero of the day.

His story reached the ears of Daniel DeFoe, and proved his inspiration. On this foundation of a solitary sailor left alone for several years upon an uninhabited island, he built that story which has been the delight of so many generations of boys; and "Robinson Crusoe," although his imaginary island was placed in a different position, is thus inseparably connected with the islands of Juan Fernandez.



SELKIRK FOLLOWS THE GOATS TOO FAR.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE THREE VOYAGES OF SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

Early Life—The Northwest Passage—Frobisher's Enterprise—The Expedition sails—Reported Lost—Reaches the American Coast—The Boat Lost—Living Proof—Return to England—The Black Stone—Gold—The Second Voyage—The Faroe Islands—America—Conflict with Natives—Fire and Tempest—Mining—Captives—A Fort Built—A War Dance—Return to England—The Third Expedition—Misfortunes to the Ships—Surrounded by Ice—His Desperate Resolution—Stone House Built—Ruins Found in 1861—Results of Voyage—Frobisher's Domestic Relations—Knighted by Drake—Letter from Queen Elizabeth—Relief of Brest—Frobisher Wounded—Return to England—Death.

THE parish register of the town of Doncaster, England, contains many entries of the baptism of members of the Frobisher family; but, as it does not go back quite to the middle of the sixteenth century, there is no record there which would enable us to guess at the time when Martin, the son of Francis Frobisher, Mayor of Doncaster in 1535, was born.

It was a family that had long been prominent in the history of the place; for the great-grandfather of Francis Frobisher had been recorder of Doncaster in his time, and had married the daughter of a landed proprietor in the neighborhood.

Of the boyhood of the discoverer we have no accounts: Campbell, in his *Lives of the Admirals*, says that he was bred to the sea; but this bare statement is all.

There seems no doubt that he followed the sea at an early age; for in 1566 he was brought before the authorities on suspicion of having fitted out a vessel to go to sea as a pirate. Of this charge, however, he was acquitted; being bound upon a voyage to Guinea. His errand, most probably, was to procure slaves; but this was not looked upon as wrong at that time.

Before the time of Columbus it had been supposed that the torrid zone was uninhabitable, by reason of its great heat; and it will be remembered that the Council of Salamanca had urged this as one reason why his project was impracticable. The great navigators of the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth had proved that this was not so; that it was quite possible to support life in the torrid zone.

The same authorities who had declared life could not exist between the tropics, had also maintained that there could be no living near the poles on account of the great cold. Since one assertion had been disproved, what was more natural than to refuse to believe the other? Thus it came about that many persons believed an open sea to exist around the poles, and the climate of the far north to be much less severe than had been supposed.

"Thoroughly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere, and all other skills appertaining to the art of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of

the same by many years' experience, both by sea and land," Captain Frobisher resolved that there must be a nearer passage to India than that which the Portuguese had discovered, and were then using, by the Cape of Good Hope. He first settled the matter in his own mind, and then proved to his friends that this passage lay by the northwest, and was easy to be performed. "And further, he determined and resolved with himself to go make full proof thereof, and to accomplish, or bring full certificate of the truth, or else never to return again, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was yet left undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate."



SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

There was, however, something very necessary that was lacking; before he could set out upon this great enterprise he must have ships and men, both of which required a well-filled purse. According to the account of George Beste, who in 1578 published an account of his voyages, the first efforts to obtain these necessities was in 1561, fifteen years before he succeeded. He first addressed himself to the merchants; but they were unwilling to risk their money with no better security of return than Frobisher could furnish;

so after many vain endeavors in this direction, he concluded to apply to noble-men who might be willing to help him for the sake of having their names associated with great discoveries as patrons.

The first who listened to him with favor was Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; and by his persuasions many others were induced to contribute to the enterprise. It was no very expensive outfit that was furnished; two small vessels, one of twenty and one of twenty-five tons' burden, and a pinnace of ten tons, completed the fleet. Food and other supplies, in quantities sufficient for a year, were provided; and a number of adventurers having been enlisted, and seamen employed, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael* set sail from England, June 15, 1576.

Sailing northward from England, he sighted land July 1. He believed this to be Freseland; but the shore was so bordered with ice that it was not safe to attempt a landing. In addition to this, they were in the midst of a dense fog; during which their pinnace was lost sight of, Frobisher supposing it to have been swallowed up by the sea; and the *Michael*, the crew thinking the same thing of the larger vessel, went home again, and reported that the master had been lost at sea.

But although his mast was sprung and his topmast blown overboard, Frobisher continued his course toward the northwest; knowing, says the old narrative, that the sea must have an end and the land a beginning somewhere. His faith was rewarded July 20, by the sight of land which he named Queen Elizabeth's Foreland.

Sailing farther north, he saw another "foreland," with a great bay or passage dividing, as he thought, two continents from one another. With some difficulty he advanced into this passage, determined to explore it to the end. It is plain, however, from the representation of Frobisher's Strait on the maps of the period—for he named this passage after himself—that he did not go very far from the open sea. In such maps, the strait appears to be a broad and open passage, with coasts but slightly indented, connecting the two oceans; its width is about equal to that of the Mediterranean at the widest part, thought the old cosmographer.

Landing at a favorable point, "he saw mighty deer that seemed to be mankind, which ran at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defense and policy to save his life. In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the people resorting thither, and being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things floating in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises or scales, or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer, he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend down from the hill certain of these people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat

and bent himself to his holbert, and narrowly escaped the danger and saved his boat."

A closer acquaintance with the Esquimaux, however, showed that there was no need to fear them. They came on board the ship and exchanged their sealskins and bearskins for bells and looking-glasses; and tried in every way to convince the Englishmen of their friendship. So thoroughly did the crew, despite the advice of Frobisher, trust the natives, that five of them went ashore in the boat, probably to meet the Indians at some designated point; but they were never heard of again. This was a serious loss, for the crew was but a small one, and there were scarcely enough men left to handle the ship. Nor could Frobisher attempt any rescue of his men; for the one boat of the ship had been used to take them ashore, and those now on the vessel had no means of approaching the land.

The wary natives did not come near the ship now; and Frobisher was at a loss how to obtain possession of one of them, since he desired to capture at least one, in revenge for the loss of his five men; besides, it was almost a point of honor with these old voyagers to bring home some of the natives, that it might be seen what strange lands they had visited. He accordingly rang a low bell, which he declared, by signs, when the Esquimaux assembled at a safe distance to listen to its voice, he would give to any one who would come and fetch it. Still they held back; and Frobisher, anxious to reassure them, threw a bell toward them. He purposely fell short of them; and the bell was lost in the sea. He then rang a louder bell, until, at last, unable to withstand the temptation any longer, one of the Esquimaux swam to the side of the ship to receive the bell.

Frobisher extended his hand to him; and when the savage would have caught at the bell, let that drop into the sea and seized the hand of the Esquimaux, dragging him into the ship. "Whereupon, when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain, he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth."

This one poor Indian formed one of the chief results of the voyage; for he was a living proof of the "captain's far and tedious travel toward the unknown parts of the world." Content with having taken this prisoner, and with having discovered the great Strait, as they supposed, they returned home, arriving in England in August, 1576.

Some of the crew had brought with them flowers, others even bits of grass, as souvenirs of the strange country which they had visited. Frobisher himself, having nothing better, brought a piece of black stone, so heavy that it seemed to contain some kind of mineral. Yet he did not think it of any importance, keeping it only for a memento of the place where it had been found.

Arrived in London, his friends and acquaintances were not slow to ask him

what he had brought home with him from this northern voyage. He had nothing but this black stone, and he divided it among them with careless generosity. A piece of it was given to the wife of one of the gentlemen who had assisted Frobisher to fit out his vessels; she accidentally dropped it in the fire; but managed to get it out, and to cool it, dropped it into some vinegar. It glistened yellow; and it was taken to certain gold-finders in London to be assayed. These experts pronounced it to be gold, in quantities that paid very well for the working.

The effect was magical; those prudent gentlemen the merchants, who had declined to have anything to do with the first voyage, were now anxious to be allowed to contribute toward the fitting out of an expedition. The gold-finders who had made the assay offered to explore the parts where this was found, at their own expense; and some sought to obtain, by secret influence, a lease of these lands from the Queen.

Interest having been thus increased, preparations for a second voyage were begun and rapidly pushed to completion. To the two vessels that had been fitted out before was added a third, the *Aid*; and Frobisher was commissioned to employ one hundred and twenty men, of whom thirty were to be miners, refiners, and merchants. Provisions for seven months were supplied; and Frobisher was instructed to fill his ships with ore if he could, leaving all unnecessary things behind him; if he failed to find enough to lade all the vessels, the *Aid*, which was a ship of two hundred tons' burden, was to return to England, while he, with the two smaller vessels, followed the strait which had now been formally named after him—and which existed only in his imagination and on the maps—till he came to Cathay.

They set sail upon the last day of May, 1577; and on July 4, the *Michael*, which was in the lead, fired a gun, as a sign that land had been descried. The fog was so thick, however, that no land was really visible, although the smooth black water gave a sure indication that it could not be far off.

They had reached the outposts of northern Europe, the Faroe Islands, which Frobisher and his contemporaries call Freeseland. But the mists were so dense around these islands that there was great danger that the vessels would be separated from each other; and there was considerable danger from the great masses of ice which came driving along the shore; so the three vessels again sailed to the westward.

Scarcely were they out of sight of the Faroe Islands before they encountered a storm in which the *Michael* suffered severely; but, persisting in their course, they reached land near the entrance of the straits July 17. The first landing was made upon that island where the specimen of gold-bearing quartz had been found; but a most diligent search failed to reveal another piece. Other islands, however, yielded some of the black stones which were now so eagerly sought, and the searchers returned to the vessel in good spirits.



An elevation upon Hall's Island, which had been discovered and named on the preceding voyage, was called Mount Warwick, after the chief patron of the enterprise; and the sailors heaped a column of stones there, by way of marking it for the benefit of future voyagers. As they returned toward their boats, they saw a number of the natives on the summit of this mount, signaling to them. Frobisher answered them, and made signs that he would send two of his men to meet two of theirs in the space between the larger forces. They readily assented to this, and the four men, all unarmed, met and traded their respective valuables with great friendliness. Nothing could persuade the natives, however, to trust themselves on board the ships; nor could anything induce the Englishmen to accept their new friends' invitation to go farther inland with them.

Frobisher was not content, however, with the trading; he desired to capture the two Indians to take them aboard the ship. He would then dismiss one with presents of clothes and those toys which had always proved so attractive to uncivilized people, retaining the other to serve as an interpreter. In accordance with this plan he sent his two men to the boat, while he and the master of one of the vessels advanced from the shore to the spot where the Indians stood. Some exchanges had been made, when suddenly, at a signal that had been agreed upon, Frobisher and his lieutenant laid hold of the Esquimaux, and tried to drag them to the boat.

"But the ground under feet being slippery, with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast failed; and their prey, escaping, ran away and lightly recovered their bow and arrows, which they had hid not far from them in the rocks. And being only two savages in sight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assaulted and pursued our general and his master, being altogether unarmed, and not mistrusting their subtilities, that they chased them to the boat, and hurt the general in the back with an arrow, who the rather fled speedily back, because they suspected a greater number behind the rocks."

So thoroughly alarmed were the gallant general and the companion of his danger that they called to the men in the boat to fire upon the Indians; and the sound of the discharge of a single musket most effectually routed these determined foes. The Englishmen, reassured by the flight of their enemies, gave chase; and a certain Cornishman, who excelled in wrestling, overtook one of the natives, and showed him "such a Cornish trick that he made his sides ache against the ground for a month afterward. And so being stayed, he was taken alive, and brought away, but the other escaped."

While this conflict, brought about by the treachery of the English and the "subtltie" of the natives, was going on, a storm had arisen, which prevented the boats from returning to the ships that night; and with some difficulty they made their way to an island about a mile away, where they spent

the night "upon hard cliffs of snow and ice, both wet, cold and comfortless."

In the meantime the ships had been in great danger; for the cook having made a great fire in the kitchen of the *Nid*, a defective flue came near being the means of destroying the whole vessel. Fortunately the fire was discovered before it had gained too great a headway, and was "with great labor and God's help extinguished."



QUEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND.

The storm continued all night, and it was not until the middle of the next day that the boats reached them. They then sailed for the southern shore of the straits, as they considered the land which lies just north of Hudson's Strait; for that small inlet at the southeastern extremity of Baffin Land is all the foundation that there was in reality for the magnificent fiction of Frobisher's Straits, a wide passage connecting the two oceans.

Here they found, as they thought at first, a large quantity of the valuable black stones; but when it came to be tested, it was seen to be, much to their disgust, nothing more than plumbago, or black lead, as it was then called. They spent considerable time in exploring the surrounding islands, with a view to finding whatever there might be of mineral wealth in them.

In these searches they came upon a number of the dwellings of the natives; from which, however, the people had fled at their coming. In these tents they found a doublet of canvas, and three shoes of European manufacture—evidently a portion of the clothing of those five who had been captured by the natives the year before. The Indian whom they had captured, and who seems to have become fairly contented on board the vessels, was asked about these, and admitted that he had known of the prisoners being taken; when asked, however, if his countrymen had killed and eaten them, he persistently denied the charge.

On another of their expeditions on shore, they captured two women, one of whom carried a young child in her arms. The other was so old and ugly that they thought she must surely be a witch; so they put her ashore again; but the other woman they thought would be a good wife for their male prisoner. Their matchmaking, however, did not prosper; for although their two prisoners became very good friends, it seemed that each was faithful to some partner on shore.

This woman confirmed what their other captive had told them of the five Englishmen. At the time of discovering the doublet and shoes, they had left in the tent, beside them, pen, ink and paper, and also a number of trinkets to put the Indians in a good humor, and induce them to permit their captives to communicate with their friends. Nothing had been heard from them, however, and it was almost concluded that they had fallen victims to the cruelty of their captors or the severity of the climate. Frobisher, however, resolved to make one last effort to communicate with them; and a number of the natives having come to the ships to trade with the strangers, Frobisher told them that he was willing to exchange the man, woman and child whom he held, for those five Englishmen who had been in captivity for the past year; and wrote the following letter, which they agreed to deliver to the prisoners and return with an answer within three days:—

“In the name of God, in whom we al beleve, who, I trust, hath preserved your bodyes and souls amongst these infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to seeke by all meanes you can devise, for your deliverance, eyther with force or with any commodities within my shippes, which I will not spare for your sakes, or anything else I can do for you. I have aboard of theys a man, a woman, and a childe, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man I carried away from hence the laste yeare, is dead in England. Moreover, you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I wyll not leave a manne alive in their countrey. And thus unto God, whome I trust you do serve, in haste I leave you, and to him we will dayly pray for you. This Tuesday morning, the seaventh of August, anno 1577.

“Yours to the uttermost of my power,

“MARTIN FROBISHER.”

"I have sent you by these bearers, penne, incke, and paper, to write back unto me agayne, if personally you cannot come to certifie me of your estate."

Frobisher had determined not to attempt any further explorations, judging it best to obey literally his orders, which bound him to look for metalliferous ore as long as there was any prospect of finding it; so he gave orders that a number of the men should busy themselves with making a small fort on one of the islands near where they had anchored. A position of great natural strength was chosen, being enclosed on three sides by the sea, above the level of which the cliff rose like a wall. The side which faced the land was provided with a bulwark of casks full of earth; and the whole, being properly garrisoned, afforded a safe place from which they might advance to treat with the Indians, without having to return to the ships, in case of hostilities, in the midst of a shower of arrows.

Here they awaited the return of those natives who had undertaken to act as letter-carriers. On the Saturday after the letter was written, they showed themselves on the side of the hill, and called to the whites. It was plain that there were a great many of them there, most of them concealed, or partly so, behind rocks; and all their wiles to persuade the whites to come to a conference with them proved useless.

After some time, Frobisher sent a man from one of the vessels to meet one of theirs; for the Indians were not yet aware of the presence of the fort, where they were closely watched by the garrison. But the only result of this conference was a trade, in which the savage exchanged a great bladder for a looking-glass.

The male prisoner whom they had on board asserted that this had been sent to him to keep water in; but the Englishmen were rather inclined to believe that his friends meant him to use it as a life preserver, should he have an opportunity of escaping by swimming. They were rather suspicious of him, because both he and the woman had made several attempts to escape, loosing the boats from the stern of the ship, so that their captors would have nothing in which to pursue them. Unluckily for the wild children of the west, however, their efforts had always been detected in time to frustrate them.

When Frobisher found that this was all that they intended to offer in trade, and was warned by those in the fort that the Indians who had been concealed were slowly closing upon him and his immediate force, he gave the signal to return to the ships, although he had not been able to get any news of the five captives. When he had left the Indians they mustered themselves in full sight on the top of a hill, twenty in a rank, and began a dance which we, with a closer knowledge of the North American Indian's habits than Frobisher could have possessed, can only conclude was a war-dance. This was kept up

until night, accompanied by those unearthly noises which the Indians call their songs; and it was only stopped when a cannon was fired from one of the ships. "It thundered in the hollownesse of the hygh hylles, and made unto them so fearefull a noyse, that they hadde no greate wyll to tarry long after."

Another encounter with the natives failed to get them any news of their captive comrades; and, having procured almost two hundred tons of the black stones from which gold was to be extracted, they resolved to set sail homeward; their stock of provisions being almost exhausted. August 23 they left the mouth of the strait, and the next day, being clear of the land, they steered to the south, resolved to bring themselves the sooner under the latitude of their own climate.

Before they reached the seas where milder weather prevails, however, they were obliged by the wind to lie by all night; and in the morning, August though it was, they found snow half a foot deep on the hatchets.

Stormy weather followed them across the Atlantic; and the *Aid*, being "higher in the poop, and a tall ship, whereon the wind had more force to drive," outsailed the smaller vessels so far that they lost sight of each other, and the leader was forced to leave his consorts "to God and the good fortune of the sea." The *Aid* arrived at Milford Haven September 23; and, after the men had rested a little from their long voyage, left for Bristol, which was reached a month later. Here they found the *Gabriel*, which, having no good seamen on board, the master having been lost overboard before the ships parted company, had had the good fortune to fall in with a Bristol vessel at sea, and been conveyed thither. At this port they also heard that the *Michael* had safely reached a port in the north.

While the ore that was brought home did not yield as rich a harvest as had been expected, judging from the specimen that had been brought on the return from the first voyage, there was still enough gold in it, the assayers decided, to make it pay for transportation and working. Accordingly it was resolved that Frobisher should undertake a third voyage, for the purpose of procuring a larger quantity of ore; and ten vessels comprised the fleet of which he was placed in command. These comprised the three that he had had on the second voyage.

Ninety mariners, one hundred and thirty pioneers, and fifty soldiers, comprised the force under his command. In this expedition, as in the two former, the expenses were paid by subscription, the Queen being one of the subscribers. The whole cost of the three voyages was something over twenty thousand pounds sterling, the equivalent, at the present day, of about a quarter of a million of dollars, so much greater was the purchasing power of money in those days. Of this sum, the sovereign contributed nearly one-fourth.

This was not to be such a voyage as the two preceding, leaving no trace of



the lands having been visited by white men; but Frobisher was instructed to select forty mariners, gunners, shipwrights and carpenters, thirty soldiers and thirty pioneers, and leave them, under the command of his lieutenant, Edward Fenton, in the land then called *Meta Incognita*; but which may be more intelligibly described to the modern reader as the islands immediately to the north of North America. Provisions for seven months were to be furnished for the whole body, besides enough to last those who were left behind for a period of eighteen months.



FROBISHER DEPARTS ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE.

While the miners were working in the islands where the gold had already been found, Frobisher was to search diligently in the neighboring country for other mines, in order to find that which was richest. A suitable place, as secure as possible from attack by the natives, was to be selected for the colony; and Fenton was to be ordered to observe the climate, the nature and state of the country at different seasons, and particularly the time of year at which the channel appeared to be most free from ice. Thus it was planned to establish a colony in the frozen north, simply because gold had been found there; while the vast fertile regions of the southern part of the continent were left unexplored.

As time went on, five other vessels were added to the number of those that

were to sail under Frobisher; making fifteen in all. The general and all the captains were received at court shortly before they sailed, and Queen Elizabeth presented Captain Frobisher with a "faire cheyne of gold." The company was reviewed May 27, at Harwich, and four days later they sailed from England. Passing along the southern coast of Ireland, they saw a bark that they thought at first was a pirate, and hailed her; but she proved to be a Bristol vessel that had been overhauled by a French ship and left destitute of food; many of the men had been wounded and they were in sore straits. Frobisher relieved their immediate wants, and, having thus begun his voyage in the exercise of charity, sailed gaily across the Atlantic.

June 20 land was descried; it proved to be the most western of the Faroe Islands. Here Frobisher and some of his companions went ashore; taking possession of it—for it had not been known heretofore—in the name of the Queen.

The last day of June they fell in with a school of whales; one of these was struck by one of the vessels in such a way that the ship was stopped. With a roar of pain the immense beast raised his body and tail above the surface of the water and sank into its depths. Two days later they found it floating on the sea. They seem to have made no attempt to secure the oil or bone from any of these whales.

July 2 they came in sight of the Queen's Foreland, but were unable to land by reason of the ice. They stood out to sea for the night, and for five days remained out of sight of land.

During the voyage two of the vessels of the fleet had disappeared so completely that Frobisher could only suppose that they were lost. One of these had been under the command of Fenton, his lieutenant. Nothing had been seen or heard of them for twenty days. While they were seeking anchorage at the land which was so near, one of the vessels, a bark of a hundred tons' burden, received such a blow from an iceberg that she sank in sight of the whole fleet. It was only by the greatest exertion on the part of the other sailors that her crew could be saved.

"This was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm, which presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger. For the fleet being thus compassed, as foresaid, on every side with ice, having left much behind them through which they had passed, and finding more before them, through which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden and terrible tempest at the southeast, which blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the straits, brought together all the ice asea-board of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of turning back to recover sea-room again; so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a

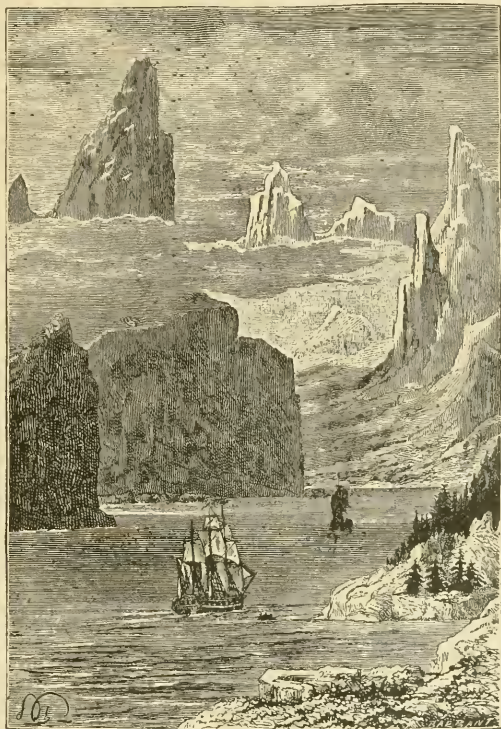
little berth of sea-room, did take in their sails, and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds and the danger of the lesser floating ice. And again some were so fast shut up and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice, that they were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cables, beds, masts, planks, and such like, which being hanged overboard, on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and sweep of the ice. \* \* \* Thus all the gallant fleet and miserable men, without hope of ever getting forth again, distressed with these extremities, remained here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting four ships \* \* \* which, being somewhat asea-board of the fleet, and being fast ships, by a wind, having a more scope of clear, tried it out all the time of the storm under sail, being hardly able to bear a coast of each.

“And albeit, by reason of the floating ice, which was dispersed here almost the whole sea over, they were brought many times to the extreme point of peril, mountains of ice ten thousand times scaping them scarce one inch, which to have stricken had been the present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwieldiness of them to stay and turn as a man would wish, \* \* \* and even now, while amidst these extremities, this gallant fleet and valiant men were altogether overlabored and forewatched, with the long and fearful continuance of the foresaid dangers, it pleased God, with his eyes of mercy looking down from Heaven, to send them help in good time, giving them the next day a more favorable wind at the west northwest, which did not only disperse and drive the ice before them, but also gave them liberty of more scope and sea-room, \* \* \* and to their greatest comfort they enjoyed again the fellowship of one another. \* \* \* And now the whole fleet plyed off to seaward, resolving there to abide, until the sun might consume, or the force of wind disperse, these ice from the place of their passage; and being a good berth off the shore, they took in their sails, and lay adrift.”

When at last they were able to make land, they could not recognize the place; although, according to Frobisher's reckoning, they were in the same position as last year. Masses of ice and snow so change the appearance of the coasts in these northern lands, from year to year, that the coasts are not always recognizable. In addition to this a thick fog overhung the land and continued twenty days.

Those who had accompanied Frobisher on his former voyages were not slow to declare that they had never seen this coast before; and the fog rendering it impossible for him to take observations for the purpose of determining his exact position, he was at a loss what to do. Finally, however, he

resolved to push on through the waters that lay before him; and although it soon became apparent to him that his subordinates were right, and they were not now in the entrance to that body of water which had been christened Frobisher's Straits, he stoutly maintained that it was the same passage.



AMONG THE ICEBERGS.

“And as some of the company reported, he hath since confessed that, if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the fleet and freighted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mare del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seek to find the rich country of Cataya.”

So writes the Elizabethan historian; never dreaming that almost three hun-

dred years would pass before the long-sought Northwest Passage would be discovered, only to be found to be practically useless. Having proceeded some distance along the coast of these new straits, Frobisher saw no hope of reaching any more desirable land; and, being anxious about many of his vessels, resolved to return. So much time had been taken up by the storms, the mistaken journey along this shore and the return, that there remained only a small part of the precious summer season for loading the ships with the ore. Added to this they had great difficulty in finding a harbor; and the danger in which they lay was such that Frobisher "determined with this resolution, to pass and recover his port, or else to bury himself with his attempt; and if such extremity so befell him, that he must needs perish among the ice, when all hope should be past, and all hope of safety set aside, having all the ordinance within board well charged, resolved with powder to burn and bury himself and all together with her Majesty's ships. And with this peal of ordinance, to receive an honorable knell, instead of a better burial, esteeming it more happy so to end his life, rather than himself, or any of his company, or any one of her Majesty's ships should become a prey and spectacle to those base and bloody man-eating people."

He did not make this desperate determination public, however; but taking a pinnace he went closer to the land than the ships could do, seeking a safe harbor, as well as a deposit of ore. While he was gone on this errand the ships were scattered by a terrible storm; in which the wind was accompanied by so much cold, that the snow lay half a foot deep on their hatches, and the sailors were scarcely able to handle the ropes and sails.

It was the last of July when Frobisher found the harbor of which he was in search; and riding there at anchor were the two vessels, one under Fenton's command, that he thought had been lost on the way across.

Immediately after landing, Frobisher called a council of his captains, to decide upon the course to be pursued. It was found that the house which had been prepared and transported in sections, was not complete; for parts of it had been lost with the ship that sank. Nor did they have the stock of provisions upon which they had calculated. But they were not contented to leave it thus. We read in the account which has been frequently quoted:—

"This day [August 30] the masons finished a house which Captain Fenton caused to be made of stone and lime upon the Countess of Warwick's Island, to the end that we might prove it against the next year whether the snow could overwhelm it, the frosts break up, or the people dismember the same. And the better to allure these brutish and uncivil people to courtesy, against other time of our coming, we left therein divers of our country toys, as bells and knives, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessary use, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men and women in lead, men a horseback, looking-glasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in



the house was made an oven, and bread left baked therein, for them to see and taste. We buried the timber of our pretended fort, with many barrels of meal, peas, grist, and sundry other good things, \* \* \* \* and instead we freight our ships full of ore, which we hold of far greater price. Also here we sowed peas, corn, and other grain, to prove the fruitfulness of the soil against the next year."

Two hundred and eighty-three years after this house was built, Captain Hall, the Arctic explorer, found its ruins, and brought away a number of relics from it and from the timber of the intended fort. It is situated on the Island known by its native name of Kod-lu-narn. These relics were transmitted to London, in care of the Royal Geographical Society, and placed in the British Museum. At the same time Captain Hall came upon a "reservoir," as he at first called it, which he supposed to be a pit from which the stone containing gold had been dug by Frobisher's followers.

The mists and fogs which came with redoubled frequency, the continually falling snow and stormy weather, gave them warning that it was time to be thinking of the homeward voyage. One thousand three hundred and fifty tons of the ore had been taken on board the various ships; and, on the second of September, 1578, they set sail for England, where they arrived after a less tempestuous passage than the outward voyage had been.

The ore that was brought home on this third voyage was found to be much less valuable than that which had been before procured; so we hear nothing more of expeditions to the northwestern seas for the sake of gold. It is to be regretted, too, that the vagueness of the statements regarding latitudes and longitudes makes it extremely doubtful where Frobisher explored; the finding of the relics which have been mentioned above was of particular importance, as fixing, more certainly than anything else could do, the location of the island where much of the gold was found, and off which the vessels comprising the fleet for the third expedition lay at anchor for a considerable time.

Two years after his return to England, we find in the State Papers the record of Martin Frobisher's appointment to the honorable post of Clerk of Her Majesty's Ships. His domestic relations, however, seem to be less pleasant than his public experience; or, at least, he was less exemplary as a man than as an officer; for in 1581 Isabel Frobisher filed a petition, complaining that Captain Frobisher—"whom God forgive"—had spent all the money left to her and her children by Thomas Ruggat, her first husband. The money was probably spent in fitting out the vessels for the third voyage, for he was a subscriber to the stock, and it proved, financially, a disastrous failure.

He commanded a vessel in that expedition to the West Indies, under the leadership of Sir Francis Drake, of which a detailed account will be found in the chapter devoted to the great Elizabethan admiral. On this occasion his

ship was the one which made the first attack on the enemy; "and therein did such excellent service that he was among the number of the few knights made by the Lord High Admiral on that signal occasion."



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

He seems to have remained to watch the Narrow Seas, while Drake departed in search of more stirring adventures. In 1590 he commanded an expedition sent against the coast of Spain and the neighboring islands; and in 1592 the fleet sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh.

The King of Spain had sent three thousand men to besiege Brest, and the French had appealed to Queen Elizabeth for assistance. She replied by sending a squadron under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher, to whom she addressed the following letter:—

“ELIZABETH, R.

“Trustie and welbeloved, wee greet you well; wee have seen your letter to our Threasuror and our Admyrall, and thereby perceive your love of our service, also by others youre owne good earriage, whereby you have wonne yourself reputation; whereof, for that wee imagine it will be comfort unto you to understand, we have thought it good to vouchsafe to take knowledge of it by our owne hande writinge.

“Wee know you are sufficiently instructed from our Admyrall, besides your own circumspection, howe to prevent any suddaine mischiefe by fire or otherwise upon our fleete under your charge; and yet do wee thinke it will worke in you the more impression to be by ourself againe remembered, who have observed by former experience that the Spaniards, for all their boaste, will truste more to their devices than they dare in deed with force look upon you. For the rest of my directions, wee leave them to such letters as you shall receive from our Counsaile.

“Given under our privie signet at our mansion of Richmond the 14th of November, in the thirty-sixth yeare of our reigne, 1594.

“L. S.

“To our trustie and wellbeloved

“SIR MARTINE FURBUSSHER, *Knight*.”

Wise as was the caution recommended in this letter, it did not have much effect upon the facts; for it was not delivered to the person addressed until after he returned to England.

Let us briefly trace the progress of this effort to assist the besieged inhabitants of Brest. The garrison, although closely beleaguered, had managed to hold out until the English ships arrived off the coast. Sir Martin landed

his sailors, and led them in a desperate storming of the besieging party's works. These were carried, but not without severe loss on the part of the English. Several captains were killed and Sir Martin himself received a shot in his side.

Having driven off the Spaniards and relieved the besieged garrison, Sir Martin returned to England, arriving at Plymouth early in the month of November, 1594.

Notwithstanding his wound, Sir Martin took an active part in directing the movements of his squadron, and prepared a formal report to the Lord High Admiral, which is dated November 8. His injury, however, was a more severe one than had at first been thought. An operation was performed to remove the bullet, but, perhaps from some lack of skill in the surgeon, perhaps from fever and secondary hemorrhage setting in, he grew worse, and November 22, 1594, died Sir Martin Frobisher, "a most valorous man, and one that is to be reckoned among the famousest men of our age for counsel and glory gotten at sea, as by the things which I have before spoken plainly appeareth."

## CHAPTER XVII.

### SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, THE ELIZABETHAN NAVIGATOR.

A Clergyman's Son—His Youth—Early Adventures—Various Enterprises—Voyage to America—Drake Wounded—Retreat to Ships—Overland to Panama—Drake's Vow—Treasure Secured—The Raft—Reprisals—Return to England—Sails for the South Sea—Off Brazil—Thieving Natives—Skirmish—Plot Against Drake—On the Pacific—Storms—Mistaken for Spaniards—Prizes—Homeward Bound—New Albion—Coast of North America—Camping on Land—Across the Pacific—The Ladrones—Ternate—Doubling the Cape—Arrival in England—A Day Lost—Knighted by the Queen—A New Commission—To the West Indies and Virginia—Return to England—The Spanish Armada—Surrendering to the Fortune of Drake—To Succor Portugal—Drake's Last Expedition—The Spanish Main—Attacked by the Spaniards—War on the Coast Towns—Disappointments—Illness and Death of Drake.

THE "spacious times of great Elizabeth" are filled with many a gallant and stately figure; but there are few who are more attractive to the fancy than Sir Francis Drake, that bold sailor through unknown seas, and the brave defender of his native land when threatened by the great Armada which Spain had sent against England and had boastingly named "The Invincible."

The hero's father was a clergyman of Devonshire, in which country his afterward celebrated son was born about 1540. The boy was about thirteen years old when Mary became Queen, and those religious persecutions began which have caused her to be known, in English history, as "Bloody Mary." The dependence of the Church upon the State made the religion of the sovereign a question of great importance; and this Queen differed so widely from her brother and predecessor in this respect, that many clergymen gave up their livings and undertook other work. One of those who followed this course was the elder Drake, who resigned his preferment in the Church, and removed with his family of twelve sons into the county of Kent.

Although the boy was the godson and namesake of Francis, Earl of Bedford, he appears to have derived no advantage from this connection; it is said that he was employed as a ferry-boy; later he was bound apprentice to the master of a vessel which traded with Holland and France. The master became much attached to him; and, dying when Drake was still a young man, bequeathed the ship to him. Before he was twenty, however, he had sold this vessel and gone as purser on a ship to the Bay of Biscay, and then on a voyage to the Gulf of Guinea.

In 1665 he sailed with Lovel to the West Indies, but received very hard treatment from the Spaniards there. Two years later, we find him selling all

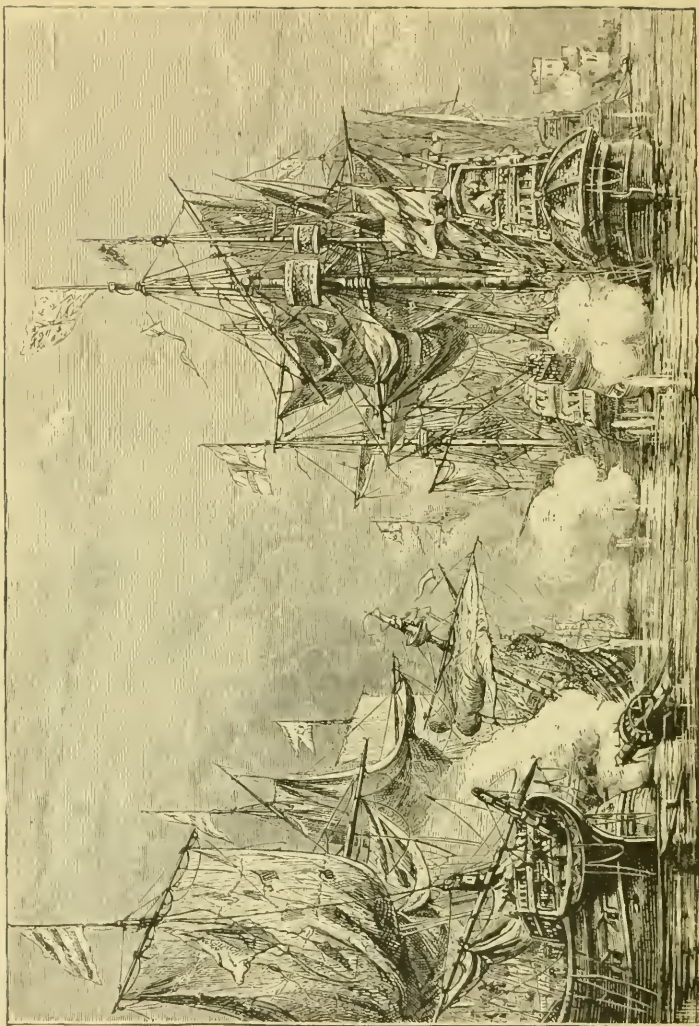
his possessions, to invest the sum thus realized in an expedition to the Guinea coast. Sir John Hawkins, noted as a buccaneer, was the commander of the fleet; and the object was the capture of slaves. They expected to sell these un-



FRANCIS DRAKE AS A FERRY-BOY.

fortunate captives in the West Indies, where there was a considerable demand for these imported slaves, since it had been found that the natives could not





NAVAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH FLEETS.

be forced to labor for the white men; but an unfavorable wind drove them to the coast of Mexico, where they anchored in the harbor of a Spanish settlement. Here they found a number of richly laden ships ready to sail for Spain, and might easily have captured them. Such was the estimation in which piracy was held then, that, this was a real temptation, and the question was seriously debated; but better counsels prevailed and it was decided to let the ships alone. Their forbearance, however, was rudely rewarded; for the Spaniards took the first opportunity of assaulting the English fleet; they attempted to board the *Minion* and *Jesus*, but were kept out, with great loss on both sides. "Now," says Hawkins, "when the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were gotten about two ships' lengths from the Spanish fleet, the fight began so hot on all sides, that, within one hour, the admiral of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunk, their vice-admiral burnt, and one other of their principal ships supposed to be sunk. The Spaniards used their shore artillery to such effect that it cut all the masts and yards of the *Jesus*, and sunk Hawkins' smaller ships, the *Judith* only excepted." It had been determined, as there was little hope to get the *Jesus* away, that she should be placed as a target or defence for the *Minion* till night, when they would remove such of the stores and valuables as was possible, and then abandon her. "As they were thus determining," says Hawkins, "and had placed the *Minion* from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards fired two great ships, which were coming directly with us; and having no means to avoid the fire, it bred among the men a marvelous fear, so that some said, 'Let us depart with the *Minion*;' others said, 'Let us see whether the wind will carry the fire from us.' But the *Minion*'s men, which had always their sails in readiness, thought to make sure work, and so, without either consent of the captain or master, cut their sail." Hawkins was "very hardly" received on board, and many of the men of the *Jesus* fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who treated them with the greatest cruelty imaginable.

Only two vessels escaped, one of which was the *Judith*, commanded by Drake; the other four fell into the hands of the Spaniards, or were sunk. These two got safely out to sea, but they were but insufficiently provisioned for a long voyage, and there were none but Spanish settlements in the New World. There was no help for it but to make the best of their way across the Atlantic; and, although they suffered greatly for food, the future Admiral and his crew held to their course and reached their native country at last; the commander firmly resolved to revenge himself upon the Spaniards as soon as opportunity offered.

Much had been hoped for from the success of this expedition; but the promoters of it found themselves poorer than when they set out. Drake was so reduced in fortune that he entered the service of Queen Elizabeth, and for two years we hear nothing of him. His time in the Royal Navy was spent

to good advantage, and in 1570 he was able to make another voyage to the West Indies with two ships provided mainly by private enterprise. The next year he made another voyage, with one vessel only; his object being to examine the coasts and note precisely the condition of the various settlements, that he might be better able to strike a crushing blow, when he found his time for vengeance had come.



DRAKE CAPTURING A SPANISH GALLEON.

His reputation for seamanship, courage, and executive ability was such that when he announced his intention of sailing to America to make reprisals upon the Spaniards, he was at once joined by as many volunteers as he cared to enlist. May 24, 1572, he set sail from Plymouth with two vessels, one of which was commanded by his brother John; and a force of seventy-three men, all told. The vessels carried a year's supply of food besides ample military stores for the same period; and three pinnaces were stowed away, ready to be put together when there should be occasion to use them.

Leaving his vessels anchored in a secure harbor on the coast of the American main land, Drake now proceeded to the execution of his plans. Captain Rawse was left in command with twenty men; while Drake himself, with the bulk of his force, proceeded in the pinnaces, keeping close under shore all day, and rowing hard all night.

As they entered the bay on which stood the Spanish settlement called Nombre de Dios, they spied a ship which had just come from Spain with a cargo of wine. This vessel was forced to the side of the bay, lest she should give the alarm; for surprise was an essential of success. Drake and his men then hastily rowed to the fort and entered without resistance; for there was

but one man there, so careless was the system of military duties. This man, however, was sufficient to alarm the town; and when the Englishmen had dismounted the guns which they found in the fort, they consulted as to the best means of assaulting a town where the inhabitants were prepared to resist them. A guard was placed upon the pinnaces, and the remaining thirty-two men were divided into two parties, which were to march into the town, with drums beating and colors flying, and begin the attack at the same time.

The Spaniards were drawn up in front of the Governor's house, taking due care to cover the road that led to Panama, for that was their only avenue of retreat. When the English advanced upon them, they imagined, from the warlike show and the noise of the drums, that they were about to be attacked by a large force; and, throwing down their arms, scattered in all directions.

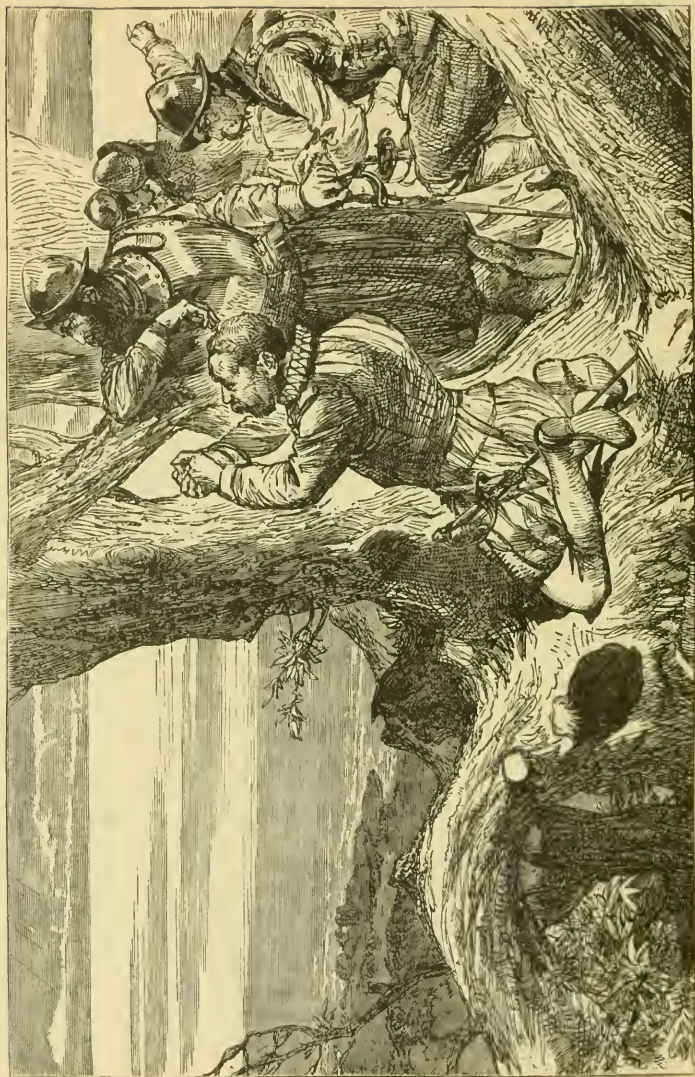
Drake gave the order to march toward the royal treasury; but scarcely had they reached this center of attraction, when a violent storm of thunder, wind and rain, which had been threatening for some time, burst upon them. Their guns and ammunition were wet before they could find shelter; and the sailors, alarmed at the situation in which they found themselves, practically unarmed in the midst of a town which they had assaulted and were about to rob, began to look longingly toward the pinnaces. Drake would hear nothing of retreat, however. Nor would he permit them to carry off great bars of silver which they found in the store-house.

"If you find silver where the door is left open," said he, "what shall we find where the doors are closed and locked?"

They knew him too well to refuse to follow where he led; but still they would far rather have gone back to their boats. Drake himself, however, felt his strength giving way. The Spaniards had fired two or three shots before throwing away their arms and running, and one had wounded him in the leg. He had said nothing of it, fearing that it would have a bad effect upon his men to know that their leader was wounded; but now he had lost so much blood that the hurt began to affect his appearance. They asked why his face should be so pale beneath the bronze which the sea-air had given to his naturally florid complexion; and one, perhaps his brother, asked him the question direct. Weakness overcame him, and he sank down; faintly commanding them to retreat to the pinnaces. His anxious followers bound his wound with his scarf and carried him to the boats; reaching the haven of safety without losing but one man in the course of their attack upon the town.

Returning to the ships, they were told by those who remained there that their coming was known all along the coast; and Captain Rawse declared that he had no further hopes of success. Drake, however, was determined that the Spaniards should suffer for the wrong that had been done him in the past, and sailed again to attack the settlements.





DRAKE'S FIRST VIEW OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.



In order to be encumbered with as few vessels as possible, and have only those which were capable of rapid movements, Drake decided to destroy one of his ships, although he dared not inform his followers of what he proposed doing. The carpenter bored three holes in the bottom of the vessel, and the hold was half full of water before the crew was permitted to discover the leak. It was then too late to save her; and by Drake's orders they set fire to her, to prevent the Spaniards from securing possession of her.

Placing his brother in command of the remaining ship, Drake reserved the best of the pinnaces for his own use, and proceeded to a sheltered point on the isthmus, where he encamped, keeping so quiet that he hoped the enemy would be led to think that he had left the coast; for he had failed in one or two attacks because his coming was expected.

A treaty had been concluded with some Indians, who, having been very harshly treated by the Spaniards a number of years before, had succeeded in escaping from the neighborhood of these cruel newcomers and establishing themselves at some distance from the settlements. In company with a number of these Indians a small force of the Englishmen set out to march overland to Panama.

Drake led the party in person and the journey occupied about two weeks, beginning early in February, 1573. This seems to have been Drake's first experience as an explorer; hitherto he had sailed over well-known waters, guided by charts of unquestioned authority, to points which had already been determined; now he was going beyond the bounds of what was well known, into that land which was known only by dim and uncertain tradition.

It is true that Balboa had climbed the heights and seen the broad Pacific more than half a century before; but as yet all these lands beyond the coast were strange to Englishmen; the earth here had been trodden only by the natives and the Spaniards.

Climbing a high hill on the morning of the 17th of February, Drake saw spread out before him two vast oceans. On one hand was the Atlantic, the "North Sea," which he had left, and on the other was the "South Sea," to which the name of Pacific, given by Magellan nearly fifty years before, had not yet been generally applied. Over the vast extent of the latter Drake determined that he would yet sail in an English ship; and until his time no other man had made such a resolution. That he made it, and kept it, gave Great Britain a claim to the western coast of the continent; although that claim was not made good, excepting as to the territory north of the present boundary of the United States.

This hill was not far from Panama, whither they were bound; and it was now necessary for them to keep as quiet as possible. Their precautions were rendered of no account by the action of one of the party, who had been drinking, and who proved unmanageable at the very moment when conceal-

ment was most necessary. As the result of this betrayal, although they had been informed that the treasurer of the town was to leave that very night for *Nombre de Dios*, with fourteen mules laden with gold and silver, and one with precious stones, they were able to seize only two horse-loads of silver from two caravans which passed; the treasurer of whose movements their Indian spy had brought intelligence turning back when he learned that strangers were concealed on the road.

Drake's party marched on to Santa Cruz. Near the town, they met with a party of soldiers, who commanded them to surrender, promising them kind treatment. But the hardy buccaneers laughed at the demand, and so returned the fire of the Spanish soldiers that the whole party was put to flight, while the Englishmen followed at their heels, and entered the town with their Indian allies.

Drake now determined to return to his ship, about which he was somewhat anxious. He found all in good condition, and was debating with his lieutenants what should be done next, when a ship was seen bearing down upon them. They knew that the name of Drake had become dreaded throughout the whole length of the coast, wherever there were Spanish settlements, and that vessels were being built to convoy those which must be used to transport treasure; and they at once thought that this was a ship which had been sent against them. It proved, however, to be a French ship, the captain and crew of which were desirous of associating themselves with Drake as soon as they found who he was and for what purpose he was upon this coast.

Leaving the two ships in a safe harbor, Drake, with twenty French and fifteen English and Indians, sailed in the pinnaces to Rio Francisco. Landing here with some of the men, he left the vessels in charge of the others, with strict orders to meet them at a given point in three or four days. The land party then struck inland, and halted within a mile of the highway, where they must see and hear all that passed; for the mules then used for transporting goods had their harness hung with bells, so that their approach could be heard from a considerable distance.

In these days this would be regarded as nothing more or less than highway robbery, however it may have been justified then as reprisals upon an enemy; and when the caravan came near them, Drake and his men promptly helped themselves to the treasure, burying that which they could not carry off.

The next day they approached the shore; but seeing no signs of the pinnaces, although it was now time for them to be at the appointed place, began to fear that they were lost; and the sight of seven Spanish pinnaces hovering at a distance did not make them feel any better about it. Happily for the adventurers, a sudden gust of wind and rain caused these vessels to sheer off from the shore; so that they were free to approach and search for their own vessels.

Drake now began to fear that his pinnaces had been captured, and that the sailors who manned them would be tortured by the Spaniards in order to make them confess where the larger vessels were hidden. He accordingly began the construction of a raft, that he and those who were with him might reach the ships and sail away before they were discovered by the Spaniards; for the latter would require some time to raise a force sufficient to attack the vessels.

One Englishman, two Frenchmen, and an Indian were all who were willing to assist him in the work; and, having lashed the raft pretty securely, they made a sail of biscuit-bags, contrived a rudder, and committed their fortunes to the water. On this raft, they sat up to their waists in water, and sometimes sank till their armpits were wet. After a voyage of six hours, they caught sight of the ships; and running the raft on the nearest shore, went round to them by land. Here he learned that a hard gale had prevented the pinnaces from keeping their appointment at the stated time; and here they came after a day or so, having reached the land and taken on board those whom Drake had left as guards, together with the treasure which they had taken to the shore. That which had been hidden was recovered by the Spaniards.

The French ship now parted company with them; and Drake, hoisting the British flag, sailed boldly along the coast, stopping any vessel bound to the Spanish settlements. Two hundred vessels were thus overhauled, the English commander taking great credit to himself because he usually set them adrift to return to their owners, and did not cause the death of a single prisoner.

Their stock of provisions and stores was growing less, however, and Drake was anxious to explore that great ocean which he had seen from the height on the isthmus. He therefore gave orders to set sail for England. They arrived at Plymouth August 9, 1573. It was Sunday, and services were in progress in the churches; but in some way the worshipers learned that Drake had returned from the Spanish Main, as this part of the ocean was then called, and they left the preacher to talk to empty pews while they gathered about the harbor to see the ships and the sailors that had passed through wonderful adventures and returned to England with fabulous treasures.

Drake's first voyage must be regarded as preparation for that in which he appears in the part of an explorer, if not a discoverer. He returned to England full of enthusiasm about the great ocean west of America, and devoted his share of the wealth acquired during this first independent voyage to fitting out vessels for its exploration. Three frigates were prepared; and, through the influence of the Earl of Essex and Christopher Hatton, Drake obtained the Queen's commission to go to the South Sea. His former success was such that he had no lack of volunteers; and many stood ready to promote the expedition.



TAKING A PRIZE.

November 15, 1573, Drake sailed out of Plymouth harbor with a fleet of five vessels: the largest was a ship of one hundred tons' burden, and the smallest a pinnace of fifteen tons. A violent storm arose before they were fairly out of sight of land, which so damaged the vessels that they were obliged to put back to refit; and it was almost a month before they were ready to sail again.

The winter was spent in cruising about the coast of Africa and the adjacent islands, some few prizes being taken. It must be remembered, in excuse for Drake's war upon the Spanish shipping and settlements, that there was all but open war between Spain and England. There had been no formal declaration, but the Queen upheld the rebels against Spanish authority in the Low Countries, and the King of Spain was even then considering the preparation of the Invincible Armada, which was to be sent against England for the utter destruction of that country. Drake attacked Portuguese settlements because Portugal was then a province of Spain, having been conquered in 1550 and remaining tributary until 1640.

It was not until April 5 that, having crossed the Atlantic at about the equator, they spied land. This was a part of the coast of Brazil; but they did not anchor for nearly a week. They made great efforts to make friends with the natives; but were received with some distrust. After some time, however, the Indians acquired a little more confidence; so that two of them, slipping up behind Drake, actually stole his hat off his head; and hid themselves to divide the spoil thus obtained; one taking the hat, while the other satisfied himself with the shining gold lace adorning it.

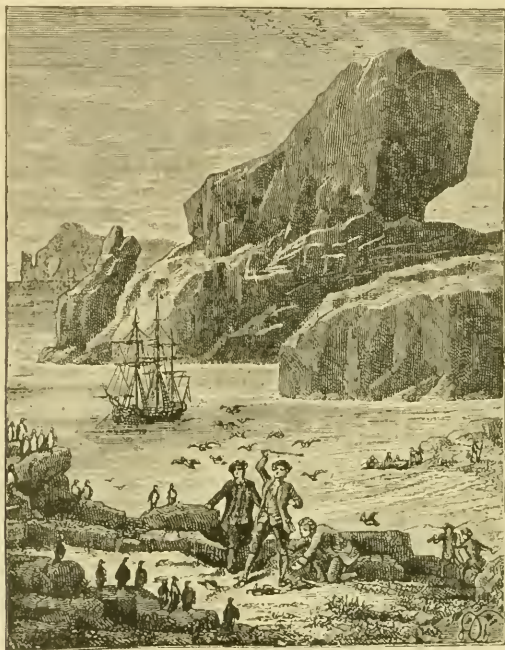
Many seals were killed here, so that Drake gave the inlet the name of Seal Bay. Here also they saw penguins; these birds were so stupid that the men easily knocked them on the head with sticks; and there were ostriches which they described as being able to grasp stones in their talons and fling them with very good aim at their pursuers.

Sailing southward they came to the anchorage which Magellan had named Port St. Julian. Here Drake landed in company with six of his men; but the natives proved less friendly than at other places and attacked the strangers fiercely. One of the white men was slain; and Drake avenged the death of his friend and follower—for he had a "tender regard" for this man—by killing the murderer with his own hand. After this skirmish the Englishmen retreated to their ships, landing again the next day to bury the body of their comrade.

As was so frequently the case among the followers of the great navigators, there were mutineers among Drake's men; and a certain Captain Doughty had planned Drake's death. The plot was disclosed, however, before opportunity for carrying it out was found; and Doughty was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death. Either his associates were shielded by their com-



rades, or were less deeply concerned than he had tried to show, for they were not severely punished; Drake contented himself with making an example of one man.



AN ABUNDANCE OF WILD FOWL.

On the shore near where they had anchored, were to be seen the ghastly outlines of a gibbet, erected more than half a century before by Magellan for the punishment of those sailors who had mutinied against him; and on this same scaffold which had been the scene of their death, the English rebel against his chief was hanged. It was frequently the practice at that time that the body of a malefactor should be left hanging, until the flesh fell away or was eaten by birds of prey, leaving the skeleton dangling; but Drake, more humane, caused Doughty's body to be buried, and a large stone fixed at each end of his grave, on one of which his name was rudely chiseled in Latin.

Leaving this port August 17, they reached the Straits of Magellan three days later. It had been supposed, before this time, that the current in these straits always set one way; but Drake found it varying with time and place. More than two weeks were consumed in their passage through the straits, as they were doubtful of the course, and were frequently endangered by the sudden squalls from the snow-covered heights on both sides of the passage. September 7 they entered the Pacific; Drake's desire was achieved: he was sailing an English ship on the South Sea.

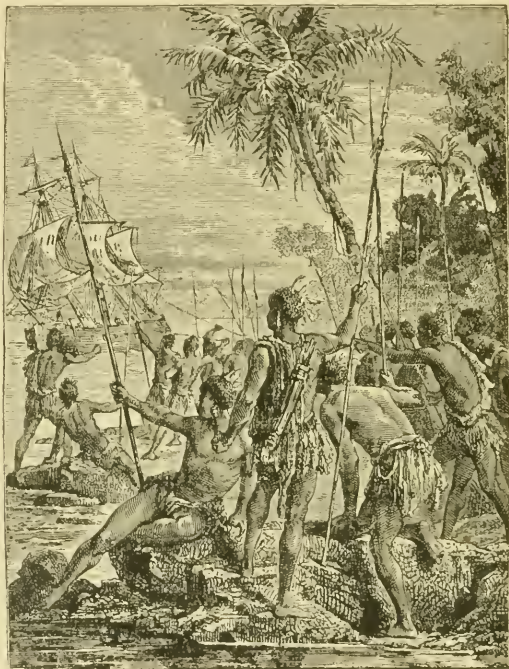
It must be remembered that, although there were many vessels which had sailed upon the Pacific before this time, Drake was practically sailing over unknown waters. Information was slowly spread in that time, and often jealously guarded. The explorations which had been made of the coast of South America were largely by the Spaniards and Portuguese; and each of these nations was anxious to prevent the mariners of all others from profiting by the experience of her own. It is true that maps and charts were prepared, showing the extent and situation of the lands discovered and claimed; but there was no record given to the public of the particulars which would prove so useful to the mariner. Drake knew very little of the American Seas before he actually sailed in them; he had nothing more than a broad outline of what the Spaniards and Portuguese had accomplished.

They found the ocean into which they had entered anything but pacific, although Magellan had so named it. Scarcely had they left the straits behind them when they were assailed by a storm which drove them two hundred leagues out of their proposed path. It continued for more than a week; and during its course they lost one of their ships, of which they never heard again. They made an attempt to anchor as soon as they could recover their course, but were driven from the harbor which they sought, and separated from another of the ships. This one, however, was more fortunate than the first, for she made her way back to England.

This left Drake but three vessels; his own flag-ship, one of fifty tons' burden, and the pinnace. With these he managed to find anchorage in some of the islands that cluster about the southern point of South America; approaching the shore of one of these islands, a number of natives with long spears were seen which proved to be quite friendly. He secured a supply of water and "wholesome herbs, which were very serviceable to the sick." For at that time a ship that made a long voyage always had more or less scurvy on board before that voyage was over.

From this point they coasted along the western line of South America; we may have some idea of the uncertainty of Drake's knowledge of the waters where he was sailing, when we read that up to this time the true direction of the coast of Chili was not known; Drake was astonished when he found, by a series of observations, that its general trend is slightly to the east of north,

Anchoring at Mocha Island Nov. 29, Drake, accompanied by ten of his men, went ashore, and met some of the natives, with whom they began trading. A quantity of potatoes and two fat sheep were given the Englishmen in exchange for some of the trifles which they had brought with them, and both parties to the transaction retired equally well pleased. Two others were sent on shore the next day; but in the meantime some story of the cruelty of the Spaniards had reached the ears of the Indians who had so amicably traded with them; and these unfortunate sailors were murdered by them without provocation, being mistaken by them for Spaniards



DRAKE VISITS THE ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH SEA.

On another occasion such a mistake as this produced more agreeable consequences. Sailing along the coast of Chili, they met at one place where they anchored a number of the natives, who seemed well disposed toward them.

One of these informed them that a large ship, laden for Peru, was then lying at Santiago; never dreaming, poor innocent savage, that these were the sworn enemies of the people who manned that Spanish ship. He readily accepted a trifle in payment of his services as pilot, and guided them straight to where the vessel lay. The crew consisted of eight Spaniards and three negroes. Seeing the English vessels approach them, the Spaniards, who did not look for enemies in the Pacific, roared out an invitation to the newcomers to come and drink with them. It may well be believed that the invitation was not declined; the English sailors hastened on board the Spanish ship, seized her crew before they had discovered their mistake, and clapped them in irons. One of them escaped; and, swimming ashore, gave the alarm to the inhabitants of the town.

The daring sea-rovers, however, were prepared for such a case as this, and Drake gave the order to put to sea at once. Safely out of the enemy's way, they examined their prize, and found they had taken a cargo of gold, to the value of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Having found the value of their prize, Drake returned to the coast and plundered the town. It is recorded that he rifled a chapel as well as other buildings; and having secured as booty from this source a chalice of silver, an altar-cloth, and a few other articles used in divine service, presented them to his chaplain. This chaplain, though a regular clergyman of the Church of England, did not decline this present.

One important item of the booty secured at Santiago was the wine, of which a goodly quantity of native manufacture was taken on board. Having set his prisoners ashore, Drake bent his course toward Lima, made famous by the achievements of Pizarro.

Three times, before they reached this city, did they land for water. The first was in the haven of Coquimbo, where fourteen men were assigned to the duty of going ashore for this purpose. Their presence being discovered, a force of three hundred horse and two hundred foot was sent by the town authorities to attack them; but the alert Englishmen retreated at the first signs of the enemy in such numbers, losing only one man. The next day, when a number of his comrades were sent ashore to bury him, the Spaniards displayed a flag of truce, but Drake decided to have nothing to do with them.

The second landing for water was uneventful. On the third occasion, at Tarapara, they found a Spaniard asleep, who seemed to have been left in charge of some treasure; this negligent guard was "eased" of eighteen bars of silver, worth four thousand ducats, which lay on the ground beside him; and "this they did with such politeness as not to disturb his repose." Imagine that Spaniard's astonishment when he awoke to find his silver gone, and no trace of the robbers to be found! A little farther on, they seized eight Peruvian sheep, as they styled the llamas, laden with a hundred pound weight

of silver each, done up in leather bags. Having conveyed the silver to their ships, they were kind enough to return the animals to the Spaniard and Indian who had been driving them. This silver is worth, at the present day, about a hundred and thirty thousand dollars of United States money.

At Arica they found three small barks, the crews of which, in false security, had gone ashore. The cargo of these consisted, in part, of about twelve hundred pounds of silver in wedges. Not being strong enough to attack the town, they now put to sea.

In the harbor of Lima they found a fleet of twelve ships, the masters and most of the sailors of which had gone on shore, thinking their vessels entirely safe. Drake's men helped themselves to the silks and linens with which these were loaded, and then went in pursuit of a treasure-ship which had recently sailed from Lima bound for Panama. While in chase of this vessel they came up with another, which they rifled of eighty pounds of fine gold, besides a large crucifix, made of gold and adorned with valuable emeralds. Their original game was then pursued with fresh vigor; and they desiered her off Cape San Francisco, near which they overtook and boarded her. She yielded eighty pounds of gold and twenty-six tons of silver in bars—an amount of bullion worth, at the present day, nearly a million of dollars. Besides this they secured a large quantity of jewels, the value of which is not readily calculated.

They dismissed this vessel to continue her journey to Panama; having first supplied the captain and crew with some linen; but whether from the cargo of that ship which they had recently rifled, history does not say. Their kindness was rewarded, as they thought, by their speedily coming up with another vessel, from which they secured some booty, and the pilot of which they took on board their own flag-ship to guide them along the coast.

He conducted them to the town of Guatulco, where, as he informed them, there were but seventeen Spaniards, all told. Doubtful, however, of the truth of this information, Drake went ashore with some of his men, and marched to the public building where court was then in session. Some negroes had conspired to fire the town, and had just been tried for it; they were found guilty, and the judge was about to pronounce sentence when Drake and his men entered, and seized and carried off to his ships judge, prisoners, and spectators. The captive judge was required to write to his townsmen, bidding them permit the Englishmen to water their vessels in peace. His orders were obeyed; and the Englishmen, having obtained a supply of water, improved their opportunity, as usual, by searching the town for plunder. They found nothing but "a bushel of reals," rather an indefinite expression of quantity or value to those who are not accustomed to measuring money in this way.

Drake began to think that he had done enough to revenge his private in-



juries, and to retaliate upon the enemies of his country those misfortunes which they had inflicted upon England; and so it seems to us, as we read the account of his exploits. It now became necessary to consider his best route homeward. To return by way of the Straits of Magellan would be to dare great danger; for the Spaniards, should they discover his intentions, would certainly send enough vessels there to dispute his passage through the narrow channel; and he seems to have had no notion of rounding Cape Horn. He therefore decided that his safest, if not his quickest route, lay across the Pacific, by way of the Moluccas, around the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to Old England; and this was the course that he resolved to take.

He had now lost the two smaller vessels, and had but the one remaining. Perhaps this was one reason why he decided to abandon his attacks upon the Spanish shipping, and retreat from the vessels with which they might pursue him. His proposed course lay directly across the Pacific; for he had reached a point a little north of the equator; but there was no wind—the vessel lying in the equatorial belt of calms—and the great ocean river which here made its influence felt is a current which sets from west to east. Had the course of the currents been better known, Drake would undoubtedly have steered to the southward for a few degrees, and been swept across the Pacific by the current which runs counter to that in which he found himself.

With considerable difficulty, and by taking advantage of every breath of wind, they managed to escape from the belt of calms and from the unfavorable current. But in so doing they had entered that other current, scarcely more favorable to their purpose, which sweeps along the western coast of North America from the Isthmus of Panama to Behring Bay. Borne onward by this, and retarded by unfavorable winds, they were nearly two months at sea before they saw land; and then the cold winds which blew seaward did not permit them to anchor for some time.

The white cliffs which he saw here reminded the homesick Englishman strongly of the white cliffs of Dover, whence England derived her classical name of Albion, “the white,” and suggested to him the name of New Albion, as a designation for this part of the continent.

The place where they landed was a well sheltered bay, about forty-three degrees north of the equator. This was about three degrees farther north than any white man had yet penetrated, sailing along the Pacific coast of America; for, about forty years before, a Spaniard named Cabrillo had reached Cape Mendocino, and then turned back toward the more congenial southern lands. Since then none had passed this point; for the Spaniards had much to do to hold and settle the warm and fertile countries which were already known to them; and they had not heard any stories of gold or other treasure to be found in the far North, such as they had seized upon in Mexico and Peru.

Drake continued his voyage as far as the forty-eighth parallel; then,

alarmed by the fact that although this was the summer season, the cold was severe, he turned southward, and spent some time in an inlet which was either San Francisco Bay or that opening which is still known as Sir Francis Drake's Bay. Authorities differ as to the inlet in which he anchored for intercourse with the natives, but the probabilities are in favor of that which bears his name.



INDIAN STALKING DEER.

He found the people well disposed toward him; a pretty sure sign that the Spaniards had not yet made their influence felt in this part of the country: since their cruelties were usually such as to incense the Indians against all white men. Presents were exchanged, consisting on the one side of toys and other trifles, on the other of feather-work, curious feathers, and tobacco; with the uses of the tobacco the Europeans were as yet wholly unacquainted.

After such preliminaries as these, Drake judged it safe to land and establish a camp: for his men had been confined to the narrow limits of the deck

for many months, and it was a great relief to be once more on land. Tents were pitched at the base of a small hill, therefore, and a certain force being detailed to guard the ship, and regularly relieved, those not employed in this duty were permitted to recreate themselves on shore.

It was while they were thus encamped that Drake saw the natives gathering about him, loaded with presents. Gradually they arranged themselves in some sort of order, and one of them, stationed on the top of the hill, delivered a long harangue, evidently addressed to the Admiral, although, of course, not one word of it was understood. This concluded, the orator descended, attended by his companions, who had laid down their arms, and made new demonstrations of friendship.

The women, who had remained at the top of the hill, howled and tore their hair; finally, the men returned, and indulged in the same proceedings. Other mysterious ceremonies seemed to show that they were engaged in worship of one of their gods; and Drake, to show the difference between heathen and Christian worship, commanded that his chaplain should hold service in front of his tent. The Indians gathered about in curiosity, and seemed to show both interest and respect.

A few days later two ambassadors came to see the Admiral, one of whom made a long speech. From this the Englishmen gathered that the king, as they styled the chief of this tribe, was coming to visit them; and their surmise proved to be right. It is amusing to read, in the old accounts, how the chronicler applies to this savage chief, clad in rabbit-skins and crowned with feathers, the terms which they were accustomed to apply to the Majesty of England, robed in state, and attended by the peers of the realm. Thus we find that the Admiral drew up his forces in military order to receive them, while the "sceptre-bearer" halted at some distance outside the enclosure in which the Englishmen stood and delivered a long speech; which must have been truly edifying, since the persons to whom it was addressed could not understand a word. This official was followed by the main part of the procession, in which, of course, the king was the most conspicuous figure; when he had ceased speaking, he began to sing, and then to dance; and the whole royal party joined in the performance. When "king, lords and commons," according to the division which the narrator makes of this Indian tribe, had thus entertained their hosts, the chief made several speeches, none of which were understood, except as to their general tenor, which seemed to be friendly.

Uncertain of the real intentions of the natives, Drake had caused a line of earthworks to be thrown up about his camp; and it was within this defence that his men had been drawn up to receive their guests. Feeling sure now, however, that the Indians were well disposed, and that no treachery was intended, he invited some of them inside this line. Here the king, still further

to show his friendly feeling, surrendered to Drake, as the Englishmen understood, his dominions; and taking the crown from his own head, placed it upon the white chief's brow, in sign of his investment with the royal power.

These west-coast Indians seem to have thought, like those of the islands to the east of the continent, that the white strangers had descended from the skies; for they made several attempts to worship them, offering them sacrifices more than once; and it was with some difficulty that they were prevented from continuing these efforts.

Drake, with some of his people, explored the surrounding country for a short distance, finding it well stocked with large deer and with the rabbits whose skins formed such an important article of dress with the natives. "These Indians," says Drake, "are very expert in the use of the bow and arrow, and their skill in capturing the deer is wonderful. We saw an Indian with a stag's head over his own, walking on all fours, appearing to graze, and carrying out the pantomime with such truth to life that our hunters would have fired at him at thirty paces had they not been prevented. By this means the natives approach quite close to a herd of deer, and then kill them with arrows." But his men were impatient to reach home again, and no considerable exploration was attempted. He caused a pillar to be erected, on which was fixed a plate, engraved with the name and arms of the Queen, his own name, and a record of his discovery and of the supposed transfer by the chief of these dominions to the use of the sovereign of England.

Having procured a considerable stock of such provisions as the country afforded, Drake set sail from California July 23, 1579. His departure was the cause of great regret to the natives, who made many demonstrations of sorrow as they saw his preparations and understood their meaning; and signalized his sailing by sacrificial fires all along the coast.

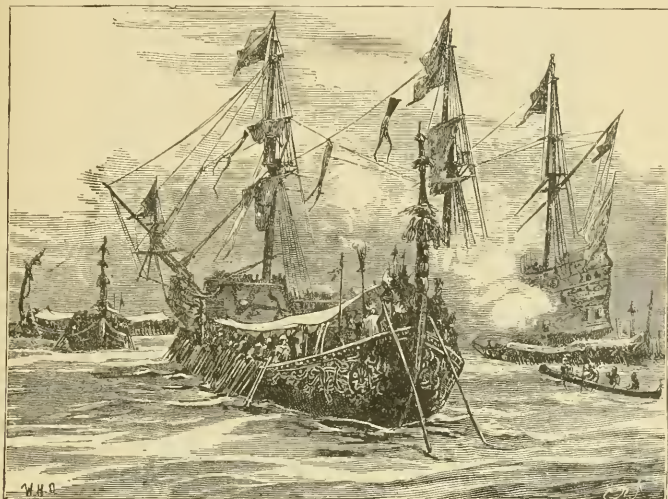
Drake's first intention, after leaving the American coast, was to sail to the northward and seek a passage to China in that way; probably having some idea of finding that Northwest Passage which afterward was sought, with such cost of blood and treasure, by so many navigators.

Drake and his men seem to have had much more regard for their own comfort than the later Arctic explorers; for when they found that it was becoming colder and colder, and that the sun was daily going farther south, they did at sea what they had done along the coast—went southward, to seek a pleasanter climate.

October 13, they landed at the Ladrões; and at first were inclined to think the natives as nice people as they ever dealt with. But it was not long before they understood why Magellan had so named these islands; the natives stole everything that they could lay their hands on, and could not be persuaded or compelled to restore anything of which they had once obtained possession.

The English finally refused to deal with them, and forbade them to come

to the ship. This enraged them so that they threw immense stones at the vessel, and were not stopped until she discharged one gun at them. Fairly "scared out of their wits" by this discharge, they leaped from their canoes into the water, and swam under the surface to land, towing their boats as they went, but not looking behind them. This firing was the parting salute, for the ship shortly afterward sailed on her course.



DRAKE'S ARRIVAL AT TERNATE.

They landed at several islands, but did not stop long at any until they came to Ternate, where they were received with much ceremony and treated with much kindness by the Mohammedan ruler. They traded at several islands, procuring those spices which were so valued in Europe and which formed, in the minds of Europeans of that date, no small item of the wealth of the golden East; and although they came near sinking their ship by running upon a rock, escaped all material damage, and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope March 16, 1580. The middle of June they doubled the cape, coming so close to shore that they might easily have made land had they wished it. It was full time for them to get back to England, for the number of men had diminished to fifty-seven; their provisions were low, and they had but three casks of water on board. Under ordinary circumstances they could easily have procured water, being so near land; but all the coast of Africa was claimed by the Port-



uguese; and, since Portugal was then a province of Spain, this was territory where Drake, of all men, was little likely to find assistance of any kind.

At Sierra Leone, however, they were obliged to stop for water, and procured also a supply of lemons, so useful where scurvy is to be feared, and of oysters.



KNIGHTING OF DRAKE BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

August 26 they passed the Canaries without stopping; and one month later arrived at Plymouth, having been gone two years and ten months. The day of the week, according to the people who had remained at home, was Monday, the 26th; according to the reckoning of the sailors, it was Sunday, the 25th. It was concluded that they had lost one day in their reckoning, for

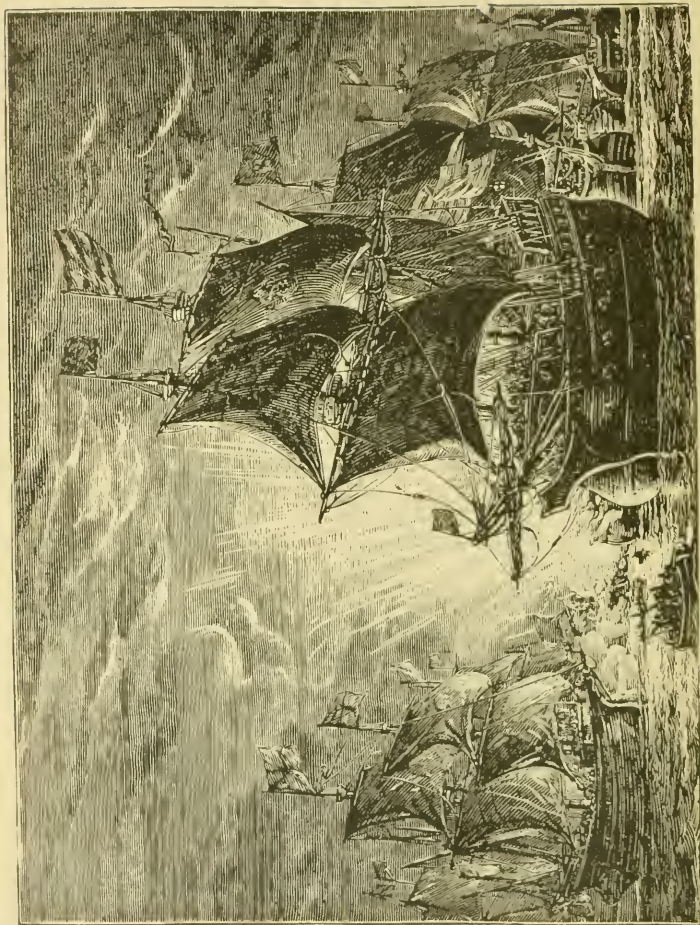
they did not take into account that in sailing around the world from east to west we must, at some point in our travels, add one day to the account. Such particulars were only taken into consideration after the world had been circumnavigated oftener. For although the fleet of Magellan had achieved this feat long before, Drake was the first Englishman who circumnavigated the globe; and, as we have before said, information was not readily transmitted from one country to another in that time.

Drake was received with great honors; and it was considered that, by discovering and taking possession of New Albion, he had rendered great service to the Crown. It was in reward for this service that Queen Elizabeth paid him the high honor of visiting him on board the vessel which had borne him on his long voyage; and it was on the occasion of this voyage that she conferred on him the compliment of Knighthood.

Here, properly speaking, ends the history of Drake as connected with the New World; but his achievements in Old World history are so splendid a part of his career, that we should be doing an injustice to leave the subject here. Let it be remembered then, that while we briefly review these events and actions, they formed by far the larger portion of his famous deeds; but still, the foundations of his fame were laid by what he had done on the Spanish Main and the West Coast of America.

As a kind of half-way place between his New World and Old World exploits, we find him, in 1585, commissioned by the Queen as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, by sea and land, of an expedition against the West Indies. Twenty-five ships were placed at his disposal; and the towns of San Domingo and Carthagena were captured and held for ransom, after the custom of the time; while Fort St. John, Florida, was demolished, and the neighboring settlements of St. Augustine and St. Helena burned. After these successes they touched at the coast of Virginia, and took on board those colonists whom Sir Walter Raleigh had been instrumental in sending out, the year before, and who were only too anxious to get back to England. It was now that Drake's men learned the use of that plant which the Indians of the Far West had given them as a sort of tribute; and the use of tobacco was introduced into England by the example of those knights and gentlemen who affected interest in America.

Ten months after sailing they were back in England. It may be thought that Drake had now accomplished enough to enable him to rest in safety and honor for the remainder of his days; but he was full of untiring energy. In the spring of 1587, less than nine months after his return from Virginia, we find him sailing to Cadiz, where he captured, in a single day's engagement, thirty-eight sail, most of which he burned or sunk. These vessels were then engaged in transporting provisions and stores for that great Armada which the King of Spain was busily fitting out for the entire destruc-



ATTACK ON THE SPANISH ARMADA.

tion of the English people. The success of Drake, followed as it was by the capture of other ships belonging to the Spanish Government, was somewhat disheartening to the promoters of this great plan.

At last the great fleet was prepared; and hundreds of ships, laden with—

“The richest spoils of Mexico,  
The stoutest hearts of Spain.”

sailed under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, one of the greatest of Spanish nobles. England was aroused from one end to the other, thoroughly alarmed at the danger which threatened her. But the sailors who defended her were assisted by a Power higher than their own; for although there was a conflict between a small portion of the Spanish fleet and those English ships which were under the command of Drake, by far the greater portion of this vast armament was destroyed by a tempest, which scattered the ships, drove them upon the rocky coasts, or compelled them to return, disabled, to Spain.

We have spoken of the success achieved by Drake in this affair. He had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the fleet, and it was his fortune to engage with the Spaniard who held the same rank. When the Castilian learned the name of his opponent, he caused his flag to be struck, saying that he surrendered to the fortune of Drake, whose courage and generosity not even his bitterest enemies could deny. Was there ever a better instance than this of reputation already gained serving instead of later exertions?

In 1589, the year after the defeat of the Armada, England sent a fleet to attempt the restoration of the King of Portugal and to assist in securing the independence of that kingdom. The land forces which were to co-operate with this fleet were under the command of Sir John Norris, while Drake was Admiral of the Fleet. But they differed so frequently about the course to be pursued that the whole expedition proved to be a failure.

The war between England and Spain continued for a number of years, and in 1595 England determined to fit out a larger and more formidable expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies than had ever yet been attempted. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were commissioned as the joint leaders of this expedition, which sailed from Plymouth August 28, 1595. The fleet consisted of six of the Queen's vessels, twenty fitted out by private enterprise, for a share in the profits which were confidently expected, with a force of about two thousand five hundred men. Here, again, however, there were disagreements between the two commanders of equal rank and authority; and the result was practically a failure.

Sir John Hawkins was taken sick sometime after they reached the Spanish Main and died as they approached Porto Rico. Nov. 12, the day of his death, the fleet was fired upon from the town near which it was, and several officers were wounded as they sat at supper with the Admiral; Drake himself had his



stool shot from under him at the same time. Maddened by this attack, the fleet set upon the Spanish ships lying in the harbor with such violence that five of them were speedily destroyed. Three days later the body of Sir John Hawkins, and that of Sir Nicholas Clifford, who had been one of those wounded in the cabin and had died of his injuries, were buried at sea.



SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

The next day they left Porto Rico and sailed for the continent: here the town of Rio de la Hacha was captured and put to ransom for twenty-four thousand ducats, to be paid in pearls. The Spaniards agreed to this; but when it came to paying for the town, held their pearls at so high a price as practically to refuse the amount promised. Drake, believing that they only wished to gain time, ordered the town to be burned, and his orders were at once obeyed.



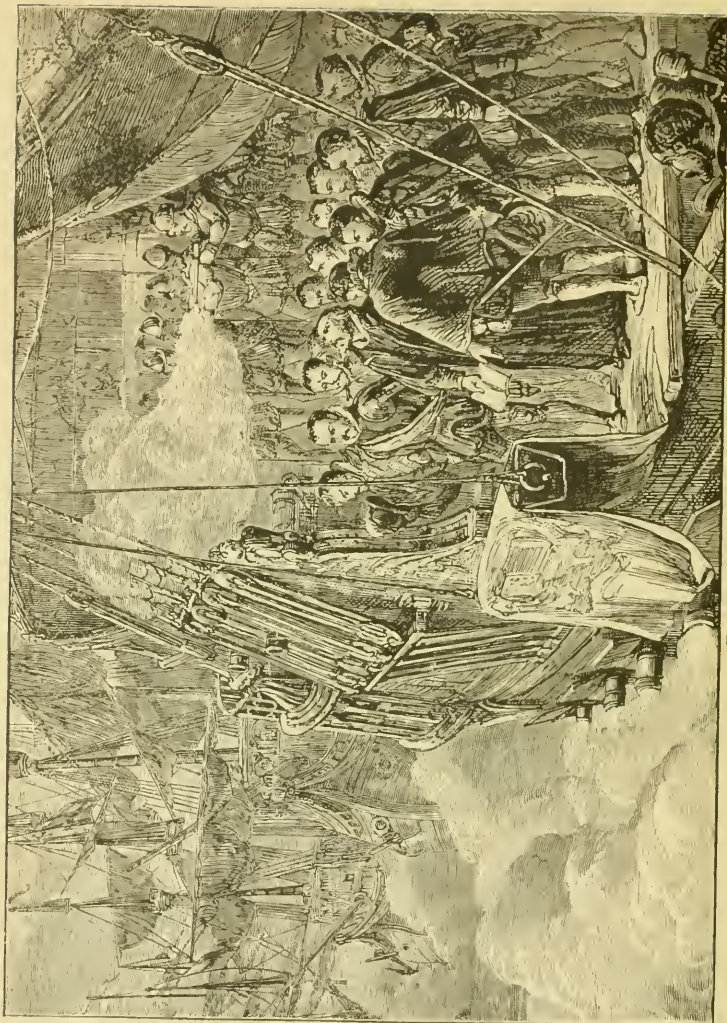
Several other towns along the coast were burned, the most noteworthy being Nombre de Dios, where a great deal of valuable treasure became the booty of the assailants.

Having done this injury to the coast towns of the enemy, Drake dispatched Sir Thomas Baskerville, with seven hundred and fifty men, on an overland expedition to Panama, where it was thought that a considerable amount of



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

treasure was held, awaiting a safe time to send it across the isthmus and thence to Spain. But the difficulties of the journey through the unknown and scarcely passable tropical forest, added to the determination with which the Spaniards, posted everywhere in ambush, disputed their way, disheartened the command before they had completed half the distance. At length they came to a narrow pass which was so stubbornly defended that they were obliged to retreat; and they returned to their ships without further effort.



FUNERAL OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Disappointed at the outcome of this expedition, Drake gave orders to set sail from that coast, since he had there accomplished all that he could hope to do. The fleet accordingly stood out to sea and went to the island of Escudo, where they took in water and spent some days recruiting their sick. From this point they intended to go to Porto Bello, and arrived in sight of it January 28, 1596.

But the Admiral lay sick when they sailed from Escudo; and the days did not bring him strength. It had been observed that he sank from day to day, from hour to hour, and just as the lookout gave the word that land was in sight, he died.

"With him expired the very soul of this expedition," says the old-time writer; and the after history bears out this assertion. The command devolved upon Sir Thomas Baskerville, and after the bold leader in so many sea-ventures had received a sailor's burial, with such honors as were due to the high position which his courage, enterprise and ability had won for him, this commander of the fleet gave orders to sail for home.

"Honored and esteemed by his sovereign, whom he served with courage and fidelity. \* \* \* it is certain that the disappointments he met with in this last voyage, which he imagined in some measure stained his glory, sat heavy on his swelling heart and contributed to shorten his days."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### JOHN DAVIS, THE SECOND GREAT ARCTIC NAVIGATOR.

Character of Davis—Sails from England—Reaches Greenland—Among the Icebergs—The Land of Desolation—"Music hath Charms"—Exchange of Presents—Exploring Davis Strait—Esquimaux Dogs—Return to England—Second Voyage—Friendly Intercourse with Greenlanders—A Misunderstanding—Thieving—Hostilities—Coasting to Labrador—Return to England—His Third Voyage—Fishing and Exploring—Northern Limit of Exploration—Terrible Condition of Davis—Arrival in England—Lack of Interest in Explorations—Reasons—Cavendish's Two Voyages—Davis Sails with Him—Return—Other Voyages—His Death.

WE have seen how Frobisher led the way in the search for a Northwest Passage to the golden lands of the far East; other daring adventurers were to follow in his footsteps, until it should be clearly demonstrated, not that this passage has no actual existence, but that it is practically useless for purposes of navigation. The first prominent follower of Frobisher was John Davis.

The date of his birth is unknown; nor are there any records of his boyhood and youth. He was a native of Sandridge, a small town about three miles north of Dartmouth, in the County of Devon, England. He was naturally of a lively disposition, fond of music and recreations of all kinds, and a believer in their favorable influence upon the character. He does not seem to have belonged to the party which was then beginning to rise into prominence, and which afterward, under the nickname of the Puritans, exerted so much influence upon English history; but he possessed the same indomitable will which sent the prescribed Puritans to seek a shelter in the New World, and made them successful in their efforts to found settlements.

The results of Frobisher's voyages had been regarded as unsatisfactory, since he had neither found gold in the lands which he had actually reached, nor a short and easy passage to the rich countries which lay beyond. These failures, however, did not convince the English that gold was not to be found, or that the Northwest Passage would prove as elusive. Davis, whose reputation as an able and determined seaman had been acquired in shorter voyages, and under the command of others, was anxious to prove himself as great a navigator as Drake or Frobisher; and finally succeeded in obtaining the command of two vessels, the *Sunshine* and the *Moonshine*, for the purpose of exploring the northern coast of North America and finding both the precious metal and the wished-for passage to India.

Sailing from Dartmouth June 7, 1585, it was a month before they reached the arctic seas. A great river of icy salt water sweeps down from the Pole between Iceland and Greenland, and on this their vessel was borne along to the southwest of the point where they had entered it; their course since leav-

ing England having been almost directly northwest. They saw no signs of land; for the sea, although calm, was covered with a thick mist, through which no eye could penetrate; but the roaring of the waves indicated that a coast was near by. Davis gave orders that a boat should be lowered at once; and, accompanied by the master of the vessel and a sufficient number of the crew, they put off from the ship to the land.

The little boat pulled away into the mist, over the unknown sea, in search of the land upon which the waves were breaking; but none was found. Instead, the daring mariners beheld vast mountains of ice, rolling and beating against one another, while the waves dashed upon them as upon a rocky coast. With infinite labor and danger, Davis succeeded in effecting a landing upon one of these icebergs; and, having chopped off several large pieces of the ice and loaded the boat with it, they returned to the waiting vessels. It surprised and delighted the sailors that the ice from these sea-mountains should be convertible into good water by the simple process of melting; and the mention of this fact shows that it was previously unknown even to the leader of the expedition.

The day after sighting the icebergs, the mist having lifted, they saw the coast, which they thus describe:—

“Deformed, rocky, and mountainous, like a sugar-loaf, standing to our sight above the clouds. It towered through the fog like a white mist in the sky, the tops altogether covered with snow, the shore beset with ice, making such irksome noise that it was called the Land of Desolation.”

The coast which received this forbidding name was the southwestern shore of Greenland—a strange contrast to the name which the sanguine Iclander who first discovered this body of land had bestowed upon it. They were unable to approach the shore very closely on account of the floating ice; and Davis pushed out northward into the open sea.

Several days afterward, being driven from his westward course by unfavorable winds, he once more came in sight of land, another part of the coast of Greenland; and here the ice was more solid, so that he was not prevented from landing. Two sailors were selected by him to accompany him, while the others were to follow if a certain signal should be given.

The three men entered the boat and pushed off to land. They reached the shore; and, securing their boat, they mounted a high rock which overhung the beach. While they were here busied in looking about them they were espied by a number of the natives, who at once raised loud cries apparently of fear and distress.

But Davis had foreseen that the natives would be afraid of him and his men, and was ready to reassure them. Not only had he caused such gifts to be placed on board the vessels as were usually taken on exploring expeditions for presents to the savage natives, but he had brought, for the comfort of



himself and his men as well, a band of music. He now determined to try whether, as afterward was declared, "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." He signaled to his men to join him; and, as they landed, the band began to play.

The attention of the natives being thus fixed upon the white men, signs expressive of friendship were made, and the Esquimaux gradually drew nearer. Nor were the first that they had seen all who heard the strange sounds; from every point they gathered, and no less than ten canoes put off from the surrounding islands, to visit the newcomers. Gloves, stockings, and caps were distributed among them as presents, and finally their fears seemed to be allayed.

Davis and his men returned to their ships for the night and the natives apparently dispersed to their distant dwellings. Early the next morning, however, the sailors saw their canoes dotting the water, and no less than thirty-seven appeared between the ships and the land. By every sign which they could devise, the natives invited the strangers to come on shore again; and received them with many marks of respect and liking when the invitation was accepted.

The gifts which the white men brought from their great ships were received with wonder and gratitude; and the Esquimaux hastened to show their appreciation by offering presents in return. But they thought the products of their cold and barren land insufficient to repay the newcomers for these wonderful articles; and they offered their sealskin and birdskin clothes, their leather moccasins, their darts, their oars, and, at last, five of their canoes. When they saw the value which the Englishmen appeared to set upon the furs and skins, they promised to bring more the next day; and would doubtless have fulfilled their promise—it seems to require some degree of civilization for a man to be regardless of his word,—but, the wind becoming favorable, Davis resolved to continue his voyage, and did not again land on this part of the coast.

The wind, almost directly from the east, bore him across the strait to which his own name has since been given, to the shore of that island which is variously called Baffin Land or Cumberland Island. Here he sighted an eminence to which he gave the name of Mount Raleigh, in honor of the great courtier to whom, probably, he owed much of the interest which the Government had shown in his undertaking. He continued coasting for several days and reached at length that cape which is now called Albert, but which, with the devotion of a mariner of those early days, he called The Cape of God's Mercy. The name is a memento of his mistake; for he thought that the passage just to the south of this cape was the long-sought passage to India.

He explored the inlet—for such we now know it to be—for several days: finding it free from ice and with many of the characteristics of the open sea.

As they proceeded they heard on an island a sound resembling the howling of dogs; and presently a pack of twenty gaunt and wolf-like dogs came in sight. To the crew it seemed clear that none but beasts of prey could be found here; and they fired upon the dogs, killing two, and scaring off the others. They landed for a short time, to see what was the true nature of the animals they had killed; and to their surprise, found that a collar was about the neck of one. Some distance away they found the sledge to which they had been yoked; but, perhaps fortunately for them, since they had unwittingly committed this ravage, they saw nothing of the natives.

For some time they proceeded up the Inlet, but thick fogs gathered about them, continuing apparently without hope of lifting, and the winds proved contrary. Judging that these were the natural conditions in that latitude at that season of the year—for the autumn was now advancing—Davis determined to return to a warmer climate before the actual approach of winter; and set sail for England.

Nothing had been actually accomplished by this voyage; but great hopes were excited at home. The interest of the Government continued; and it was resolved to send the intrepid navigator again, with the same vessels that had been given him on the previous trip, and, in addition, one of a hundred and twenty tons, called the *Mermaid*, another boat, and a pinnace.

The voyage across the Atlantic was accomplished without difficulty or delay; it was only when they came actually in sight of the southern point of Greenland that they were beset by storms, which prevented their landing for several days. Again the natives uttered their cries of fear; but at last, recognizing their former visitors, changed their tune to one of rejoicing and welcome. Davis, hoping to improve the acquaintance, and anxious to gain the continued friendship of the natives, went on shore and made presents of about twenty knives to those who seemed to be chiefs or leading men; refusing to accept anything in return.

Some time was now spent in friendly intercourse with the natives, and sailors and Esquimaux delighted to display to each other their proficiency in those manly sports which seem to be common to all nations. In leaping and wrestling, it was difficult to decide which was the better man; though while the strangers could frequently leap farther than their hosts, they were sometimes thrown by them when it came to wrestling.

As the sailors returned to the ships at the close of each of such days of intercourse, the natives had no means of becoming acquainted with the domestic arts which they practiced, and thought to show them something new and strange when they rubbed together two sticks and produced fire. Evidently thinking that the strangers had no knowledge of flame, and that a trick could be easily played upon them, they gravely invited Davis to pass through it. But the Englishman of the sixteenth century not only believed in

witches—he knew that they existed; and the man who invited him to pass through fire must be a sorcerer. In order to destroy any evil spell which these small and hardy strangers might be trying to cast upon him, he ordered his seamen at once to tread out the fire, and to cast the coals into the sea.

This misunderstanding of their meaning does not seem to have excited the enmity of the natives, and they continued on friendly terms with the sailors. But the latter complained to their leader that the savages stole everything that they could lay their hands upon; articles made of iron or steel, especially. A spear, a gun, and a sword were thus pilfered; and as these thefts did not meet with punishment, they cut the cables of the ships, and even stole the boat from the stern of the *Moonshine*.

Davis, who did not care to appear as complainant at this time, allowed his officers to remonstrate with the thieves, who came on board the vessels with the boldness of conscious innocence or the most hardened and shameless guilt; they did not seem to be at all impressed by what the officers said, and managed to steal something else as they left the vessels. Two shots were fired after them, aimed over their heads, and they fled in utter confusion.

Soon afterward, however, they returned, in company with others, offering presents, and making many promises by signs. For a day or so, everything was lovely; then iron articles were missed as before, and the sailors again complained to the leader. Davis, however, seems to have had a very clear idea of the difference between the cultivated and the uncultivated moral sense, and declined to inflict any punishment upon the savages. He merely bade his crew keep a close watch on their goods and not deal hardly with the ignorant natives.

Anxious to explore the interior, he now sailed up what he thought was a broad river, but which proved to be an arm of the sea. A violent squall compelled him to seek the shelter of the land; and he attempted to climb a considerable elevation in order to see farther about him. In this, however, he was foiled by the violence of the storm, which still continued; and from his perch on the side of the hill he watched the formation and progress of a water-spout, the first he had ever seen, veteran navigator as he was. This lasted for three hours. He describes it as a mighty whirlwind which took up the water and whisked it around for this length of time without intermission.

Re-embarking the following day, he proceeded further up the channel, but found that it was intersected by various passages between different islands, which were neither inhabited nor tillable.

This expedition had been made in the pinnace, the leader being accompanied only by a small body of picked men. On his return to the larger vessels he found serious news awaiting him; the natives had shown themselves actually hostile. Not only had they continued their depredations, stealing an anchor, cutting the cables, and similar outrages, but they had taken to throw-

ing large and heavy stones against the *Moonshine*. Davis had his suspicions that his men had not behaved with the wisdom of Solomon and the patience of Job; but, without accusing them of having treated the natives unkindly, told them that if they would but have a little patience, the ignorant savages would doubtless soon become tired of this mode of proceeding.

He himself endeavored to win the natives over by every possible means. Among other things, he invited a large party of them onboard, taught them to run to the top-mast, made them various trifling presents, and dismissed them, evidently much pleased.

But this was only a temporary peace which he purchased; for when evening came they again threw stones at the vessel, one of them knocking down the boatswain. Patience had ceased to be a virtue when they could thus repay his efforts to make friends; and Davis ordered that two boats should pursue the offenders. They were in their own light and swift canoes, however, and defied pursuit by the heavier and clumsier English boats.

But their impudence was not to be deterred from visiting those whom they thus assaulted. Two or three days later a party of five of them visited the ships, one of whom, the master of the *Moonshine* declared, had been the ringleader in all the attacks upon his vessel. Davis gave orders that this Esquimaux should be held a prisoner; and he was actually carried off by the Englishmen. He was well treated, however, though constantly under the watchful eye of the commander, and became contented in his strange surroundings, proving to be a pleasant companion to the sailors, and sometimes a good assistant.

Sailing to the north, the sailors descried a vast assemblage of hills, capes, and bays; but a closer view showed it to be merely an irregular mass of ice. The ropes, shrouds, and sails became stiff with the frozen spray, and the seamen urged the commander to return at once. Such remonstrances were not easily disregarded in those days, for the crews of these exploring vessels, as the reader has probably discovered by this time, were never under very strict discipline, and occasionally took the liberty of running things to suit themselves. Davis, however, who seems to have retained the affection of his men, no matter what hardships he asked them to share, compromised with them; and, leaving the majority at the point to which they had now advanced, proceeded with the *Moonshine* and a number of his bravest and most adventurous men to explore the surrounding seas and the adjacent lands.

He reached land at about the point where the Arctic Circle crosses the coast of Cumberland Island, and continued coasting southward for about ten degrees, becoming entangled among the islands, masses of ice, and numerous narrow passages which beset his way, so that, although he reached the coast of Labrador, he failed to see the entrance to that great bay which now bears the name of a later navigator, Hudson. Reaching Labrador, he sent ashore

a party of five men to explore the country and procure supplies of water; but they were beset by the natives with such fury that one of them was killed and the others were glad to return to the ship.

It was now the close of the summer, and, fearing to be caught in these high latitudes and cold climates during the short days of winter, he returned to the other ships, and the three vessels set sail for England.

They arrived in October, 1586. Nothing more had been accomplished on this second than on the first voyage; and enthusiastic hopes of what might be done seemed to have died down. Davis found no strong friends at court, ready and anxious to dispatch him on a third voyage of discovery; and it was only by earnest entreaty that he could get the authorities to listen to him at all. He promised that there should be no real expense attending a third expedition, for the cost of fitting it out could be readily defrayed by fishing. He had one friend, whom he does not name; but whom we may presume to have had considerable influence at court, since his petition was at last granted, and two vessels, the *Sunshine* and the *Elizabeth*, with a pinnace, were made ready for a third voyage.

On arriving at the coast previously visited, and which seems to have been regarded as a starting-point for discoveries, they found the natives as friendly and as thievish as ever. They had learned by experience, however, to watch them constantly; and a few judicious discharges of their fire-arms so terrified the thieves that they were not much troubled thereafter.

Davis determined to leave the two larger vessels to fish, in accordance with his promise to pay the expenses of the expedition by this means, while he went on a voyage of discovery in the pinnace.

Ranging the coast to the northward, he reached a point more than seventy-two degrees from the equator, nearer the pole than any navigator of the American coast had ever yet been; for it has only been by slow degrees, and with incalculable expenditure of treasure and human life in the midst of hardships, that the two centuries after Davis' time have seen discovery pushed ten degrees nearer the pole than he was able to penetrate.

Finding a wide open sea still to the north and west, he determined to find the limit of navigation; and proceeded across it for the distance of forty leagues. Then he was stopped, not by the sight of land, but by the vast fields of ice which had before barred his progress. He first endeavored to round this by the north, but finding no passage turned to the south, beating about unsuccessfully for several days. Trying an apparent opening, he became involved in a bay of ice, where it seemed probable at one time that he would be frozen fast or else his vessel dashed and ground to pieces. With some difficulty, however, he managed to extricate the pinnace from this dangerous situation, and continued to coast southward along Cumberland Island.

At last Mount Raleigh came in view; and the next day he sailed across the



mouth of that inlet which he had discovered on his first voyage, and ascended its northern shore until he was again so entangled among the numerous small islands and narrow passages, the latter of which were frequently half-filled with ice, that he found it difficult either to advance or to retreat. As he felt confident that no great advantage was to be gained, however, by keeping on this path, he went back to the open sea. He passed the mouth of Frobisher's Bay, and an opening which he describes as the mouth of an extensive gulf; this last was probably the entrance to Hudson's Bay.

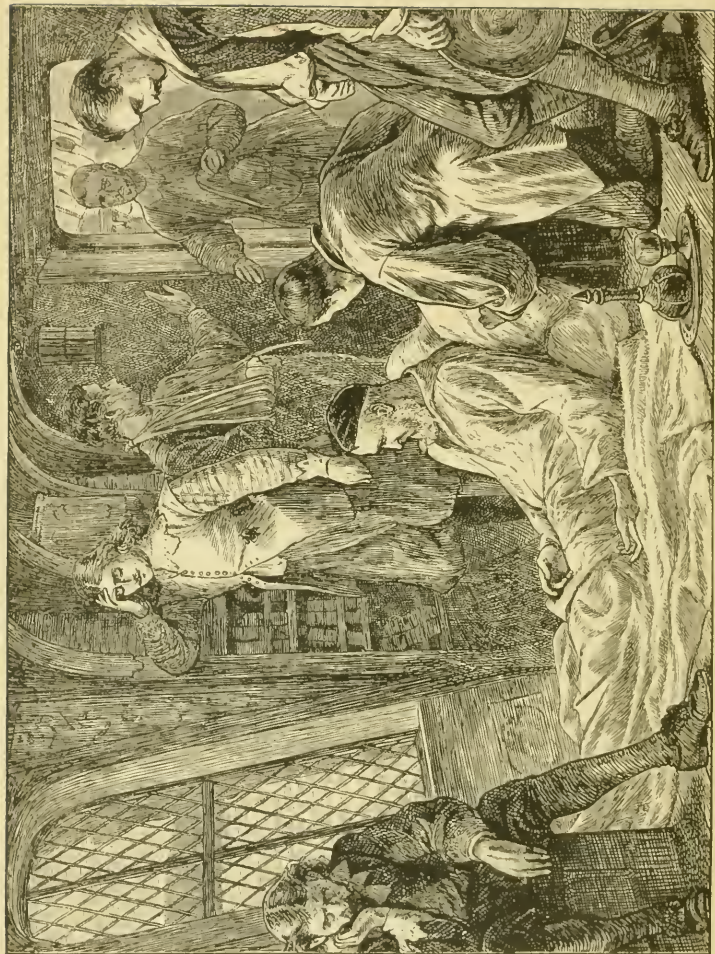
He was running very short of water, however; and his experience with the natives on the coast of Labrador did not tempt him to go ashore in search of any. He accordingly resolved to return to the larger vessels; and, with the increased force, seek a supply of the necessary fluid. He sailed toward the fishing-ground where he had left them; but they were nowhere to be seen.

The condition of Davis was now terrible; alone on this side the Atlantic, not a white man nearer than the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and they the enemies of England; and only a frail and small vessel, which must be propelled by oars as well as by sails, in which to cross the broad Atlantic.

There was no help for it, however; the most diligent search failed to find the larger vessels, the masters of which, concluding that Davis and his handful of companions must have perished, had sailed for England, and the mariners, not fearless, for they knew the dangers too well, but bravely facing the peril which could not be averted, trimmed their tiny sails, bent to their oars, and set out on the long and stormy voyage. They had a small quantity of stores with them which they had taken on the voyage of discovery; some fish were added to these; and a supply of water was obtained from the floating ice in the sea.

Arrived in England Davis found even less enthusiasm regarding the result of his voyage, than before. Walsingham, the great secretary of Queen Elizabeth, was dead; and with him had died much of that spirit of enterprise which commissioned the great navigators of the time to explore the unknown seas. Besides, the Spaniards were threatening an invasion of England; they were actually preparing their ships, which, they boasted, would form an Invincible Armada; and the English Government had neither vessels nor money to spare for the exploration of the seas surrounding the new continent.

We hear no more of the explorer of the Arctic regions until the second voyage of Cavendish, four years after the return of the pinnace to England. Thomas Cavendish was an English gentleman of some means, who seems to have been the very type of a spendthrift. A very few years of life at court proved enough to make way with all his patrimony except enough to fit out a ship in which he accompanied an expedition to Virginia under the command



DEATH AT SEA.

of Sir Richard Grenville, in 1585. The seaman's life appeared to suit his tastes, or else he found that ruined fortunes might easily be repaired by means of it. Accordingly, in July, 1586, he sailed from England with three small vessels which he had fitted out, to prey on the ships of Spaniards; and became what in these prosaic days would be called a pirate, but was then more poetically styled a wild rover of the seas, a buccaneer, an adventurer of the ocean, or some such paraphrase. He circumnavigated the globe in a little over two years, being the third who had accomplished the feat of sailing from Europe westward till Europe was reached again. So successful was he during these two years, in his patriotic endeavors to injure Spanish commerce as much as possible, that when he returned his sailors were clothed in silk, his sails were of costliest damask, and his topmast was covered with cloth of gold—the most expensive stuffs known at that time.

He returned in September, 1588; and in less than three years had spent so much of the wealth acquired during that voyage that he was ready to undertake another. It was on this second voyage, in 1591, that Davis became one of his followers. Their course lay toward the south; it being the intention of Cavendish to follow nearly the same path which, on the previous voyage, had led to such gains. They rounded South America and reached that ocean which Magellan had so mistakenly named the Pacific. Here storms of unusual severity beset them, and the sailors, less determined than his men on the former expedition, refused to obey the orders which sent the ships farther from home. They mutinied and succeeded in compelling the leader to steer for England.

But the victory of his men was to him a crushing disgrace; he could not bear to be ruled by those whom he should have ruled; and the great adventurer of the ocean died on the homeward voyage.

There was at least one among his followers, however, who did not desire to return to England without having some laurels as a discoverer to wear on his return. Davis, with one of the vessels, and seventy-six men, who were less cowardly than the others, continued to attempt the passage of the Straits of Magellan. He failed, but became the discoverer of the Falkland Islands.

The discovery was dearly bought, however; for so disastrous was the homeward passage that sixty of his men perished before they reached England: leaving scarcely enough to manage the vessel.

This was his last voyage to America. Yet he did not leave the sea. He seems to have become an employe of the great East India Company, which was a power in England and India for so many years. He made three principal voyages to that country: once as master of a merchant fleet; twice as first pilot to a larger expedition, comprising ships of war as well as merchantmen. The last voyage was begun in 1605; on the way home, the fleet was attacked by native pirates off the coast of Malacca; and in these tropic Indian

seas, far from the ice-covered waters which still bear his name, John Davis fell at the hand of some infuriated Malay whose name has been for more than two hundred years forgotten.

Thus departed from earth a brave and able navigator, whose fate it was to again and again search few but cold and inhospitable shores. Who can tell how much larger and more romantic a place in history he might have held, if his lot had been cast for explorations under summer skies and over warmer seas.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### FOUR YEARS IN THE LIFE OF HENRY HUDSON.

Voyage of Verrazzano—Commissioned by Francis I. of France—The Coast of America—Contrast Between French and Indian Actions—Return to France—Hudson's First Voyage—The Coast of Greenland—Return to England—Second Voyage—No Practicable Northeast Passage—Return—In the Service of Holland—Third Voyage—To the Northeast—Reasons for Changing Course—To America—Coast of Canada—Exploring the Coast of the United States—New York Bay—The Story from an Indian Standpoint—Meaning of the Name Manhattan—New Use for Implements—An Old Trick—Ascending the River—Mutinous Temper of Crew—Return—English Government Interferes—Weymouth's Voyage—Hudson's Last Voyage—A Peculiar History—Hudson Strait—Hudson Bay—Trial of Juet for Mutiny—Frozen In—Quarrels Among the Crew—Their Food—An Exploring Expedition—Famine—The Plots Come to a Head—Persuading Prickett—The Plot—Hudson and his Companions Abandoned to their Fate—Hostile Natives—Return of the Conspirators to England—Imprisonment.

THE broad and beautiful river on which the largest city of the American continent is situated, the second in size of those great arms of the sea which indent the coast, and the entrance to that mighty bay, are all called by the name of one man; yet that man was not the discoverer of any one of them. His name, however, is so indissolubly connected with the three great bodies of water that we have mentioned, that any account of the discovery of the western continent would be incomplete, did it not embrace some history of his explorations; and his tragic fate is one of the saddest stories connected with the early records of the New World.

Shortly after his accession to the throne of France, King Francis I, the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Charles V, determined to make some effort to explore the coast of the western continent, north of that portion which had been claimed and settled by the Spaniards. Cabot's voyages had made it certain that the land extended to a considerable distance north of the Isthmus of Panama, where were the earliest settlements of the Spaniards on the continent; and the French, like all other nations, were anxious to find a short passage to China. Verrazzano was instructed to proceed along the eastern coast of what is now called North America, and find a passage to China. Four vessels were prepared; but the violence of the storms which they encountered before they were out of sight of land disabled two; and after some time had been spent in cruising along the coast of Spain, as they had been instructed to do before venturing across the Atlantic, they found it wisest to leave one of these behind them; and, with the Dolphin alone, set forth on the voyage.

January 17, 1524, they set sail from a desolate rock near the Madeira Islands, with a crew of fifty men. He had provisions sufficient for eight



months, and all the military and naval stores necessary. For more than a month, with favorable breezes and good weather, they sailed pleasantly along; but February 24, "we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered, from which we escaped unhurt by the Divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the tossing of the waves."

Twenty-four days later they came in sight of land, which they perceived, from the number of fires along the coast, was inhabited. Here they sought anchorage in vain; and, although they followed the coast southwardly for fifty leagues, could find no good harbor. Seeing that the coast still stretched southwardly, they resolved to put the ship about, and stood to the north. As they still met with the same difficulty, they drew to the land, and sent a number of the men ashore in a boat, to communicate with the people; and Verazzano, in his report to the King, has much to say of the appearance and customs of the Indians along the coast where he sailed.

The place where they first landed is supposed to have been on the coast of one of the Carolinas. If the explorer has correctly stated the latitude, or the translator has erred in rendering the direction in which they afterward sailed, the point was near where the city of Wilmington now stands.

Two incidents show the contrast between the actions of the natives and of the whitemen in a light not very favorable to the Europeans. A young sailor, attempting to swim ashore through the surf, with some bells and other knick-knacks as gifts for the Indians, was struck by a wave which knocked him senseless. He was thrown upon the beach and lay there as if dead. The Indians rushed to him, and lifting him gently, carried him out of the reach of the waters. His comrades watched anxiously, expecting to see the savages put him to death; and the sailor, who had revived, expressed his own fears by loud shrieks. Every sign that ingenuity could devise was employed by the Indians to reassure him; and although they stripped him of his clothes when they got him to a fire which they had built, and his companions imagined that he was to furnish the material for a feast of cannibals, they chafed his limbs, and offered him such food as they had. When his strength was restored, they permitted him to return to the ship, hugging him with great affection as they accompanied him to the shore.

A few days after this, about a hundred and fifty miles north of the point where this occurred, a party of the sailors being on shore came upon an old and a young woman, who had three children with them. One of the children, a boy of about eight years old, they decided to carry to France; they would have taken the younger woman, but she shrieked so loudly that they were afraid the men of her tribe would attack them. Thus, from the earliest times, the European explorers repaid the kindness of the natives by kidnapping them and trampling on their rights.

Proceeding northward, they entered the estuary which is now known as New York Bay. Verazzano gives a minute and accurate description of this harbor, where they rode at anchor for some days, before they followed the coast of Connecticut to Narragansett Bay. Near this resting-place, they found the Indians much lighter in color than those farther south, Verazzano asserting that they are of a very fair complexion, some of them inclining to a white. It is supposed that these are the "white Indians," of whom we have spoken in the first chapter of the present volume.

They had considerable intercourse with the natives living along the southern coast of the New England States, and Verazzano gives a very clear and accurate description of the appearance of these people, as well as an account of their manners and customs. He continued to follow the coast for some distance northward, the whole distance explored being, according to his estimate, two thousand one hundred miles. They reached the port of Dieppe early in July, 1524. It is on these discoveries of Verazzano and those later ones of Cartier that the French based their claims to New France, as they called North America.

More than eighty years after this voyage of Verazzano, there was made the first voyage of Henry Hudson of which history takes any account. In April, 1607, a vessel having been prepared, he assembled his crew, "purposing to go to sea for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China." They numbered eleven men, including Hudson; and the roll included, besides, the name of "John Hudson, a boy," supposed to have been the master's son.

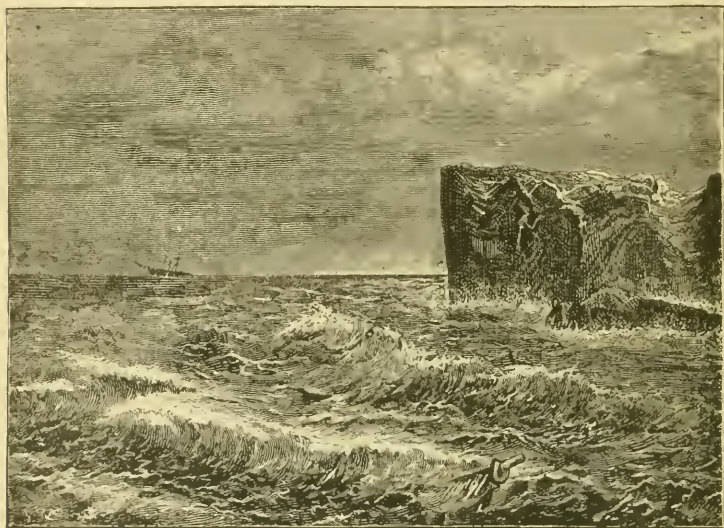
May 1 they weighed anchor at Gravesend; and, passing by the Shetland Isles, steered to the northwest till they came in sight of the coast of Greenland. His statements are so vague, and we know so little of the real outline of Greenland even now, that it is impossible to place the points which he mentions; so broad are the ice-fields by which this great body of land is encompassed.

But Hudson's instructions did not bind him to an exploration of the coast of the western continent; it would answer equally well if he found the desired passage to China around by the northern coast of Europe. Accordingly, having sailed along the coast of Greenland until June 22, and having his sails and shrouds frozen stiff in what is the summer of the northern hemisphere, he altered his course and stood to the northeast, reaching a point on the western coast of Spitzbergen five days later.

For more than a month they continued to explore the coast of this island, then but very little known; and despairing of finding the desired passage, and fearing that the winter would find them ice-locked in these far northern seas, they sailed southwardly again, arriving in the Thames September 15.

Nothing had been accomplished by this voyage, but in the following year

Hudson set out upon a similar expedition, his crew numbering thirteen men besides himself and his son. April 22, 1608, they set sail, the general direction taken being nearly due northeast. They reached the North Cape on the coast of Norway, early in June, and kept on their way around the northern coast of Europe. It was during this voyage that two of the seamen positively affirmed that they had seen a mermaid; but Dr. Kane observes that there is something strangely human about the appearance and movements of the seal; and it was most probably one of those animals that they saw. Momentary glimpses and imperfect views have led to the belief in the strangest animals of the ocean: mermen and mermaids, and the terrible sea-serpent.



THE NORTH CAPE.

A considerable portion of the coast of Nova Zembla was explored; but as the summer drew near to a close, Hudson saw that there was no practicable Northeast Passage from western Europe to China; and resolved to sail to the northwest. Further consideration, however, caused him to change this resolve; and, he tells us, "I thought it my duty to save victual, wages, and tackle, by my speedy return, and not by foolish rashness, the time being wasted, to lay more charge upon the action than necessity should compel." In accordance with this decision he sailed for England and arrived there August 26.

Hudson's fame as a navigator had now gone abroad; and when the King of France determined to send out an exploring expedition, he was advised by Jeannin, the great statesman, to employ Hudson as the leader. Jeannin was commissioned to secure the services of the navigator, but for some reason failed to do so. It is the third and fourth voyages that interest us, for these were the only journeys which he made to the shores of the New World.

The Dutch East India Company decided to send out an expedition to find a northern passage to China and India; but, like the Englishmen for whom Hudson had previously sailed, they did not care whether it was by the northeast or by the northwest. Hudson, who is described as "an experienced English pilot," was the master of the vessel called the *Half Moon*, which was one of those rather flat-bottomed ships constructed for the difficult navigation of the sandy entrance to the Zuyder Zee, called the Vlie; these vessels being called vlie-boats, or by the English, fly-boats. His crew consisted of eighteen or twenty men, partly English, partly Dutch.

Leaving the Texel, April 6, 1609, they sailed again to the northeast, and doubled the North Cape a month after leaving Holland. He found the sea as full of ice as it had been the preceding year, and therefore saw that it would be useless to attempt to find a passage. There were other reasons why he should not persevere in forcing his way eastwardly. Some of his men had been in the East Indies for a number of years, and could not stand the cold, even in summer time, of these high northern latitudes. Besides, the men of different nationalities on board the vessel were constantly quarreling; and Hudson thought that if they were engaged in exploring the shores of the New World, then regarded almost as fairyland, they would be more peacefully inclined.

He accordingly laid before them two propositions. The first of these was to go to America, striking the coast in about the fortieth degree of latitude, or about the middle of the present State of New Jersey. Letters and maps had been recently sent to Hudson by his friend Captain John Smith, who had become the chief man in the newly established English colony on the banks of the James River; and these informed him that just to the north of this colony there was a sea communicating with the western ocean—Chesapeake Bay being then but imperfectly explored. The second proposition was to go to Davis' Strait, and search for a Northwest Passage. This met with more approval than the first, and was finally adopted by the crew.

They arrived at the Faroe Islands about the middle of May, and sailed thence across the Atlantic, arriving off the coast of New France, as Canada was then called, two months later. Here they were obliged to land in order to get a new foremast, theirs having been lost on the voyage.

They found this a good place for fishing, cod being especially plentiful; and were also able to trade for skins and furs, securing them at a low price.





HENRY HUDSON AND THE HALF-MOON ON THE HUDSON RIVER.



But the crew behaved badly to the natives, taking their property by force; and many quarrels arose among them. Hudson's mate, Robert Juet, who has written an account of this voyage, tries to justify the sailors, by saying that in robbing and firing at the savages they were only doing what the Indians were seeking an opportunity of doing to them. However this may be, they soon found it advisable to leave that part of the country; and stood out to sea in eight days after landing.

They steered to the southward, and reached a point as far south as the coast of South Carolina. Returning thence toward the north, Hudson directed his course up Chesapeake Bay; but we have no record of how far he explored it. This great inlet does not seem, however, to have suggested itself to him as the sea by which he could reach the western ocean. Perhaps the numerous shoals which he found prevented his having this idea of it; for Juet tells us, "He that will thoroughly discover this great bay must have a small pinnace, that must draw but four or five foot water, to sound before him."

All through the month of August they sailed along the coast, sometimes in sight of land; sometimes far out at sea; until Sept. 2, 1609, early in the morning, they saw the land, like broken islands, rising northward of them. They were near the northern part of the coast of New Jersey; and Hudson was soon to see, for the first time, that river which still bears his name.

"Then we luffed in for the shore, and fair by the shore we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be northeast by north. From the land which we had first sight of, until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land, which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that land hath many shoals, and the sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. \* \* \* \* To the northward of us we saw high hills. \* \* \* \* This is a very good land to fall with, and a pleasant land to see."

The next morning, according to the record, they came to three great rivers. The placing of these three rivers is a puzzle to modern geographers; nor is it certain whether Hudson passed Staten Island on the eastern or the western shore.

On the fourth, having anchored outside of New York Bay, probably in what is now called Gravesend Bay, they sent a boat-load of men on shore to fish; tradition says that they landed on Coney Island. That night the wind blew hard from the northwest, and their anchor came home, so that they were driven upon shore. The ground, however, was soft sand and ooze, so that the vessel was not injured. The next day's flood-tide carried her into deep water again.

For some days they cruised about this point; holding constant communication with the natives, whom Hudson uniformly treated with kindness,

while his men showed the same mistrust which had, on a previous occasion, led to the ill-treatment of the Indians. But in this connection, the history of the events from an Indian standpoint will perhaps afford more variety than can be obtained by a strict following of Juet's record and the ancient narratives of De Laet and Van Der Donck. Rev. John Heckewelder, for many years a Moravian missionary to the Indians of Pennsylvania, obtained from them their story of Hudson's landing; and wrote it out from notes taken of the accounts given by aged and respected Delawares and Mohegans. We make a few extracts:—

“A long time ago, when there was no such thing known to the Indians as people with a white skin, some Indians who had been out fishing where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large swimming or floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. They immediately returning to the shore told the other Indians of what they had seen, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. These together hurried out, and saw to their great surprise the phenomenon, but could not agree what it might be; some concluding it either to be an uncommonly large fish or other animal, while others were of opinion that it must be a very large house. It was at length agreed among them that as this appearance moved toward the land, whether or not it was an animal, or anything that had life in it, it would be well to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent runners and watermen off to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that these might send off in every direction for the warriors to come in. These arriving in numbers, and themselves viewing the strange appearance, and that it was actually moving toward them—the entrance of the river or bay—concluded it to be a large canoe or house, in which the Manito—Great or Supreme Being—himself was, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs of the different tribes were assembled on York Island, and were deliberating on the manner in which they should receive their Manito on his arrival. Every step had been taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice; the women were required to prepare the best of victuals; idols or images were examined and put in order; and a grand dance was supposed to be not only an agreeable entertainment for the Manito, but might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute toward appeasing him, in case he was angry with them. The conjurors also were set to work, to determine what the meaning of this phenomenon was, and what the result would be. Both to these, and to the chiefs and wise men of the nation, men, women and children were looking for advice and protection. Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it a house of various colors, and crowded with living creatures. It now ap-

pears to be certain that it is the great Manito bringing them some kind of game, such as they had not before; but other runners soon afterward arriving, declare it a large house of various colors, full of people, yet of quite a different color than they, the Indians, are of; that they were also dressed in a different manner from them, and that one in particular appeared altogether red, which must be the Manito himself.



HENRY HUDSON AND CREW AT MANHATTAN ISLAND.

“They are soon hailed from the vessel, though in a language they do not understand; yet they shout or yell in their way. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offense to their visitors, who could find them out and might destroy them.

“The house, or large canoe, as some will have it, stops, and a smaller canoe comes ashore with the red man and some others in it; some stay by this canoe to guard it. The chief and wise men, or councillors, have composed a large circle, unto which the red-clothed man with two others approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration, both as to the color of the skin of these whites, as also to their manner of dress, yet most as to the habit of him who wore the red clothes, which shone with something they could not account for. [Hudson’s costume was of red cloth, trimmed with gold lace.] He must be the great Manito, they think: but why should he have a white skin?

"A large hockhack [gourd or bottle] is brought forward by one of the Manito's servants, and from this a substance is poured out into a small cup and handed to the Manito. The Manito drinks; has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief next him to drink. The chief receives the glass, but only smelleth at it, and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without the contents being tasted by any one; and is upon the point of being returned again to the red-clothed man, when one of their number, a spirited man and a great warrior, jumps up, harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed to them by the Manito in order that they might drink, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him; but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by them. And that since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drank, and as no one was willing to drink it he would, let the consequence be what it would; and that it was better for one man to die, than for a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass, and, bidding the assembly a farewell, drank it off. Every eye was fixed on their resolute companion to see what an effect this would have upon him; and he soon beginning to stagger about, and at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, and jumps up, and declares that he never felt himself so happy before as after he had drank the cup. Wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated."

To this account the reverend gentleman appends a note, as follows:—

"The Delawares called this place—New York Island—Mannahattanink or Mannahacktanink to this day. They have frequently told me that it derived its name from the general intoxication, and that the word comprehended the same as to say the island or place of general intoxication."

"After this general intoxication had ceased—during which time the whites had confined themselves to their vessel,—the man with the red clothes returned again to them, and distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, etc. They say that they had become familiar to each other, and were made to understand by signs, that they would now return home, but would visit them next year again, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them to sow seeds in order to raise herbs to put in their broth.

"That the vessel arrived the season following, and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other; but that the whites laughed at them, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, etc., which they had given them. they having had these hanging to their breasts for ornaments; and the stockings they

had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements; and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time.

“They took every white man they saw for a Manito, yet inferior and attendant to the supreme Manito, to wit, to the one which wore the red and laced clothes. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would encompass; which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up into a rope no thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time this hide was cut up, there was a great heap. That this rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought round again, that both ends might meet. That they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of ground. That the Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough. That they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although these asked from time to time more land of them; and proceeding higher up the Mahicanittuk [Hudson River] they believed they would soon want all their country, and which at this time was already the case.”

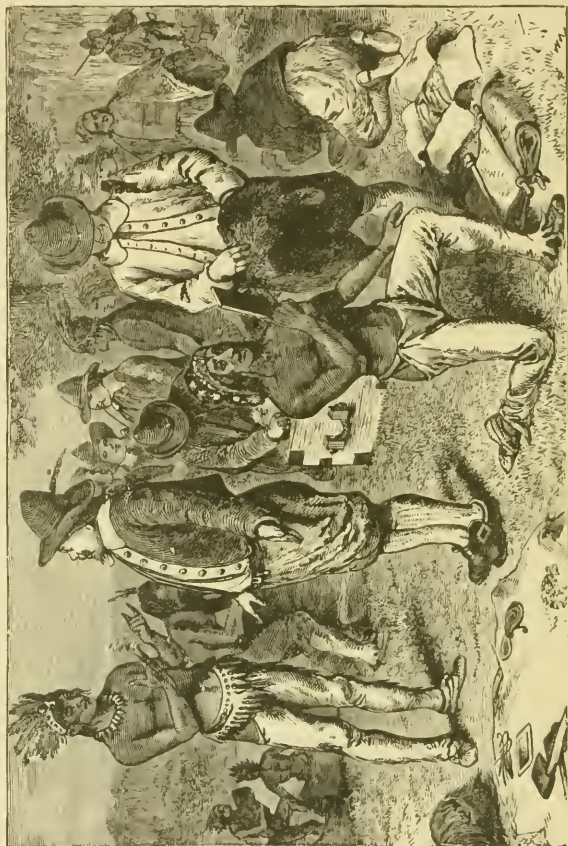
We have continued this quotation beyond the limits of what applies to Hudson, to show how the confidence of the natives was won by the straightforward sailor, and, as was too often the case in other instances, abused by the less considerate settler. The Manito who returned was not the same as the first that they had seen; and the vagueness of Indian ideas regarding the lapse of time caused the tradition to say that he returned the next season. Excepting for these two errors, it is a simple and direct narrative, from the native point of view, of the landing of Hudson and his men.

Their ship sailed up the river to about where Albany now stands. The people were friendly, and had an abundance of provisions, skins and furs, mainly of martins and foxes, and such other commodities as fowls and fruits. These they were very willing to trade with the people of the ship.

But the provisions which they had brought with them, and which they considered essential to their well-being—for how could they live without salt pork and ship biscuit, whatever else might be supplied?—the crew clamored for a return to Holland. One of them, indeed, who held the second rank in the vessel, desired to winter in Newfoundland, a name then applied to Nova Scotia as well as to the island, and to proceed northward in the spring for



the exploration of Davis' Strait and the waters which lie beyond it. But Hudson knew the mutinous temper of his crew; they had savagely threatened him and he was afraid of them; if they remained all winter in Newfoundland



HUDSON TRADING WITH THE NATIVES.

they would consume their provisions and be compelled to return, after all, in the spring. Many of the crew, besides, were sick. He therefore proposed to them that they should sail to Ireland and winter there; and to this proposition they all agreed.

They arrived in England November 7, the project of wintering in Ireland seeming to have been reconsidered almost at once. From this point they sent a messenger to inform the Dutch East India Company of their return, and of the extent of what they had discovered and explored. This messenger was also to submit the requests of Hudson for certain arrangements to be made for the next year. He wished six or seven of his crew exchanged for others, and asked that the number should be slightly increased. He stated that it was his intention, with their permission, to leave Dartmouth March 1, 1610, proceed to the Northwest, spend all of April and half of May in fishing for whales and other fish, near the coast of Newfoundland; thence sail northwest till the middle of September, when he would return by way of the northern coast of Scotland.

Contrary winds prevented this messenger from delivering his news and requests to the Company as soon as had been expected; but as soon as they heard of the arrival of the vessel in England, they ordered it to be brought, with all on board, to Holland, as soon as possible. Just here the English Government interfered; and Hudson and the other Englishmen who were on the *Half Moon* were ordered to remain in England to serve their own country. Of course this was unfair, to prevent them from laying their report of the enterprise before their employers; but King James I. had some idea of sending English ships to explore the Hudson River.

In the year 1613 Hessel Gerritz, a Dutch cosmographer of note, prepared and printed a chart showing the results of Hudson's two voyages to North America. Printed on the back of this chart was a Latin description of the country, with some historical account of the enterprise. From this account we quote a paragraph showing what had been the influences at work upon Hudson, and what knowledge he had of these seas before he undertook the fourth voyage; when he endeavored to explore them, and re-discovered the Strait and Bay which bear his name. Gerritz writes concerning Davis' Strait:—

“The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Weymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced by the ice to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61 degrees, which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a southwesterly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself land-locked, and, despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides.

“This voyage, though far from fulfilling Weymouth's hopes, assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Weymouth's log-

books fell into the hands of the Rev. Peter Plancius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when in 1609 Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the Directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by way of the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plancius. Out of them he learned this whole voyage of George Weymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India.



HENRY HUDSON.

“But Peter Plancius refuted this later opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He seems, however, according to the opinion of our countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609 was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having taken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis’ Strait.”

Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Master John Wostenholme, and some others, enlisted in the enterprise by the efforts of those whom we have named, provided the vessel for this voyage, and fitted her out. In this ship, called the *Discovery*, Hudson was to sail direct for Davis' Strait, and seek to find a passage leading from its western side to the South Sea. Their voyage began April 17; and five days later they sailed from the mouth of the Thames. The crew numbered about twenty men besides Hudson and his son John.

We have an account of a part of this voyage from Hudson's own hand; but it professes to be no more than an abstract, and is but brief and unsatisfactory. The longest account that we have, and the most detailed and circumstantial, was written by Abacuk Prickett, who had been in the employ of Sir Dudley Digges. This fourth voyage of Hudson's is peculiar in one respect; in all other accounts, the men who composed the crew of the vessel are but shadows, parts of the machine; in the story of this expedition, they stand out as individuals; we know their names; we are told what they, as individuals, said and did; and the interest is correspondingly increased.

As they passed Iceland, they saw the flames rising from the crater of Mount Hecla, a sure sign of foul weather shortly to come; but they seem to have escaped the storm in its worst shape at least; for although they were obliged to put back to Iceland for a harbor, the vessel escaped all injury.

They came in sight of Greenland June 4, but there was so much ice about the shore that it was impossible to land. Skirting the southern coast, they stood alongshore toward the northwest, impeded much by the ice.

Hudson's men began to be very much discouraged at the appearance of things; and felt sure that their vessel was soon to be ground to pieces between the vast masses of ice that came floating down toward them. Hudson himself despaired, although he seems to have given no signs of it at the time; but he told Prickett afterward that he thought they would have perished there. He brought out his chart, though, and showed the men how much farther they had entered the polar waters than any before them; and left it to them whether they should proceed further or not.

Having the responsibility of the decision thus left to them, the crew were by no means united in their opinions. Some were venturesome enough to wish to go farther north; but by far the greater part of them wished most heartily that they were safely at home, away from this ice.

"If I had a hundred pounds," said one of them, "I would give four-score to be at home."

"If I had a hundred pounds," returned the carpenter, "I would not give ten to be at home; but I would think it as good money as any that I ever had."

The discussion brought no decision; and all hands went to work to get the ship clear of the ice, that she might be turned about. This was done with

no small labor; and they sailed to the westward, keeping close to the sixteenth parallel. This brought them to Ungava Bay; and before long they sighted land, which Hudson named Desire Provokes, but which is now known as Akpatok Island.



HUDSON AND HIS SHIP FROZEN IN.

We need not follow them as they cautiously and slowly advanced along the southern shore of the strait, and at last entered the bay. It is doubtful whether they realized the extent of the body of water on which they were sailing; and probably thought, as they followed the eastern shore down to James Bay, that they had really entered the Pacific. This does not concern us here, however, so much as the actions of Hudson and his crew.

At the time when the discussion about proceeding north had taken place, there had been many mutinous expressions used by some of the crew; but Hudson had not seen fit at the time to take notice of them. These expressions would seem to have been followed by other words and actions of the same nature; and September 10 Hudson called his men together, to be present at a sort of informal trial of Robert Juet, the mate of the vessel.

According to the sworn testimony of Bennet Matthew, Phillip Staffe and Ladlie Arnold, Juet had, in Iceland, on the way from Iceland to Greenland, while they were "pestered in the ice," and after arriving in James' Bay, used words tending to discourage the men, and so strong that they easily took



effect in those who were timorous, and might have "overthrown the voyage," had it not been for the prompt action of the master. In accordance with this testimony, Juet was deposed from his rank as mate, and Robert Bylot appointed to take his place. At the same time, Francis Clement, the boatswain, was reduced to the level of ordinary seaman, and William Wilson advanced to his post.

"Also the master promised, if the offenders yet behaved themselves henceforth honestly, he would be a means for their good, and that he would forget injuries, with other admonitions."

Such is a statement made in a note of this occurrence, found in the desk of Thomas Wydowse, one of those who shared Hudson's fate. These promises, however, seem to have been regarded as nothing in comparison with the wrong which they considered he had done them by thus degrading them from their offices.

There seems to have been no immediate resentment, however; they must first lay their plans very carefully to be sure of success; the greater part of the crew must be won over to their side. Accordingly we hear of no event of importance until the first part of November, when Prickett notes that they were frozen in.

They had provisions enough to last them for six months; and Hudson, in order to insure plenty of food for the winter and for the homeward voyage, offered a reward to each man who should kill either "beast, fish or fowl." It was about the middle of November that the trouble which ended so disastrously began.

One of the chief conspirators seems to have been Henry Greene, a man of good birth, who had lost, by his wild life, all friends among those of his own rank. Hudson had taken him in out of the London streets, and had given him food, shelter, and clothing. Greene was not one of those whom the owners of the vessel had hired to make up the crew, but was brought aboard by Hudson himself, who promised to see that he was provided for. He quarreled with the surgeon while they were on the coast of Iceland, and beat this officer so that the whole crew took the matter up against Greene; Hudson, however, took the part of his protegee, and laid the blame on the surgeon's tongue. Juet became an enemy of Greene's, and tried to make mischief between the carpenter and him. Things were at this pass when John Williams, the gunner, died. According to the custom of the times, the possessions of the dead man were put up at auction. Greene was especially anxious to possess a certain gray cloth gown, and asked Hudson to buy it for him, which the master promised to do.

This important matter of the gray cloth gown being settled, as all thought, Hudson commanded the carpenter to build a house on shore. The carpenter replied that the weather was not fit for such work, that he would not and

could not do it. Hudson flew into a passion and chased him out of his cabin; threatening to hang him, and calling him by many vile names. The carpenter retorted that the master was no carpenter, and knew nothing about what he was ordering to be done.

No reconciliation followed this bitter quarrel; but the next day the carpenter went on shore on a hunting expedition. Hudson had given orders, some time before this, that no one should go ashore alone; and it had become an established custom with them for two to go, one with a pike, and the other with a "piece," or gun. The carpenter's companion on this occasion was Henry Greene. Hudson bitterly resented this ingratitude, and "did so rail on Greene, with so many words of disgrace, telling him that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he?" Hudson recalled his promise about the gray cloth gown, and gave the garment to Bylot; and Prickett goes on to say of Greene:—

"As for wages he had none, and none should have, if he did not please him well. Yet the master had promised him to make his wages as good as any man's in the ship; and to have him made one of the Prince's guard when he came home. But you shall see how the devil out of this so wrought with Greene, that he did the master what mischief he could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other men out of the ship in the end. To speak of all our troubles in this time of winter—which was so cold, that it lamed the most of our company, and myself do feel it yet—would be too tedious."

Throughout the winter they lived mainly on the birds which they killed—partridges, and after they had left, swan, geese, duck and teal "hard to come by." Then they were glad to go into the woods and gather whatever they could find to eat; the "moss of the ground," to which Prickett declares that he would have preferred the powder of a post; and frogs, which seemed less palatable to them than they would have seemed to a Frenchman.

When the ice began to break up, an Indian, the first that they had seen all winter, came to the ship. He was extremely well treated, and some trading was done; but after several visits he left them, telling them by signs of people living to the north and the south, and promising after a certain number of sleeps to come again; but they saw no more of him.

A number of men were sent in the boat to fish and met with very good success. Among those sent on this errand were Henry Greene and William Wilson, who took advantage of their absence to plot against Hudson. The carpenter had recently set up the shallop; and they had planned to seize upon this and the net, and shift for themselves and such others as would choose to follow them.

On their return, however, they found that their plans were not practicable; for Hudson announced that he would take the shallop, with provisions for

eight or nine days, and go to the south and southwest, to see if he could meet with any of the natives. They who remained aboard were to take in wood, water, and ballast, and be all ready to sail as soon as he returned. He set no time for his return, for he felt sure that if he met with any Indians he could procure enough food of them to last him for any length of time.



THE BREAKING-UP OF THE ICE.

In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for the Indians everywhere fled at his approach, setting fire to the woods in his sight. He therefore returned to the ship and made ready to sail. The scanty stock of bread was divided among the men, one pound for each man's share, for two weeks; and, to eke out the food, the boat was again lowered, and sent to the fishing-grounds where they had had such good success before; this time, however, although they worked from Friday morning till Sunday noon, they caught but eighty small fish; a poor relief for so many hungry men.

When the bread was divided, Hudson gave his men a bill of return; that is, a statement that he had not been compelled by them to return before his judgment approved, but had done so of his own will. This was to use in case he should die before reaching England. "And he wept when he gave it unto them."

The state of the food supply was well known to every one on board, and it might be thought that they would endeavor to bear in patience that for which

there was no help. But, hungry and improvident, some of them had eaten in a single day their two weeks' supply; and were clamoring against the master who had no more to give them.

"Being thus in the ice on Saturday, the one and twentieth of June, at night, Wilson the boatswain and Henry Greene came to me lying in my cabin lame, and told me that they and the rest of their associates would shift the company, and turn the master and all the sick men into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves. For there were not fourteen days' victuals left for all the company, at the poor allowance they were at; and that there they lay, the master not caring to go one way or other; and that they had not eaten anything these three days, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would go through with, or die. When I heard this, I told them that I marveled to hear so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wives and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foul a thing in the sight of God and man as that would be; for why should they banish themselves from their native country? Henry Greene bade me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was to be hanged when he came home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home than starved abroad; and, for the good will they bore me, they would have me stay in the ship. I gave them thanks, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt myself and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then that I must take my fortune in the shallop. If there be no remedy, said I, the will of God be done.

"Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturb them; and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talk, but to no good; for he was so persuaded that there was no remedy now but to go on while it was hot, lest their party should fail them, and the mischief they had intended to do to others should light on themselves. Henry Greene came again, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered:—

"He is at his old song, still patient."

"Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three days, in which time I would so deal with the master that all should be well. So I dealt with him but to forbear two days, nay, twelve hours; there is no way then, say they, but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Monday, I would join with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would justify it when I came home; but this would not serve their turns. Wherefore I told them, that it was some worse matter that they had in hand than they made show of, and that it was blood and revenge he sought, or else he would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Henry Greene, with that, taketh my Bible which lay before me, and sware that he would do no man harm, and what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson swear.

"Henry Greene went his way, and presently came Juet: who, because he was an ancient man, I hoped to have found some reason in him; but he was worse than Henry Greene, for he swore plainly that he would justify this deed when he came home."

Four others came in succession to Prickett's cabin to try to win him over; for they knew the dangers of the course which they were about to pursue, and knew that he possessed much influence with his master, Sir Dudley Digges; if this influence could be exerted in their behalf, Prickett being as deep in the mud as they were in the mire, they had no fears of being punished.

Prickett, however, although unable to dissuade them, compelled each one of them to swear what Greene had already sworn; and trusted that they would all go to rest. He was in hopes that their plots would be betrayed to Hudson, but was himself too lame to stir from his bed without such great efforts as would attract the attention of the conspirators and hasten the execution of their plans.

Hudson had advanced the carpenter, whose quarrel had long since been forgotten, to the position of mate, thereby displacing Robert Bylot. This had excited the jealousy of the crew against the new mate, and it was resolved that he should be one of those who were to be put in the shallop.

Soon after daybreak, when the men first began to stir, Henry Greene and another man went to the carpenter, and held him with a talk until the master came out of his cabin, a short time after they began to talk. Two others of the conspirators approached Hudson and engaged his attention until Wilson had an opportunity to come up behind him, suddenly seize him, and bind his arms. Hudson demanded to know what they were doing. They told him that he should know when he was in the shallop. He seems to have been taken completely by surprise.

One of the doomed men, whom they expected to take in the cabin, got hold of a sword and defended himself with it for some time, but at last was overpowered by numbers, and brought up on deck, where he was placed beside Hudson. Two of those who had been seized and were about to be placed in the shallop "railed at them, and told them their knavery would show itself"—*i. e.*, murder would out.

"Then was the shallop hauled up to the ship's side, and the poor, sick, and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabins into the shallop. The master called to me, who came out of my cabin as well as I could, to the hatchway to speak with him; where on my knees I besought them for the love of God to remember themselves, and to do as they would be done unto. They bade me keep myself well, and get me into my cabin; not suffering the master to speak with me. But when I came into my cabin again, he called to me at the horn which gave light into my cabin, and told me that Juet would overthrow us all.





Hudson Cast Adrift by His Crew.

“‘Nay,’ said I; ‘it is that villain, Henry Greene.’”

“And I spake it not softly. \* \* \* Now they let fall the mainsail, and out with their topsails, and fly as from an enemy.”

And this is all that we know of Henry Hudson. The vagueness of Prickett’s descriptions and statements is such that we can only say, of the place of this occurrence, that it was somewhere near the southeastern portion of James Bay; he fixes the time accurately enough; but of Henry Hudson, the boy John Hudson, and the seven others who were put into the shallop, the civilized world has never heard another word.

We have seen from what trifles their bitter enmity against the master of the vessel arose; the fate to which they condemned him, and the entreaties which his faithful follower made in his behalf; it remains only to trace the progress of the *Discovery* in her return to England.

Prickett was invited to take charge of the master’s cabin; and, after some demur, did so. Juet and Bylot quarreled about the course which the ship should take, and the direction of affairs—which did not go with the occupancy of the master’s cabin—was finally given to Henry Greene.

Greene was no friend of Prickett, and lost no opportunity of injuring him with the others; boldly accusing Prickett of a theft of bread of which he himself had been guilty; but the others seem to have been too prudent to wish to offend their peacemaker, and Greene was in this case forced to keep his hatred within bounds.

They reached the mouth of the strait, where they had some friendly dealings with a number of the natives. On Cape Digges Island they found a number of fowls breeding; and the savages exhibited with some pride their skill in lassoing these birds; while the whites, sure of their superiority, showed how they might be killed with fire-arms. The Englishmen anticipated getting a considerable store of food from these Esquimaux, in return for tools and trinkets; but the savages were not so friendly as they had thought.

“The next day, the nine and twentieth of July, they made haste to be ashore; and because the ship rode too far off, they weighed and stood as near the place where the fowl bred as they could; and because I was lame I was to go in the boat, to carry such things as I had in the cabin, of everything somewhat; and so, with more haste than good speed, and not without swearing, away we went, Henry Greene, William Wilson, John Thomas, Michael Perse, Andrew Moter, and myself. When we came near the shore, the people were on the hills dancing and leaping. To the cove we came, where they had drawn up their boats; we brought our boat to the east side of the cove, close to the rocks. Ashore they went, and made fast the boat to a great stone on the shore. The people came, and every one had somewhat in his hand to barter; but Henry Greene swore that they should have nothing till he had venison, for they had so promised him by signs.

"Now when we came, they made signs to their dogs—whereof there were many like mongrels, as big as hounds—and pointed to their mountain and to



THE FATE OF HENRY HUDSON.

the sun, clapping their hands. Then Henry Greene, John Thomas, and William Wilson stood hard by the boat's head, Michael Perse and Andrew Mo-

ter were got up upon a rock a gathering of sorrel; not one of them had any weapon about him, not so much as a stick, save Henry Greene alone, who had a piece of a pike in his hand; nor saw I anything that they had wherewith to hurt us. Henry Greene and William Wilson had looking-glasses, and jewsharps, and bells, which they were showing the people. The savages standing round about them, one of them came into the boat's head to show me a bottle. I made signs to him to get him ashore, but he made as though he had not understood me, whereupon I stood up and pointed him ashore. In the meantime another stole behind me to the stern of the boat, and when I saw him ashore that was in the head of the boat I sat down again, but suddenly I saw the leg and foot of a man by me. Wherefore I cast up my head, and saw the savage with his knife in his hand; who struck at my breast over my head; I cast up my right arm to save my breast; he wounded my arm, and struck me in the body. He struck a second blow, which I met with my left hand, and then he struck me in the right thigh, and had like to cut off the little finger of my left hand. Now I had got hold of the string of the knife, and had wound it about my left hand, he striving with both his hands to make an end of what he had begun; I found him but weak in the grip—God enabling me—and getting hold of the sleeve of his left arm, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeve off his left arm into my left hand, holding the string of the knife fast in the same hand; and, having got my right hand at liberty, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him—not remembering my dagger at my side—but looking down I saw it; and therewith struck him in the body and in the throat.

“Whiles I was thus assaulted in the boat; our men were set upon on the shore. John Thomas and William Wilson had their bowels cut, and Michael Perse and Henry Greene, being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the boat together. When Andrew Moter saw this medley, he came running down the rocks, and leaped into the sea, and so swam to the boat, hanging on to the stern thereof, till Michael Perse took him in, who manfully made good the head of the boat against the savages, that pressed sore upon us. Now Michael Perse had got a hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the sea. Henry Greene cryeth: ‘Coragio!’ and layeth about him with his truncheon. I cried to them to clear the boat, and Andrew Moter cried to be taken in. The savages betook themselves to their bows and arrows, which they sent amongst us, wherewith Henry Greene was slain outright, and Michael Perse received many wounds, and so did the rest. Michael Perse cleareth the boat, and puts it from the shore, and helpeth Andrew Moter in; but in turning of the boat I received a cruel wound in my back with an arrow. Michael Perse and Andrew Moter rowed the boat away, which, when the savages saw, they ran to their boats, and I feared they would

have launched them to follow us, but they did not; and our ship was in the middle of the channel and could not see us.

"Now, when they had rowed a good way from the shore, Michael Perse fainted, and could row no more. Then was Andrew Moter driven to stand in the boat's head, and waft to the ship, which at first saw us not, and when they did they could not tell what to make of us, but in the end they stood for us, and so took us up. Henry Greene was thrown out of the boat into the sea, and the rest were had aboard; the savage being yet alive, but without sense. But they died all there that day, William Wilson swearing and cursing in most fearful manner. Michael Perse lived two days after, and then died. Thus you have heard the tragical end of Henry Greene and his mates, whom they called captain, these four being the only lustie [strong] men on board."

The sickly and feeble remnant of the crew were obliged to keep the vessel plying to and fro in the mouth of the strait, for fear of the savages; but at last hunger drove them to land, at a point where they thought there was a chance of getting some of the birds. A number of these were secured; but having no other food, they were soon reduced to as great straits as before; and the skins and entrails were eaten as well as the flesh.

Juet, who seems to have been the only skilled seaman left on the vessel, had now full charge of the vessel; but his skill in navigation does not appear to have been very great. They were fully two hundred leagues from Ireland, when, by his reckoning, they were less than as many miles from the coast. This discrepancy was caused by the "evil steerage," for they had gone here and there upon the waters, until no man really knew where they were.

The men became so weak from hunger that they could not stand at the helm. Juet died of "mere want." The listless sailors saw the foresail or mainsail fly up to the tops, the sheets being either flown or broken, and would neither try to help it themselves or call others to do it. They had sunk into despair, and "cared not which end went forward."

It was then that they saw land; and soon afterward there was the joyful cry:—

"A sail! A sail!"

It was a fishing bark, which piloted them to a harbor on the southern coast of Ireland, whence they made their way to England. The sailors were thrown into prison, to await the result of the expedition sent to the rescue of Hudson. Three ships sailed for this purpose the summer after the mutineers arrived in England, under the command of a gentleman of the Prince of Wales' household, named Button, the discoverer of Button's Bay. But they were not able to find any traces of the shallop or its unfortunate occupants. The subsequent fate of the prisoners, like that of Hudson and his



companions, is shrouded in mystery; their names do not occur again upon the ancient records.



JAMES I., KING OF ENGLAND.

## CHAPTER XX.

### BAFFIN AND ARCTIC EXPLORATIONS.

The Parish Register Entries—Deductions—Beginning at the Foot of the Ladder—Danish Attempts to Explore Northern Waters—Baffin's First Recorded Voyage—Off Greenland—Esquimaux Visitors—Hall Mortally Wounded—A Disappointment—Return—Two Voyages to the Northeast—Exploring Spitzbergen—"Gibbons His Hole"—Second Voyage to America—Off Greenland Again—Measuring Icebergs—Exploring the Islands—Hudson Strait—Return to England—Baffin's Opinion About the Northwest Passage—Third Voyage to America—Up Davis' Strait—In Baffin's Bay—Limit of Exploration—The Sick Cured—Return to England—Maps of Baffin's Bay—Ross' Testimony to Baffin's Merits—Baffin's New Scheme—Employed by East India Company—Arrival at Surat—Exploration of the Red Sea—A Favored Employee—Becomes Master of a Ship—Fight with Dutch and Portuguese in Persian Waters—A Drawn Battle—A Second Conflict—Return to Surat—To the Coast of Arabia—Alliance with the Shah—Siege of Ormuz—Baffin Levels the Guns—Killed.

THE Parish Registers of England have frequently afforded accurate information to those in search of the date of a death, birth, or marriage; and they have been carefully indexed by the British Government for this purpose. But they afford only a slight clue to anything connected with the life of William Baffin. Were these registers complete records there would be no difficulty; but in many parishes there were none kept until late in the reign of Elizabeth, and these were not always complete, even for the period of time which they pretended to cover.

In the registers which still exist, the name of Baffin occurs six times; five of these are in the register of a church in Westminster; one child baptized, one child who was buried, and three adults who were buried, having died of the plague. These entries are between 1603 and 1612. In another parish there is a single entry, that of the baptism of Susan Baffin, the daughter of William Baffin, October 15, 1609. These are slender materials from which to construct a biography; but they are all that we have regarding the life of Baffin for the period up to twelve years before his death.

The first five entries may concern relatives of the navigator, but they can hardly have been members of his immediate family. The last is probably the record of his daughter's baptism. The parish where it was registered includes a district of London called Queenhithe: this is a landing-place favored by sailors, and not an unlikely place for a seaman to choose as his home while on shore.

Having thus shown on what a slender foundation ingenuity can construct

some theory regarding the life of a hero, the author leaves the reader to accept or reject these guesses as he pleases; only asking him, if he reject them, what better he has to offer in their place?

Whatever may have been his dwelling-place while he was on shore, it is tolerably certain, from hints found in old books, that Baffin spent most of his time on the sea; that he had been a sailor since his boyhood; and, beginning at the very foot of the ladder, had won his way upward by sheer force of hard work. As such, he deserves to be ranked with any American who began life at the bottom of the social scale, and reached the highest round possible to a citizen of the United States.

That he had received no regular education in science, is evidenced by what Purchas, an authority of his own day, says of him. This ancient historian calls him "that learned-unlearned mariner and mathematician." This can only mean that he had acquired, in the hard school of experience, that which men of higher birth and easier fortunes were taught in boyhood by their schoolmasters.

The first recorded voyage which Baffin made began in 1612. A number of wealthy merchants had combined to fit out two ships for the exploration of the coast of Greenland. The chief of these was Sir Thomas Smith, who had been interested for a number of years in Arctic explorations. He had been among those who fitted out the earliest expeditions to the northern coast of Europe; and when the East India Company, of which he was the first Governor, declined to make any further effort, for the time, toward discovering a Northwest Passage, after the failure of Captain Weymouth, he became the founder and first Governor of a new company, called The Company of Merchants of London, Discoverers of the Northwest Passage. Those who composed this company had, before its organization, united to send Hudson on his last voyage; their first act, as a corporation, would have been to send some one in search of him, had not the Prince of Wales taken the matter into his own hands and dispatched a gentleman of his own household, Sir Thomas Button, on the errand.

Sir Dudley Digges, the master of Abacuk Prickett, whose influence was expected to secure Hudson's mutinous men from punishment; Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir William Cockayne, Sir James Lancaster, Mr. Richard Ball, and Alderman Francis Jones, made up the others of the company. Their names are of importance, because a grateful sailor remembered the liberality which had enabled him to prosecute his discoveries, and bestowed their names upon capes and bays along the coast of that body of water to which his own name has been affixed.

The chief of this first recorded voyage of Baffin was Captain James Hall, a native of Hull on the northeastern coast of England. He had seen considerable service in the Arctic seas, having been employed as pilot by the King of Den-

mark in three expeditions sent out to search for the lost colonies of Greenland. On the second of these voyages a number of natives were seized, to be taken to Denmark; and some who stoutly resisted capture were killed. We shall see, as we go on, how this affected the after fortunes of Hall, and, through him, of his subordinate Baffin.

The King of Denmark then gave up his attempts to re-explore Greenland; and Hall returned to England. Here he sought and found employment with the wealthy gentlemen whose names have been given, who fitted out two vessels, the *Patience* and the *Heart's Ease*. Of the first, Hall, the leader of the expedition, was captain; the pilot was William Baffin.

This is his first real appearance in history, as he steps aboard the good ship *Patience*, lying in the Humber, ready to sail for Greenland, early in April, 1612. The *Patience* was manned by forty men and boys, the *Heart's Ease* by twenty. The 10th of April they were all ready to sail, but were obliged to wait twelve days for a favorable wind. Their voyage seems to have been without danger, as they steered a little north of west across the Atlantic; and May 13 some of the sailors asserted that they saw land. As there was a snow storm raging at the time, the others did not think that they could be sure of it. The next day, however, these assertions were confirmed; and Baffin decided, from the observations which he had made, that this was Cape Farewell, the southernmost point of Greenland; so named by John Davis twenty-five years before, because he could not reach it on account of the ice.

The same difficulty beset these later navigators; and for several days they made vain efforts to find a landing-place, free from the drifting ice which constantly threatened them. On the 17th, as the record tells us: "This day we run among the ice, and were inclosed with the ice, so that we could get no passage to the northward; and so we were forced to stand out again, and were glad that God had delivered us from among it."

Passing the part of the land which had been named Desolation, the next promontory which they saw was one which they named Cape Comfort. As, however, it was so encompassed with ice that the ships could not reach it, it was rather cold Comfort.

Not until the 28th did they find a landing-place; where, the vessels having anchored, Hall set some of his men to work putting the pinnace together, while he took the shallop and another boat, and went to explore the coast more minutely than could be done in a larger vessel.

Here they were visited, day after day, by the Esquimaux, who came in their skin-boats, or kayaks, manifesting the most friendly sentiments. It was a little inconvenient, however, to entertain such guests, for they stole everything on which they could lay their hands, being especially fond of iron. Early in June they improved their opportunities one night by stealing a gun which a careless sentry, coming to warm himself at the fire, had left at his

post. This Esquimau was probably the first native of America who ever obtained possession of such an article. We have no record, however, of his stealing any powder or ball, so it is hard to see what good the gun could do him. The musket was recaptured the next day. One of the sailors "catching hold of one of the salvages, another did cast a dart at him, and struck him into the body with it, which gave him his death's wound. Also the salvage he took we hauled into the ship, and by him we had our musket again; for two of the salvages being aged men, and rulers of the rest, came with great reverence to know the occasion we had taken one of their men; we with signs and other tokens did show them the occasion, being the best language we all had amongst us, delivering their man, his boat, oars, and darts. Our general gave unto him a coat, a knife, and a seeing-glass also, to requite the injury we had done; yet he, with a frowning look, desiring to be gone from us, we let him go out of the ship, and helping him into the chains, he leaped overboard, and the other two did help him ashore; and when he was ashore, the salvages cut off the coat our master gave him, so little did they regard it. It was made of yellow cotton, with red gards of other cotton about it."

This occurred off the coast of what Davis had named Gilbert Sound, but which the newcomers called the Harbor of Hope. The modern Danish settlement of Godthaab is situated upon this inlet, and is the principal settlement in South Greenland. Their next anchorage was off the point where Sukkertoppen, the most populous place in Greenland at the present day, was founded in 1755. From this point, Hall proceeded in the pinnace; and after the ships had weighed anchor and continued their voyage to the northward, he frequently left them, to explore the coast in this smaller vessel. The results of these voyages were of no general interest; and we let Baffin tell us of an occurrence during July, when the ships lay near Cunningham's Fiord.

"Wednesday, the two and twentieth day, about nine or ten of the clock, the savages came to barter with us, being about forty of them; and continued about an hour and a half; at which time our master, James Hall, being in the boat, a savage with his dart struck him a deadly wound upon the right side, which our surgeon did think did pierce his liver. We all mused that he should strike him, and offer no harm to any of the rest; unless it were that they knew him since he was here with the Danes; for out of that river they carried away five of the people, whereof never any returned again; and in the next river they killed a great number. And it should seem that he who killed him was either brother or some near kinsman to some of them that were carried away; for he did it very resolutely, and came within four yards of him. And for aught that we could see, the people are very kind one to another, and ready to revenge any wrong offered to them. All that day he lay very sore pained, looking for death every hour, and resigned all



his charge to Master Andrew Barker, master of the *Heart's Ease*, willing him to place another in his room master of the small ship. Thursday, the three and twentieth, about eight of the clock in the morning, he died, being very penitent for all his former offenses. And after we had shrouded him we carried him in the shallop, to bury him in some out island, according to his own request while he was living. After we had buried him, we went in the shallop to seek for the mine, which we had expected so long."



BAFFIN IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.

Hall had found some glittering bits of mica, during his former voyages, among the rocks of the coast of Greenland; and supposed them to be silver. It was this supposed silver mine of which they were now in search. They discovered, the next day, the place where the Danes had been digging; and bits of a shining stone, which abounded there, were submitted to a goldsmith who was on board. After careful examination, he pronounced them valueless, since there was no metal in the stone, but only mica.

This was a great disappointment to those on board, for the discovery of this silver mine was one of the objects of their journey. Efforts were made to trade with the natives, in the hope that they might thus accomplish enough to enable them to make a favorable report; but the Esquimaux seemed to think that in killing Hall they had committed a crime which the whites were not likely to pardon, and that all efforts to get them

near the ships were only endeavors to get them within range of the guns.

In the midst of these disappointments, dissatisfaction with their new chief ruled on board the ships; and there was some danger of mutiny. After some discussion, however, the officers of the ships succeeded in persuading all the crews to accept Barker as their commander, and the danger was averted.

Three days after the burial of Hall, the officers of the two vessels met to consider the question of returning home; "because that since our master was slain, none of the savages would trade with us as they were wont." The finding that the supposed silver mine was worthless had as much to do with their decision, probably, as the failure of the savages to trade with them; but the above is the reason given by Baffin in his account of the voyage.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, August 4, they got to sea; and, after a voyage without events of interest, came to anchor in Hull Road, September 17, 1612. This voyage shows nothing new accomplished in the way of discovery, for Hall had while under the direction of the King of Denmark explored all these coasts. It is of interest only because it is Baffin's first recorded voyage, and made him acquainted with the difficulties and dangers of an effort to explore the Arctic waters. The account from which we have quoted is full of curiously minute observations of the heavenly bodies, showing Baffin to have been skilled in calculating his position; and somewhat of an original genius, since he frequently explains, as novelties, his methods of taking observations and applying the results in such a way as to obtain the desired information from them. With these astronomical and mathematical triumphs, however, the present volume does not deal; since they are beyond the understanding of all but those scientists who would prefer to study them in the original.

The next year, Baffin again took service under the same company of merchants, but not to the west again. Sir Thomas Button had not yet returned from his quest for Hudson, and it is possible that they wished to wait for him. Baffin was to go in the opposite direction.

As early as 1597 the English had made great efforts to monopolize the whale fisheries about Spitzbergen; and in 1612 the Muscovy Company had obtained a charter excluding all vessels from any country from these fisheries. In 1613, they decided to send a fleet large enough to enforce this charter by driving off other vessels; and six good ships, fitted out by them for this purpose, sailed from Queensborough May 13 of that year, Baffin being pilot on board the Admiral's vessel.

The vessels were engaged in whale-fishing, and in beating off those vessels manned by natives of other countries which persisted in contesting their rights under the charter. Baffin's time was occupied in observations of the latitude and longitude, and of the variations of the compass. He records, also, descriptions of whale-fishing as carried on at that time. They returned to England at the close of the summer, entering the Thames Sept. 6.

The following year, 1614, the same company sent out a larger fleet, consisting of eleven ships and two pinnaces, under the command of Master Benjamin Joseph and the pilotage of Baffin. They set sail out of Tilbury Hope May 4; and, after a voyage of three weeks through open seas, encountered much straggling ice, through which, however, they passed without danger for several days. Then the vessels were separated by a storm, and two of them lost sight of; while the others were so shut in by the ice that "every one wrought the best means he could for the safety of his ship." They arrived off Spitzbergen June 3. Here the harbor, much to their surprise, was open; and, as no whale had been seen that season, they decided to proceed to the northward. In order to enter shallow inlets and rivers, Baffin took the shallop of the vessel in which he sailed, and proceeded with a few men to the northward of Maudlin Sound, where the ships anchored for some time. He reached a point which he called Cape Barren, though he does not seem to have known that it was a headland on a small island near the mainland of Spitzbergen. Further than this he could not go, because of the masses of floating ice which lay between him and the shore, and threatened to grind his boat to atoms.

The only account which we have of this voyage was written by Robert Fotherby, who seems to have been second in command on board the *Thomasine*, in which ship, also, Baffin sailed; and we find many mentions of the great navigator's name in this story of the voyage. If Master Fotherby went out in a shallop one day, Master Baffin went out the next day; sometimes they went out, in different boats, at the same time, appointing a rendezvous. When all their explorations failed to show them a shore that was clear of ice, still another plan was tried.

"Now we found the ice so close packed together that we could not proceed any further with our shallops; wherefore Master Baffin and I intended to walk over land until we should be better satisfied how far this sound went in, for we could as yet see no end of it, and it seemed to make a separation of the land; so, leaving our men here with the shallops, we traveled almost a league further, till we came to the point of a sandy beach that shot into the sound, which was wonderfully stored with driftwood in great abundance. From this point we received such satisfaction as we looked for, because we saw the end of the sound, which lies south in about ten leagues. It hath in it a harbor that is landlocked; and doubtless it is a good place for the whale-killing, if it be not every year, as it is now, pestered with ice. Here I saw a more natural earth and clay than any that I have seen in all the country, but nothing growing thereupon more than in other places. This sound is that which formerly had, and still retaineth, the name of Sir Thomas Smith's Inlet."

The friends were mistaken when they thought they saw the end of the sound or inlet; for later explorers have dubbed it Hinlopen Strait, having

found it to be a passage separating the two parts of Spitzbergen, New Friesland and Northeast Land. They returned to their shallops, however, in contented ignorance; and, seeing no way of progressing any further, went back to the ship.

Through the adventures of the whale fishery we need not follow them; for, while the crew were engaged in killing the monsters of the deep, the pilot was busily making the calculations which his observations were to render valuable; for Baffin did good service to science by faithfully observing and recording the variations of the needle. They reached England October 4.

While Baffin had been thus employed in Spitzbergen, his patrons had sent out another expedition to the western seas, under the command of Captain Gibbons. This officer had accompanied Sir Thomas Button, and had also the advantages of the services of Robert Bylot, who had followed Hudson and Button. Gibbons reached the coast of Labrador and anchored there in a bay, where he remained so long that his crew, tired out by inaction, dubbed it "Gibbons, his Hole." Having accomplished this wonderful feat of reaching Labrador and remaining there all summer, Captain Gibbons set sail in the autumn and returned to England.

Such a course might well have disgusted the men at whose expense the expedition had been fitted out, and who looked for some return, either in discoveries made by faithful exploration of the coast, or in such news of mines or a passage to India as might promise to repay them the money which they had laid out. But they were too much in earnest to allow the matter to drop because one man had proved unsuited to the task which he had undertaken. The *Discovery*, which had successively borne Hudson, Button, and Gibbons to the American coast, was refitted for a fourth voyage. Robert Bylot was appointed master, and William Baffin was made pilot.

An excellent system of keeping log-books, devised by Cabot, was enforced by the Muscovy Company, and the officers of its ships were expected to take frequent astronomical observations. Baffin, who seems to have turned instinctively to such work, and had that love for it which a man naturally feels for an art which he has acquired under many difficulties, and in which he excels, had received an excellent training while serving under the Company in his two Spitzbergen voyages, as well as in the previous voyage to Greenland, under the command of Captain Hall. There is still in existence the manuscript copy of his report of this second voyage to the western seas, the fourth of his which are recorded; and it has been carefully edited by more than one English scholar of distinction. Accompanying the report which we have mentioned, is a transcript from his log-book, which he entitles: "A True Relation of Such Things as Happened in Fourth Voyage for the Discovery of a Passage to the Northwest, Performed in the Year 1615." From this, as the only authority which we have upon the subject, and the best possible, had we

ever so many, we extract enough passages to give the history of the voyage.

"The chief master and commander under God, was Robert Bylot, a man well experienced that ways, having been employed the three former voyages: myself being his mate and associate, with fourteen other men and two boys. This ship being in readiness, upon the 15th day of March came aboard Mr. John Woltzenholme, Esquire, one of the chief adventurers, and with him Mr. Alwin Cary, husband for the voyage. Who having delivered our master his commission, and read certain orders to be observed by us in the voyage, giving us good exhortations, and large promises of rewards, as treble wages to all, if the action were performed, they departed, charging us to make what speed we could away. So the next day, being Thursday, we weighed anchor at St. Catherine's, and that tide came to Blackwall; and the next day to Gravesend; and the morrow after to Lee. \* \* \* With indifferent winds and weather we came to anchor in Scilly the twenty-sixth day. \* \* \* We stood for Padstowe in Cornwall, \* \* \* and came to anchor in the harbor; and here we stayed, having much foul weather and contrary winds. \* \* \* The 19th of April in the morn we weighed anchor, the wind southeast a good gale, we keeping our courses as in the brief Journal you may more conveniently see. And seeing few things of note happened in our outward bound voyage, I refer all other things to that table before noted."

Sighting the coast of Greenland May 6, at a point just east of Cape Farewell, they found themselves in the midst of icebergs of immense size. Baffin measured several, finding the largest two hundred and forty feet above the water; and calculating that if only one-seventh of the mass be above water, this iceberg must have been one thousand six hundred and eighty feet from the top to the bottom.

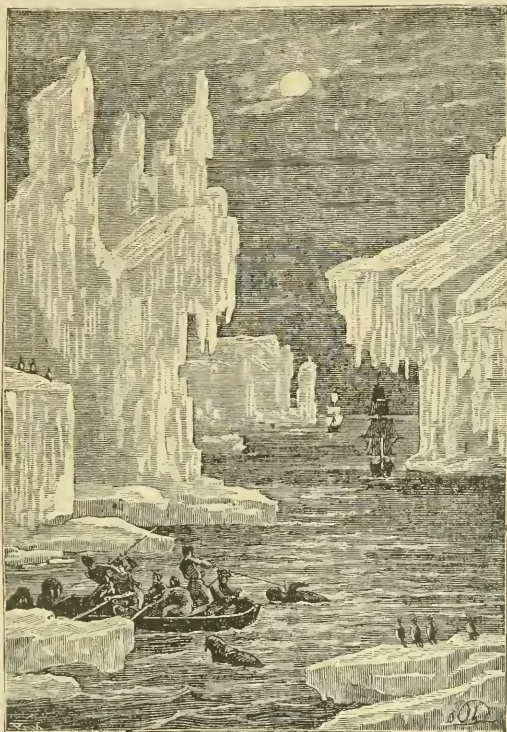
Bylot consulted Baffin about trying to get the ship within the ice, or between the ice and the shore. Baffin scarcely thought this a wise proceeding, but yielded to the longer experience of Bylot in these waters. "After we were entered into the ice, it was not long before we were fast set up, but sometimes of the tide the ice would a little open, then we made our way as much to the northwest as we could; yet we plainly found that we were set to the southward, although the wind were southwardly."

Leaving the coast of Greenland, some time was spent in trying to reach Resolution Island, which was finally sighted May 27. They anchored their ship to a piece of ice for the first night; nor were they able to find a more stable anchorage until June 1, when they found a good harbor on the western side of this island. Here they went ashore, finding no certain sign of inhabitants, but tracks of bears and foxes on the rocky ground.

They continued their course about this island until about the 8th of June, when they stood off toward some smaller islands to the north, determined to come to anchor among them. Here they sent a boat nearer the shore, to see



if the island were inhabited; the sailors returned saying that they saw tents and boats, and a number of dogs; but no people.



BAFFIN EXPLORES THE COAST OF GREENLAND.

“Then by and by we went to prayer, and after our men had supped, we fitted our boat and selves with things convenient; then myself and seven others landed, and went to the tents, where finding no people, we went to the tope of the hill, where we saw one great canoe, or boat, having about fourteen persons in it. \* \* \* \* Then I called unto them, using some words of Greenlandish speech, making signs of friendship. They did the like to us; but seeing them to be fearful of us, and we not willing to trust them, I made another sign to them, showing them a knife and other small things, which I

left on the top of the hill. \* \* \* \* Being returned to the tents, we found some whale fins to the number of fourteen or fifteen, which I took aboard, leaving knives, beads and counters instead thereof. And among other of their household, I found in a small leather bag a company of little images of men; and one the image of a woman with a child at her back; all the which I brought away."

They now proceeded up Hudson Strait, progressing slowly on account of the ice. They came in sight of Salisbury Island July 1; and the next morning found themselves close to a small island, where the "great extremity and grinding of the ice" was such that they named it Mill Island.

From this point they advanced toward Nottingham Island, it being the judgment of both master and pilot that as much should be done as possible to explore the great bay which they were now entering. But little was accomplished; and they soon turned eastward again, passing Resolution Island August 3, and sighting Cape Clear, in Ireland, Sept. 6. Batlin continues:—

"The next morning by daylight we were fair by Scilly, and that night, at two o'clock the next morn, we came to anchor in Plymouth Sound, without the loss of one man. For these and all other blessings the Lord make us thankful.

"And now it may be that some expect I should give my opinion concerning the passage. To those my answer must be, that doubtless there is a passage. But within this strait, whom is called Hudson's Strait, I am doubtful, supposing the contrary. But whether there be, or no, I will not affirm. But this I will affirm, that we have not been in any tide than that from Resolution Island, and the greatest indraft of that cometh from Davis' Straits; and my judgment is, if any passage within Resolution Island, it is but some creek or inlet, but the main will be up Fretum Davis [Davis' Strait], but if any be desirous to know my opinion in particular, I will at any time be ready to show the best reasons I can, either by word of mouth or otherwise."

Baffin's opinion that there was doubtless a Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean was shared by all the geographers of his day, and by merchants as well. Perhaps the latter class of men clung obstinately to the belief because they wished to believe it; certainly Baffin's report was received by his employers with much more favor than would have been the case had he insisted that even if such a passage existed, it would be rendered useless by being choked up with ice. Yet his experience of the coast of Greenland and of Hudson Strait would have justified him in expressing such an opinion.

The Company seems to have been well pleased with what had been accomplished during this voyage; and the *Discovery* was at once refitted for another voyage, Bylot being named as master again, while Batlin once more served as pilot. The crew consisted of fifteen other men. It is to be remarked how

small was the number of persons with which these daring English navigators crossed the ocean. The *Discovery* was a vessel of but fifty-five tons' burden; and her crew, on these voyages across the ocean, rarely numbered more than twenty men.

The vessel was ready to sail March 26, and did set sail from Gravesend that day; but contrary winds kept her beating about the coast of England until April 20th. The voyage, says Baffin, was without any event worthy of note; they came in sight of land May 14. This was the coast of Greenland about the latitude of Sukkertoppen, which, we have seen, was visited by Baffin in his first voyage to this coast. Much to the disappointment of some of the natives, they did not anchor at once, but pushed a little farther north before landing to secure supplies of fresh water.

June 30 they came in sight of the farthest point which Davis had reached, Hope Sanderson, a little to the north of what we now know as Svartehuk. On the islands where they landed they found women, but no men; the women making signs that the men were on the main land or on a neighboring island. They made friends with the women, and engaged to take them across to the place where the men were, but were unable to find the place. They called the island where they had landed The Women's Island.

In passing to the northward, they thought that if they stood out from shore they would be safer from the ice than if they kept close to land. In this supposition they were mistaken; for in these waters at least, the attempt to take the middle pack is very perilous, it being much safer to stick to the land-floe until Melville Bay is passed. But these were the first European navigators who had sailed in these waters, to which the name of the great pilot has since been given; and the nature of the currents which bear the ice was not then understood.

Finding that they could not possibly make their way through the middle pack, they returned to shore, and came to anchor among many islands, a little above the northern extremity of Upernavik Bay. Here again they were visited by some of the natives, who seemed very willing to trade with them. They offered, in addition to sealskins, so many pieces of the teeth and horns of walruses, that the master and pilot agreed to call this place Horn Sound. This name, however, has not been retained on modern maps.

The first of July their hopes of finding a passage to the Pacific were increased by the circumstance that they entered a sea clear of ice; but the condition of the tides did not bear out this supposition.

Sir Dudley Digges Cape and Wolstenholme Sound bear witness to the respect and gratitude of the seamen for their employers; while Hakluyt's Island was named in honor of an eminent geographer of the time.

They reached the entrance to what we now know as Smith's Sound, but to which they gave the longer name of Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, about the

5th. Here Baffin noted the variation of the needle was greater than at any other point on the earth, and he reflected that this disproved the generally accepted theory. It was then supposed that the mass of earth attracted the needle, so that the variation was greatest in the direction of the greatest amount of land; but, he argued, the mass of Asia must be "unspeakably more than here there can be, yet here is more variation than about Japan or Brazil, Peru, etc." It may be well to remind the reader that much greater variations have since been observed.

Guiding their course by the numerous islands which sprinkle these northern waters, they crossed Smith Sound and began their southward course along the western shore of Baffin's Bay. Alderman Jones and Sir James Lancaster were honored as others of the Company had been, by having a sound given their full name, including the title; in our day all but the surname has disappeared from the map.

"Now seeing that we had made an end of our discovery, and the year being too far spent to go for the bottom of the bay to search for dressed fins, therefore we determined to go for the coast of Greenland to see if we could not get some refreshing for our men, \* \* \* \* three having kept their cabins above eight days, besides Richard Waynam, which died the 26th of July, \* \* \* and divers more of our company so weak that they could do but little labor. So the wind favoring us, we came to anchor in Cockin Sound. The next day, going on shore on a little island, we found great abundance of the herb called scurvy grass, which we boiled in beer, and so drank thereof, using it also in salads, with sorrel and orpen, which here groweth in abundance; by means hereof, and the blessing of God, all our men within eight or nine days' space were in perfect health, and so continued until our arrival in England."

The 6th of August they were clear of the coast of Greenland; and after the unusually short period of nineteen days, sighted the coast of Ireland. The 30th of August they anchored at Dover, "for the which and all other blessings the Lord make us thankful."

Purchas, who was the first publisher of an account of Baffin's voyages, found the making of maps too expensive, and hence omitted those which the pilot had prepared. This omission, together with that of his tabulated journal, caused the geographers of the next two hundred years to make many mistakes concerning the course which he pursued and the places which he discovered. In course of time, the very existence of Baffin's Bay came to be questioned. The subject may be well presented by the brief description of a series of five maps.

In the first, dated 1635, the map-drawer evidently had at hand that which Baffin himself prepared; it is tolerably correct, giving a fairly good idea of the outlines of the coast of Greenland and the southern part of the island now

known as Baffin Land. The western shore of Baffin's Bay is represented as an unbroken line of coast, where our modern maps show a number of islands.

The second map, although only a year later, shows things as the map-drawer evidently thought they ought to be. Baffin's Bay is a great basin northwest of Baffin's Land, or Cumberland Island, as it was then called; a broad passage connecting it with Hudson's Bay.

An atlas published in 1720 shows considerable doubt on the subject. The great bay is outlined nearly as in the first map mentioned, but there is a line showing it as the second one had drawn it, with the note: "Some will have Baffin's Bay to run west, as far as this faint shadow." A map dated 1818 boldly questions the very existence of this great body of water; it is indeed outlined, but the space bears the note: "According to the relation of William Baffin, 1616, but not now believed." It was not until Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry, in the very year in which this map was published, rediscovered Baffin's Bay, that the mystery was finally cleared away and the great Arctic explorer of the time of King James I. received all the credit to which his accuracy as an observer and his gallantry and skill as a navigator had fairly entitled him.

Ross identified all the places mentioned and named by Baffin, and bears frequent testimony to his accuracy, especially as regards the latitude of Lancaster Sound. In regard to the seventeenth century sailor, the nineteenth century explorer says:—

"In re-discovering Baffin's Bay I have derived additional pleasure from the reflection that I have placed in a fair light before the public the merits of a worthy man and an able navigator, whose fate, like that of many others, it has not only been to have lost, by a combination of circumstances, the opportunity of acquiring during his lifetime the fame which he deserved, but, could he have lived to this period, to have seen his discoveries expunged from the records of geography, and the bay with which his name is so fairly associated treated as a phantom of the imagination."

Foiled in the endeavor to find a passage along the northern coast of America by which European vessels could pass into the Pacific Ocean and thence to the rich countries of the far East, it is probable that Baffin formed a plan by which, as he thought, this same purpose could be accomplished in another way. There had been many attempts to find the eastern extremity of such a passage, and all had failed; it might be far easier to find the western entrance, and then trace the course of the strait through to the Atlantic.

It is not likely that a man who had made five voyages to the Arctic regions, and had in the last one made such notable discoveries, would so far lose interest in the subject as to seek for employment in an entirely different part of the world; and we can only explain Baffin's efforts to obtain an appointment under the East India Company by supposing that he had it in



his mind to cross the Pacific from Japan, seek a passage north of America, and make his way through to the Atlantic, thus circumnavigating the globe without rounding the two southernmost capes. He seems to have been willingly received by them, and was appointed as master's mate on board the *Anne Royal*.

Every year, since 1601, the East India Company had sent out a fleet; the profits that were derived from this trade were of fabulous amount; and ships, larger than any that the world had ever before seen, were built to bring home the rich cargoes from the East. One of these vessels was actually of one thousand three hundred and twenty tons' burden, an enormously large vessel, in the judgment of men of the seventeenth century, although less than one-tenth the burden of the *Great Eastern*. The ship on which Baffin sailed for this sixth recorded voyage of his, was of somewhat more than a thousand tons. The master was Andrew Shilling, a good sailor, who "was not inferior to any man for government."

The fleet, which consisted of five vessels in all, was fitted out the winter after Baffin's return from the coast of Greenland, and was ready to sail early in February, 1617. The ships were carefully inspected before they left port, and every precaution taken to prevent sickness, particularly scurvy. They weighed anchor March 5; and, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Saldanha Bay, on the western coast of Cape Colony, June 21. Here a supply of cattle and sheep for the remainder of the voyage was obtained, though not without difficulty; and they continued their course to the Indies, arriving at Surat in the month of September.

It was then determined to send Captain Shilling to the Red Sea, to open up a trade with the countries surrounding it. Instructions were duly drawn up by the British Minister to the court of the Mogul, and three merchants were selected to conduct the business. In May, 1618, the vessel sailed on this errand; and Baffin's surveys and observations of the coast of the Red Sea, which was explored with considerable thoroughness, are at the foundation of a good deal of our knowledge concerning that historic body of water. Later in the year, the *Anne Royal* was in the Persian Gulf, where Baffin again made good use of his time, observing and surveying the coasts. Returning thence to Surat, the *Anne Royal* began her voyage homeward in February, 1619, and arrived in the Thames in September.

Of course, when Baffin formed his plan for discovering the Northwest Passage by beginning at the Pacific end, he did not expect his first voyage to the Indies to afford him the desired opportunity. It would seem, from various indications, that he was by no means an old man at this time; although he had outlived the impatience of youth, he had not yet lost his youthful hopefulness and spirit. He had laid a good foundation for such an enterprise in the future, by securing the favor of the great East India Company,

That such favor was won and deserved, is shown by a single entry in their records:—

“William Baffin, a master's mate in the *Lune*, to have a gratuity for his pains and good art in drawing out certain plots of the coast of Persia and the Red Sea, which are judged to have been very well and artificially performed; some to be drawn out by Adam Bowen, for the benefit of such as shall be employed in those parts.”

Thus, we see, Baffin's charts were not only regarded as well done, but they were made to serve as copies for the official charts furnished by the Company to its employes.

Captain Shilling had done his work so well that he was advanced to the command of the next fleet sent out. Four new vessels comprised it, the building of which was not completed before the end of 1619. The largest of these, called the *London*, was Shilling's flag-ship, and while the masters of the others were selected and appointed by the Company, he was permitted to choose the master of this. He named for the position William Baffin, with whose merits as a seaman he had had ample opportunity to get acquainted during the long voyage preceding this, in which Baffin had served under his eye.

Thus after many years of patient and skillful labor, we see the great navigator appointed, for the first time, to the command of a large ship. It is a circumstance without parallel, we believe, in the annals of discovery, that a man who did what Baffin did for geography should have been in a subordinate position until long after the period at which he achieved those things on which his fame rests.

The fleet sailed from the Downs March 25, reaching Saldanha Bay just three months later. As they rounded the Cape it became a serious question whether they should go to the east or the west of Madagascar, then called the Island of St. Lawrence; Baffin, of course, being one of those who anxiously discussed it, and having no small voice in the decision.

After a longer voyage than usual they anchored in Swally Road November 9. Hardly had they come to anchor before news was received that a combined Portuguese and Dutch fleet was lying off Jashak, near the entrance to the Persian Gulf, waiting to attack the ships of the British East India Company. The fleet at once sailed to Jashak, and on the 16th of December came in sight of two large Portuguese ships and two smaller Dutch vessels. The fight began at once, and lasted for nine hours without a pause. The Portuguese were then glad to anchor, in order to repair damages to their vessels; while the Englishmen were not sorry to have an opportunity to draw a long breath. The fleet under Shilling's command withdrew to the Jashak Roads, and the two fleets sullenly watched each other for ten days. A second and more decisive combat took place Dec. 28. This fight has been so

ably described by one who took part in it, that we quote here an extract from the manuscript journal of Captain Swan, still preserved at the India Office in London:—

“Our broadsides were brought up, and the good ordnance from our whole fleet played so fast upon them that doubtless if the knowledge in our people had been answerable to their willing minds and ready resolutions, not one of their galleons, unless their sides were impenetrable, had escaped us. About three in the afternoon, unwilling, after so hot a dinner, to receive a like supper, they cut their cables and drove with the tide until they were without range of our guns; and then their frigate came to them, and towed them away, wonderfully mangled and torn. Their Admiral, in the greatest fury of the fight, was enforced to heel his ship to stop the leaks, his main topmast overboard, and the head of his mainmast. \* \* \* \* Our worthy Admiral, in the beginning of the fight, received a great and grievous wound through the left shoulder, by a great shot, which hurt he with such patience and courage underwent, that it gave great hope to us all of his most wished recovery. But having, besides the wound, two of his ribs broken, this day, about noon, he departed this life, showing himself, as ever before, a resolute commander; so now, in his passage through the gates of death, a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian. His body was interred at Jashak on the 9th, with all the solemnity, decency, and respect the time and place afforded.”

The death of Admiral Shilling made no difference in the standing of Baffin, who continued as master of the *London*, while the commander of one of the other vessels, according to arrangements made by the Company, assumed the command of the fleet. The vessels returned to Surat in February.

It had been arranged that this fleet was to have gone to the Red Sea; but after the battle and the delays off the coast of Persia, it was thought to be too late in the season; and the ships shaped a course to the coast of Arabia. Baffin's ship was the first to put in to land, water and palm trees having been found near the little port of Sur on the Oman coast. The other ships were accordingly ordered to join company, and Sur was re-named London's Hope. Here they remained at anchor until August 15, when they all set sail for India.

About a hundred years before this time, the Portuguese, under the great Albuquerque, had established themselves in the Island of Ormuz. It had been the constant desire of the Shah of Persia to expel them, but no one who had held that rank had been able to do so. The reigning Shah now formed an alliance with the English for the purpose of driving out the Portuguese; and the fleet which had sailed from England under Shilling's leadership was to assault the town of Ormuz by sea, while it was closely beleaguered on land by a Persian army.

The wall surrounding the town was of great height, with half moons, and flankers, and a deep dry moat to make the town the more secure. The English proposed to land, throw up embankments for protection, and, mounting the great guns of their ships, batter down this wall with cannon-balls. Their plans were ably carried out; but the siege had lasted two days when it was found that the guns were not doing as much execution as had been expected. Evidently they were not at the proper inclination; and the learned mathematician, Master William Baffin of the *London* went ashore with his mathematical instruments, to take the height and distance of the wall, so that the gunner might find a range "for the better levelling of his piece." While thus employed, a shot from the beleaguered town struck him; he leaped three times into the air, says the ancient account, and fell dead upon the ground.

Thus suddenly perished the great navigator, January 23, 1622. After hard struggling, he had reached such a position as most other discoverers had attained before starting out; and although his services to science are at least equal to those of many who have been accorded a greater degree of fame, he never met, in life, with the recognition awarded to those whose fortunes it was to be higher in the social scale.

Baffin probably left no children; for we hear of no heir but his widow making a claim against the East India Company on account of her husband who died in their service. This claim, after the lapse of six years from the time of his death, was compromised by the payment of five hundred pounds sterling.

In a little more than a week after the death of Baffin, the besieged fortress fell; and the town surrendered a few days afterward. What disposition was made of his body, we are not told with that attention to details which the chronicler has bestowed upon Captain Shilling. Shadowy in its beginnings, his life goes suddenly out, in the distant East, and no man knows where he lies buried.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### TASMAN THE GREAT DUTCH NAVIGATOR.

The Dutch East India Company—Its Monopoly of the Spice Trade—Settlements in the East Indies—Voyages of Discovery—Torres and Quiros—Tasman's First Voyage—Instruction—Discovery of Tasmania—Taking Possession for Holland—New Zealand—Fight with the Natives—Massacre Bay—Friendly Islands—Samoa—New Guinea—A Sudden Skirmish—Making Knives for Trading—Return to Batavia—Second Voyage—Results of Explorations.

**A**BOUT 1602 or 1603, Abel Jansen Tasman was born in Hoorn, in North Holland. In the absence of all particulars regarding his boyhood and education, and even his young manhood, let us see what were the influences affecting at that time the young men of Holland who shared the widely prevailing spirit of adventure and discovery.

The Portuguese had long been in possession of a monopoly of the East Indian trade, and were envied by all the nations of Europe because of it. Spain had sought a passage to India by way of the West, and had found America, with the treasures of Mexico and Peru; England was sending her skilled seamen to seek the Northwest Passage to the Indies; and the Dutch endeavored to find a Northeast Passage. Failing in this effort, a native of Holland, Cornelius Houtman, followed in the track of the Portuguese and doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1596. His success in reaching India caused an awakening of commercial interest, and several companies were formed for the purpose of trading with the opulent East. In 1602 the Government united all these into an organization called the Dutch East India Company.

But trade between Holland and India had been firmly established before this time, and the Dutch had almost a monopoly of the spice business. They raised the price of pepper from three shillings to six and then to eight shillings a pound; so that the English became indignant at the extortion, and broke the monopoly by the establishment of the English East India Company. But Dutch trade and Dutch settlements went steadily on; Ceylon, Sumatra, the Moluccas, Java, all these were either wholly or partly subject to Holland; and the city of Batavia was built on the island of Java, to be the capital of these colonies.

Various expeditions were sent out for the exploration of the surrounding waters; and one under Dirk Hartog in 1616 discovered a vast body of land which has since been named Australia. Later voyages verified its position, and something of its extent; for the Dutch navigators followed a considerable portion of its coast. The first expedition of Hartog left on the shore a



tin plate engraved with a suitable record, and this was found within the present century; thus establishing beyond a doubt the fact of his discovery. The name of New Holland was given to the great island, and the Gulf of Carpentaria was named in honor of Peter Carpenter, then Governor of the Dutch East India Company; while various names of less importance were bestowed. So uninviting was the shore, however, that no attempt was made to colonize it; and twenty-five years after it was first seen by Hartog, it was still practically unknown.

Ten years before Hartog sailed, the Spanish Government of Peru had sent out a ship under the command of Torres, who with his companion Quiros visited many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean and sailed through the strait between Australia and New Guinea, now called Torres Strait; but there is no evidence that they knew what great island lay to the southward.

Thirty-six years after this Spanish discovery, and twenty-six after the voyage of Hartog, the colonial Government of Batavia resolved to send out an expedition for the exploration of the Pacific. Two vessels were accordingly prepared, which are called by the commander a yacht and a fly-boat; evidently of no great size. Captain Abel Jansen Tasman, who must have been a navigator of some note then, was selected as the commander; and it was understood that the objects of the expedition were chiefly to ascertain the extent of Australia and of neighboring islands.

The *Heemskirk* and the *Zeehahn*, as the vessels were called, sailed from Batavia August 14, 1642. According to the instructions of the Governor and Council they were to sail through the Strait of Sunda and southwest by west until they reached a point fourteen degrees south of the equator, west-southwest to twenty degrees south, and then due west to the Island of Mauritius. After thus crossing the Indian Ocean from east to west, they were to steer in a southeasterly direction, then northeasterly, and finally return to Batavia.

Mauritius was sighted September 4, and on the next day they landed. Many hunting and fishing parties were sent on shore; and the vessels being delayed by contrary winds, did not sail from this island until October 8.

We shall not attempt to follow them closely by means of the journal of the voyage which Tasman published after his return; indeed, it is no light task to read this journal, and follow the course which they pursued; for the longitude is all reckoned from Teneriffe, as, he observes, every sailor reckons it; and the places visited were nearly all then unknown, and named accordingly by their discoverer, while later navigators have given other names which popular usage has preferred.

They went as far south as the forty-fifth parallel; but saw no land from the time that they left Mauritius until November 24, when, about the forty-fifth parallel and the hundred and forty-ninth meridian east from Greenwich,

they sighted a mountainous country. The needle had varied greatly during the earlier part of their voyage, seeming to be in continued motion; but here it became comparatively true, and they had but little difficulty with it.



TASMAN'S MEN ATTACKED AND KILLED BY NATIVES.

To this land Tasman gave the name of Van Diemen's Land, in honor of 'Master Anthony Van Diemen, our high magistrate the Governor-General, who sent us out to make discoveries;' posterity, with a better appreciation of the principle of giving honor where honor is due, has preferred to call it by a name derived from that of its discoverer—Tasmania. The Islands near by were named in honor of various members of the Council of India; though the Governor-General's wife, Maria, was not forgotten in this distribution of honors.

Casting anchor off the coast, on the 2nd of the following month he sent the shallop and boat of the *Zeehahn*, well armed, to a bay about a mile to the

northwest to look for water and other provisions. The messengers found many greens like those at the Cape of Good Hope, and other plants resembling sea-parsley. While on shore they heard human voices, and sounds that resembled the noise made by a little gong or trumpet. They also discovered large trees, having steps about five feet apart, by means of which the summit might be reached; but of the inhabitants themselves they saw nothing. The carpenter was directed to set up a post here, and Tasman left the flag of the Prince of Orange flying upon it. Having thus taken possession of the island, they sailed away, losing sight of land December 5.

Keeping to the course which had been marked out for them, they came in sight of South Island of the New Zealand group on the 14th, and closely followed the coast for some distance northward. On the 18th Tasman sent the shallop and boat on shore, as he had done off the coast of Van Diemen's Land. They returned to the ship, accompanied by two native boats, the occupants of which saluted those who had remained in the vessel with blowing of trumpets. Tasman does not tell us, however, what kind of trumpets they had; Cook would have described exactly the large shell from which it is probable that they were fashioned.

These demonstrations were answered as made; but the sailors were not wholly assured of the friendliness of the natives. A strict watch was kept all night, and every gun kept in readiness to repel an assault, should such be made. The next day many other boats approached the ships and the same intercourse at a distance was continued. Tasman decided to send another party to land, and the *Zeehahn's* boat was again made ready. As the oars swept her through the waters, the sailors on the ships as well as those who manned her heard the natives calling to one another, but having no acquaintance with their language paid no attention to them. Suddenly, the canoes which had been between the two ships rushed with their beaks against the boat, and struck her with such force that they made her heel and take in water. The Quartermaster, who was on board, was struck with a blunt pointed pike with such force that he was knocked overboard; and a general attack upon the crew followed, in which three men were killed and one was mortally wounded. The Quartermaster and one other swam to the ship and were hastily taken on board.

A boat was quickly manned with a more considerable party, and sent to the rescue; but, although the possession of the first boat was thus recovered, the men who had composed its crew had been killed, with the exception of the two whose escape has been noted. The boat when recovered had in it a wounded man, who died shortly afterward, and the body of one who had been instantly killed; while one of the slain had sunk into the sea and the body of the other was carried off by the natives.

The ships weighed anchor; but even while making preparations for depart-

ure from this hostile coast was almost surrounded by a fleet of native canoes. Twenty-two of them advanced upon the Dutch vessels with every unfriendly demonstration that could be imagined. Suddenly from the white-winged strangers came a noise as of thunder, and a flash of flame and smoke; and something, the New Zealanders knew not what, crashed through one of their canoes and sent the vessel and its crew to the bottom. While they were still almost stunned with surprise, another shot came; and they turned and fled from the neighborhood of such dreadful beings.



FIGHT WITH CANOES.

In commemoration of the killing of his men, Tasman named this inlet Moordenaar's, Murderers' or Massacre Bay. The land at which he had touched he called Staten Land, judging it "possible that this land joins to Staten Land," the island of that name near the southeastern extremity of Terra del Fuego. Tasman certainly did not overrate the extent of the ocean which he was exploring.

Standing out to sea they landed again this time at North Island, January 5,

a party being sent ashore for water. They saw from the ship about thirty-five very tall natives armed with clubs, and, fearing mischief, called to those who had landed. The boat at once returned and the ships sailed away.

The next day they landed at an island which they called *The Three Kings' Island*, because it was discovered on Epiphany. Their course now lay among the *Friendly Islands*, one of which they named *Amsterdam*, "for we found plenty of refreshments here." Landing on that island which they called *Midleburgh* they began trading with the natives; and thinking to gain the friendship of the chief Tasman offered him a glass of wine. It was declined, with evident doubt of his intentions. To show that his suspicions had no foundation in fact, Tasman drank the wine himself; and re-filling the glass, again offered it to the chief. It was taken this time; and the savage, deliberately emptying the wine into the sea, coolly took possession of the glass.

The chief sent on board, after his return to shore, a present consisting of a hog, some cocoanuts and yams. The next day Tasman went ashore at the chief's cordial invitation, and a talk of some length, considering the difficulties in the way of communication, was had. The Captain's statement that he had been more than a hundred days at sea provoked the greatest astonishment on the part of the natives, who looked with admiring wonder upon what seemed to them such great vessels.

Tasman proposed to set up a white flag, in token of peace between them; and the natives, greatly pleased, assented; giving as much assistance as they could, and standing by in crowds as his men worked. He then sailed toward other islands nearby, one of which he named *Rotterdam*; and here the trading with the natives was continued. The sight of some well-kept gardens recalled pleasing memories of the prim and trim flower parterres and vegetable beds of Holland; though the resemblance, probably, was not a very close one to any but homesick sailors.

Leaving the *Friendly Islands* Tasman proceeded to that group known to us as the *Samoa* or *Navigators' Islands*. To one of these he gave the name of *Prince William's Island*; and to another, not far off, that of *Onthona Java*. The latter is now known as *Pleasant Island*. He landed here, but the natives seemed to set no value on the things that were given them; and, finding it thus impossible to open trade with them, he again embarked, landing next at *New Hanover*. Here his efforts to trade proved more successful; but the stay was uneventful.

Passing the *Admiralty Islands* he anchored off the coast of *New Guinea*. The natives approached the ships and there was a little intercourse. At the island named *Moa*, while the sailors were engaged in cleaning the ship, the natives, who constantly surrounded the vessels, hovering curiously about them, appeared friendly enough; but suddenly one of them shot an arrow toward the ship, wounding a seaman in the thigh. Orders were at once given



to meet the attack which it was thought now threatened; and a volley of musketry was discharged at the canoes. One of the natives was wounded in the arm; the others do not seem to have been hurt, as the shots were more to frighten them than to work actual injury. The vessels then took up their anchors, a better harbor having been found. But the savages thought that



PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS BY NATIVES.

this meant pursuit; and, alarmed at this, as well as at the nature of the arms carried by the strangers, they hastened to make peace. They came in great numbers in their canoes, each man holding up a branch of a tree as a symbol of the peace which was desired. To show that they disclaimed all sympathy

with the man who had shot the arrow, they sent him on board the ships. Tasman, however, concluded that they had been taught the lesson which they needed, and employed the offender as a messenger of peace.

As a result of this slight skirmish the sailors were able to trade to much better advantage than at first; as the natives, thoroughly frightened and subdued, seemed willing to accept anything that was offered in exchange for their goods. So much demand was there for articles of European manufacture that the stock was in danger of giving out; and to prevent this knives were fashioned by the sailors for trading purposes only, out of pieces of hoop-iron, "somewhat" brightened and sharpened, and set in rudely whit-tled handles.

They weighed anchor May 6, but contrary winds prevented their leaving this coast foreight days. From New Guinea they went to New Zealand, where they met with no trouble from the natives; and thence they returned to Batavia, which they reached June 15, 1643. "God be praised for this happy voyage. Amen," says devout Captain Tasman.

Tasman made another voyage, under instructions which are dated January 29, 1644; but of this there is no detailed record. It is known that he visited the coast of Australia, and explored the northwest coast, landing at several places; but the natives, whom he pronounced a "malicious and miserable race of savages," proved so hostile that he was unable to do much toward exploring the country when he had landed.

There is no further record of the achievements of this sailor, who is ranked as one of the greatest navigators of his century. According to one authority, he never returned from the second voyage just mentioned; but others, more credible, say that he lived fifteen years after the date of the instructions, dying at Batavia in October, 1659. It is probable that after his return from this second voyage he settled down to a quiet life in Java, enjoying the results of his toil and thrift in true Dutch fashion; and that he was thus lost sight of by the chroniclers, who hence concluded that he died long before the date at which he actually departed this life.

Tasman's discoveries were not followed up by his countrymen; for they soon had use for all their ships in something else than discovery and exploration. Holland was engaged in a naval war with England, which lasted, with frequent intermissions, until the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne of England as William III. in 1688-9. When this prince was firmly established in his new dignity, and the war was forever at an end, the discoveries were followed up; and half a century after Tasman visited Australia, it was taken possession of by British authorities, and has been held by them ever since; its old name of New Holland being replaced by that of Australia, or the Southern Land.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### VITUS BEHRING, THE RUSSIAN NAVIGATOR.

Peter the Great and Russian Civilization—Establishing a Navy—Behring Enters the Russian Service—Exploration of Siberia—Siberian Knowledge of America—Expeditions Eastward—First Expedition Under Behring—Difficulties—Exploration of Asiatic Coast—Passes Through Behring's Strait—Return to St. Petersburg—New Plans Proposed—A Second Expedition—Behring's Family—Personnel of the Expedition—Chirikof—Spanberg—Other Subordinates—Instructions—Preparations—Leaving St. Petersburg—Crossing Europe and Asia—Ship-Building—Delays, Difficulties, and Investigations—Sets Sail at Last—Doubts as to Course—Separation of Vessels—Chirikof Reaches America—Returns to Siberia—Behring Discovers Mount St. Elias—A Discoverer without Enthusiasm—A Sudden Departure—Scurvy—Terrible Condition—Land Sighted—A Desert Island—Landing the Sick—The Long and Cruel Winter—Behring's Heroic Patience—His Death—Plans of Survivors—A Singular Question—Building a Vessel—Return to Kamschatka.

**W**E have styled Behring a Russian navigator, because, although he was of Danish birth, he made his voyages of discovery and exploration while in the service of Russia. He was one of the earliest who brought distinction to the Crown of that great empire by his achievements, because, until the closing years of the seventeenth century, Russia had been regarded as a country of barbarians; and the fame of her great men hardly reached beyond her borders.

Peter the Great was the father of Russian civilization. His methods were not always the wisest; for whatever reforms he desired must be made, whether they were adapted to the character of his people or not; nor were they the gentlest; he is said to have "knouted Russia into civilization." Anxious to emulate the other countries of Europe, in imitation of which he had established schools, introduced manufactures, and disciplined his followers into soldiers, he resolved to have a navy.

This aim was accomplished, and the navy was built. Its officers must be drawn from foreign countries until Russians could become trained seamen; and in this, as in so many other Russian enterprises, adventurers from abroad found a ready welcome and profitable employment. Among those who came was Vitus Behring.

Born in Horsens, Denmark, in 1680, he was twenty-four years old when he entered the service of Peter the Great and became an officer in the newly formed Russian navy. He displayed so much ability and daring in the war with Sweden as to win the approbation of the Czar: which led to his appointment in an expedition involving much hardship and danger.

For the Czar had resolved to explore the eastern part of Siberia and ascertain what divided his dominions from America. What knowledge these people of the far East had of America we do not know; it seems reasonable to suppose that, with such a narrow strait separating the two continents, there must have been more or less intercourse. Only one tradition, however, has been preserved. In the year 1715 there lived in Kamchatka a man who said



PETER THE GREAT, CZAR OF RUSSIA.

he came from a country to the eastward, where, instead of the low shrubs bearing cedar-nuts with which the people of Kamchatka were familiar, there were large trees, bearing larger nuts; and that in this country there were great rivers, flowing westward into the sea which borders the country of his adoption. Many years ago, he said, he and some of his countrymen had embarked in their skin-boats, such as the Kamchadales use, for one of the islands

near the shore; but they had been attacked by the islanders, and all slain excepting him, who had escaped to the strange country.

Indications of this country's existence had often reached the shores of Asia: flocks of land-birds came from the east, and departed in the same direction; whales were cast upon the coast with spear-heads in their backs; and these spear-heads were not like those used by the Kamchadales; even boats of foreign make were washed upon their shores. The waves which brought these signs had a shorter swell than those which came from the south; so that it was clear that the sea was partly inclosed, and that the inclosure was more complete toward the north.

The Governor of Siberia sent out several exploring expeditions, some in boats by sea, others on the ice. The boats used measured about thirty feet long by twelve feet broad, and had a flat bottom calked with moss. The planks were fastened together with raw-hide thongs; and the sails were made of reindeer skin. In place of cables and ropes, straps of elk-skin were used, and the anchors were pieces of wood weighted with heavy stones. Those parties that journeyed on the ice used sledges drawn by dogs; and one of them was so reduced by hunger as to be obliged to eat the sledge-dogs and return on foot.

These expeditions, as may be supposed, accomplished but little in the way of discovery or exploration. It is true that there were some indomitable spirits among them; of these we may mention Vagin, who was the head of a party of twelve Cossacks, and whose expedition was the one reduced to such straits. They had come in sight of land, as Vagin supposed; although his guide believed it to be only a mass of vapor seen in the distance; and, in spite of the hardships and deprivations which they were suffering, he insisted upon continuing the journey. Remonstrances proved useless; and his exasperated followers murdered him, his son and the guide.

But all difficulties were as nothing, when the Czar willed that it should be ascertained exactly what divided Asia from America, and that an American Russia should be united to the European and Asiatic Russias. He drew up the instructions himself; two decked boats were to be built at Kamchatka, and those who were to command and man them were to journey overland through Siberia. Behring was named commander, Spanberg and Chirikof his lieutenants.

They set out, officers, ship-builders and seamen, February 25, 1525. On the eighth of the same month Peter died; but his schemes in this direction were faithfully carried out by his wife, the Empress Catharine, who succeeded him. The journey, although they had at their command all the resources of the country—for they were sent by the Czar—was no child's play; and it was two years and a half before it was accomplished, and the two small vessels built. August 21, 1727, Behring set sail from Okhotsk for the southern end



of the peninsula of Kamchatka, only one vessel having been completed by that time. The construction of the second in this new location occupied nearly a year; and it was the 20th of July, 1728, before they were ready to sail on the real purpose of their expedition.

They followed the eastern coast of the peninsula closely until they reached the Gulf of Anadir, but without landing. Here they learned from the Tehukehis, who inhabit the country to the north, that they would come to a point where the coast turned again to the west; but received no definite information regarding the distance which they had still to traverse. They were then in latitude 64 degrees, 30 minutes; and had advanced less than three degrees when they found the truth of what they had been told. The land turned abruptly to the west. How far they followed this coast we have no means of knowing; but Behring was fully convinced that he had reached the eastern extremity of Asia, and returned to Kamchatka, where he arrived in September.

Despite the difficulties of reaching the port from which such expeditions must set out, Behring seems to have taken a keen interest in the subject. Shortly after his return to the capital he presented to the Empress Anne "Proposals for the Organization of the Okhotsk and Kamchatka Countries;" and urged her to undertake the discovery of routes to America and Japan, which might be used in commerce with those countries. The first of these recommendations appeared to the Empress most important; and to this task was postponed the consideration of exploring the eastern waters or the northern coast of Siberia, which was also among the schemes proposed by Behring. A certain official, who was in exile, was ordered to assume the reins of government in the extreme northeast, and to be furnished the means necessary for the performance of his duties in connection with it.

But almost before he had assumed office it was decided that there should be a second Kamchatka Expedition, and Behring was again appointed commander. This was due, probably, to no special activity on his part. The expedition was undertaken at the recommendation of several high officials who had long taken an active interest in naval affairs and would naturally advocate maritime enterprises. Besides, it seemed that all Russia was alive with the spirit of progress; and everywhere, along the coast, were vessels seeking to set at rest disputed or doubtful points about the outline of the land.

Behring seems to have been rated the most eminent seaman in Russia, and his foreign birth was scarcely a disadvantage; not only were there thousands of others who had come from other countries and who held high positions, but he had now been in the service of Russia for more than twenty-five years; he had married a Russian wife, Anna Matveievna—who, by the way, was at least twenty-five years younger than her husband—and his two sons, Thomas and Unos, were Russian subjects by birth. The commander's experience had

been varied; there has been no detailed or chronological account of his different voyages preserved; but Peter the Great had chosen him to command the first expedition "because he had been to India and knew all the approaches to that country;" and it is evident, from the instructions drawn up for that journey, that this voyage to India had been made as the commander of a vessel.

Next in command to Behring was Chirikof, who had been with him on the first expedition; a Russian officer, well-educated, thoughtful, courageous and kind-hearted; one of the true favorites of fortune, since he was gifted with that rare and enviable quality of making those who knew him best love him best.

In strange contrast to Chirikof was the second officer, Spanberg. Like the commander, he was a Dane; but he was narrow-minded, ignorant, cruel, avaricious and selfish. His constant companion was a huge dog, which, his enemies said—and his enemies were as many as Chirikof's friends—was ready to tear a man to pieces should the master but give the word. It will be noticed that the relative rank of these two officers was reversed on this second expedition, Spanberg having stood next to the commander on the first, but after Chirikof on the second.

Besides these there was Lieut. Walton, an Englishman; Midshipman Schelling, a Hollander by descent; and Lieut. Lassenius, a Dane. A Frenchman who was a member of the Imperial Academy was instructed by that body to compile a map of Kamchatka; and the call for astronomers and mineralogists to join the expedition was answered by two Germans and a Frenchman. Thus did all the nations of Europe unite to furnish forth the Russian expedition. The Government appears to have been somewhat dissatisfied with this cosmopolitan representation, and ordered twelve students from the Slavo-Latin School at Moscow to be trained by the Academy for the expedition.

A few members of the Academy, burning with the desire that Russia should accomplish what other nations had achieved, and circumnavigate the globe, proposed that the expedition should sail from the Baltic, and, crossing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, reach the coast of Kamchatka from the east. This proposal, however, was rejected; and the expedition, as before, was ordered to proceed overland across Siberia. At Kamchatka or Okhotsk, as the judgment of Behring might decide, they were to build two packet-boats; and in these to proceed, without separating, to the American coast. This they were to follow as far south as the forty-fifth parallel, or the coast of the present state of Oregon; returning to the north, and crossing to Asia at Behring Strait, as the passage between the two continents had already been named. If the season proved too short, they were to go into winter quarters, and complete their task the next season.

These were the instructions for the main body of the explorers, directly un-

der command of Behring and his lieutenant, Chirikof; Spaenberg was to proceed from Okhotsk toward Japan, and make such explorations of that group as would be allowed, as well as of the Kurile Islands. During their overland journey they were to seek some route to the Okhotsk Sea which would not take them past Yakutsk or across the Amoor.

The expedition was fitted out with all the liberality which is shown in executing the wishes of an absolute monarch; and even the wandering tribes of Siberia were informed that they must assist the members of it as far as lay in their power. We have no record of the number of persons who set out from St. Petersburg; the scientists alone, with their servants and escort, comprised a hundred and fifty-seven; nearly all the officers, and a number of the rank and file, took with them their wives and children; Madame Behring and her two little boys being among those who accompanied the expedition.

In February, 1733, the first detachment left St. Petersburg; and six months later, the final division, that of the scientists, took their leave of the capital, for six years as they thought; but in some cases this length of time was more than doubled, and in others it stretched out into eternity.

Reaching Tobolsk the whole force went into winter quarters; and the ship-builders were set to work building boats on the Ob, Irtysh, and Yenisei. Their progress being aided by these boats, they reached Itkutsk sometime during the late summer or early autumn, and wintered a little beyond that place. Behring had traveled in advance of the main body, and had reached Yakutsk in October, 1734, while his assistants were still toiling through Central Siberia.

The next summer, 1735, the main body arrived at this point, and preparations were begun for the final stage of the journey. Boats were built during the winter, in which a detachment was to descend the Lena, and, following the northern coast, reach Okhotsk by that means; while the transportation of the others must be accomplished by means of horses toiling painfully over a rugged mountain-chain.

But the despotic power of the Czarina had not been able to secure the fulfilment of her commands without friction between the officers of the expedition and those who were commanded to assist them. When Behring arrived at Yakutsk his supplies were scattered all along the road from the frontier to that place; and it was in vain that he appealed to the officials to hasten their delivery. Working parties were sent forward, but many of the workmen actually died of starvation on the road. It was estimated that before any of the expedition reached Okhotsk, three hundred thousand rubles, or nearly a quarter of a million of dollars, had been paid out from the imperial treasury; besides the vast quantities of stores in kind furnished by the various districts.

Not only were there constant quarrels between the officials of the expedition and those of the country, but dissensions among the members of the ex-

pedition themselves arose, and became exceedingly bitter. Complaints against Behring, particularly, were constantly forwarded to St. Petersburg; and to those in charge of affairs there, who could not realize the great difficulties in the way, it seemed that he must have abused his authority, and purposely delayed in order, as his enemies charged, to put more money in his own pocket. An ukase was issued, ordering that the accounts of the expedition should be reviewed; and it was reported that the expense thus far was so great that it was necessary to continue the work, or lose all that had been spent. Much time was consumed in sending special messengers back and forth, so that Behring, with the main body, did not reach Okhotsk until the beginning of 1739, six years after they had left St. Petersburg.

Two officers were sent by the Imperial Government to look into "the doings of Behring." They seem to have cleared him of the charges against him. They arrived during the summer of 1739; and their coming of course still further delayed the departure of the vessels, which Spanberg, who had arrived at Okhotsk some time before the commander, had been busily building. It was not until the month of August, 1740, that Behring and Chirikof were ready to sail.

The announcement that an imperial courier was approaching delayed them for some time, and it was necessary to wait for his coming; and the grounding of one of their vessels, shortly after this, resulted not only in delay, but in loss of provisions and stores which could not be replaced. Finally, Sept. 8, 1740, the expedition embarked; the *St. Peter* under the command of Behring, and the *St. Paul* under the command of Chirikof. They reached the harbor of Bolsheretsk a week later, and rounded Cape Lapatke in safety, but the sloop and the galiot which carried the stores were unable to accomplish this, and returned to Bolsheretsk for the winter; it being therefore necessary to transport the stores overland from Bolsheretsk to Avatcha, a work attended with loss and difficulty.

To the few buildings existing at Avatcha, Behring proceeded to add a church; and the place was named Petropaulovski. Here the vessels were beached for the winter; and, securing the services of the natives to transport the supplies overland, Behring distributed his men in such a way as to make it possible for them to live mainly upon game and fish.

May 4, 1741, he called together his officers for consultation as to the route which should be followed; for recent communications from St. Petersburg had left that in doubt. A renowned astronomer had made a map of this portion of the world which had been presented to the Imperial Academy, and received the approbation of that learned body; which, however, knew no more about the subject than Columbus knew of the coast of Asia. By them it had been presented to the Senate, and had been approved by the members of that body, who were as well-informed as the Imperial Academi-

cians. It had then been sent to Behring as a reliable guide for his voyage.

According to this map there was no land laid down toward the east of Kamchatka; but toward the southeast, between the forty-sixth and forty-seventh parallels, was laid down a land marked "*Terres vues par Dom Jean de Gama.*" History has not preserved any record of the voyage of this individual, although his discoveries were thus set down on a map which ignored the land known to exist at a short distance from the eastern extremity of Siberia.



PETROPAULOVSKI.

It was decided, however, to follow the chart, rather than their own knowledge and that of the Siberians; and to sail southeast by east until the latitude of forty-six degrees was reached; then, if they found no land, to steer northeast by east. If land were discovered in the first instance, they were to take its northern coast as a guide to the northeast or east; and whenever land was found, its coast was to be followed as far north as the sixty-fifth parallel. Why they should not attempt to follow it two degrees and a half further north, when it would be such a short distance across to their own continent does not appear.

Orders were given the different officers to direct their actions under all imaginable circumstances, and the two vessels, with their hundred and fifty



men, and provisions for five and a half months, sailed from Avatcha Bay, after solemn prayer, June 4, 1741.

On the afternoon of the 12th they had reached the forty-sixth parallel, and found that there was no such land as was laid down in the chart. The course was changed in accordance with the determination reached in council. June 19th the wind which had been driving them forward increased, so that sails had to be taken in during the night; and the next morning, by some mistake, the two vessels were separated and did not again sight each other.

They were between the forty-ninth and fiftieth parallel when this occurred. Chirikof's vessel, after drifting for some time in the expectation of meeting with the commander, was steered toward the east and reached land July 15, at a point somewhere about the middle part of the coast of British Columbia. Sending a boat ashore to find a good place to anchor, Chirikof awaited the return of his sailors. Instead, a number of the natives surrounded his ship; and, to his horror and distress, he learned that his men had all been murdered. In addition to the loss of so many men, he had lost the only boat that he had; so that, as the water on board gave out, he was unable to obtain any new supplies.

He touched at the coast at various points, but did not land; endeavoring to supply the lack of fresh water from shore by distilling sea-water and catching rain-water. Finally he touched at the most western of the Aleutian islands, and thence continued his voyage for Kamehatka.

They had suffered much from the lack of water and food, and scurvy set in. When they reached port, near the Bay of Avatcha, twenty-one of the seventy-three who had left that harbor five months before had perished. Having no boats, they were obliged to discharge a cannon to attract the attention of those on shore, and receive aid in landing.

Like Chirikof, Behring allowed his ship to drift for some time, after losing sight of his companion, in hopes of regaining company. On the morning of June 23 it was decided by a council of the officers to return to latitude 46; this point being reached, the sight of some birds tempted them farther on; but they found no land. Thus again taught that the chart was not to be depended upon, they changed their course as before, and steered north-northeast. After frequent changes of course, which were hardly to be expected from a veteran commander like Behring, about noon of the 16th of July the lookout reported a high chain of mountains and a towering peak, all capped with snow; and Behring gave to the peak the name which it still bears, Mount St. Elias.

We have read of the enthusiasm, sometimes of the wonder, with which other discoverers hailed the first sight of land; but Behring showed none of it. His officers, indeed, gathered round him, excitedly, and offered their congratulations upon the success with which the expedition under his leader-

ship had met. He glanced at the rugged shore, shrugged his shoulders, and replied in their rough guttural language:—

“A great discovery, no doubt, and the accomplishment of all our desires; but who knows where we are, when we shall see Russia, and what we shall have to eat in the meantime?”

It was the 20th of July before they found a landing-place and sent boats ashore to reconnoiter and secure a new supply of water. Early the next morning Behring came on deck and ordered his men to weigh anchor. His officers looked at him in astonishment, for the men had not yet finished filling the water-casks; some of them ventured to remonstrate. But that decision which, as we have noted, was lacking when he should have fixed upon a course, was not lacking now; he had been ordered to find land, and having found it he was going back to Russia, whether the water-casks were filled or not. A German scientist who had spent six hours ashore the previous day, was now perched upon a steep rock, “taking in as much as possible of America.” Behring crustily ordered him aboard if he did not wish to be left; and he returned with his collection of plants which he had gathered to analyze.

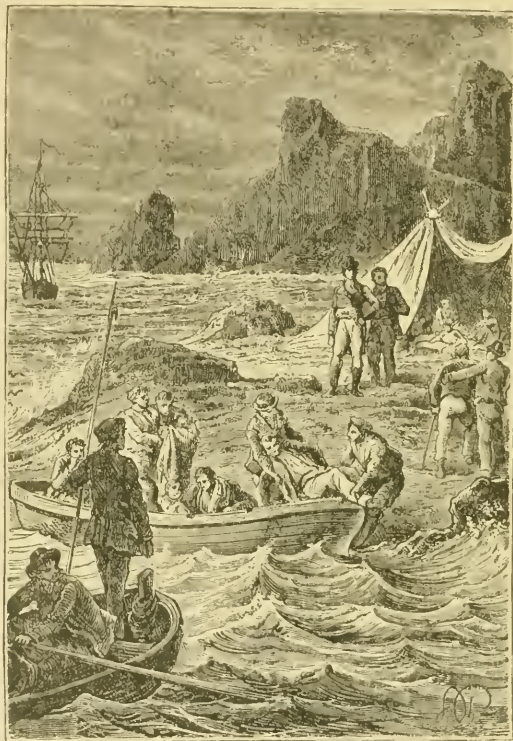
Heavy fogs, thick mists, contrary winds, and continual rains attended their homeward passage. Finally, about the middle of August, no other landing having been made, it was decided that as they had intended to return to Kamchatka by the end of September, it was impracticable to attempt any further exploration of the American coast; and that they should now steer westward to the point whence they started.

This was more easily said than done; the vessel drifted some distance to the southeast of the point where land was first seen and became so involved among the islands fringing the coast that it was hardly safe to navigate here except in favorable weather. They reached a point as far south as the northern boundary of the United States before they were able to keep to the course which they had marked out and sail for Kamchatka. Several landings had been made in the meantime by officers and scientists; but we have no record that Behring himself ever stepped foot on the shore of America.

As on the companion vessel, scurvy had set in; and there were now hardly enough well men to manage the ship. “The most eloquent pen would fail to describe the misery of our condition,” says that same botanist who had been in danger of being left at the time of the first landing. Some of the officers favored the plan of seeking a harbor on the American coast; others wished to sail straight for Kamchatka; Behring himself seems to have relapsed into indecision, and contented himself with making many vows of gifts to churches, distributing his promises with great impartiality between the German Lutheran churches of his youth and the Greek Catholic churches of his later years.

They kept a northerly course until October 22, when the wind changed so

that they were able to sail easterly toward their destination. They could make but little headway, however, for the sails and ropes were so rotten that it was not safe to carry much sail, even had the crew been able to set them. The commander was confined to his cabin by sickness; the officers, hardly



THE SICK CARRIED ON SHORE.

able to totter about, yet quarreled among themselves; the steersman was obliged to be led to his post by another man, not much stronger; and when he could sit and steer no longer, his place was taken by his relief, almost equally worn out before his work began. At last, on Nov. 4, they sighted land. The botanist Steller is again quoted:—

"It would be impossible to describe the joy created by the sight of land. The dying crawled upon deck to see with their own eyes what they would not believe; even the feeble commander was carried out of his cabin. To the astonishment of all, a small keg of brandy was taken from some hiding-place and dealt out to celebrate the supposed approach to the coast of Kamchatka."

But their joy was premature. This, however, they did not learn till later. The morning after land was seen, it was discovered that all the shrouds on the starboard side had been broken by contraction owing to frost. Behring gave orders from his sick-bed that a council of officers should be called. Before them was laid the situation which they knew only too well: men dying of the scurvy, lack of fresh water, suffering from exposure to the cold rain, which froze as it fell upon any body whatever, animate or inanimate. It was decided to seek relief at the nearest point of land, whether island or continent. They at once set about seeking a safe harbor for anchorage; and finding what they considered one, cast anchor about five o'clock that evening. In less than an hour the cable broke, as the sea rose; other cables were lost; and just as they were about to heave the last one on board, a great swell of the sea lifted the vessel over a ledge of rock, and landed her in a smooth basin, about four fathoms deep.

Thus the decision had been made for them; it was impossible to get the vessel over that ledge again, even if her hull had not been seriously damaged in the first instance. Fortunately it was bright moonlight, so that they were able to work better than if the night had been dark. All who were able to work busied themselves at once, making preparations to land the sick. Niches were dug in the sandy banks of a small stream, and covered with sails; this was all the shelter that they had; for, although there was a small quantity of driftwood upon the shore, there was no timber of any account.

Many of the sick died as they reached the shore; others expired while being moved. Behring was carried ashore in a hand-barrow, well secured against the air, on the 9th; and shortly afterward the ship was torn from its single cable and dashed upon the shore.

It was in vain that Steller, the botanist, searched for anti-scorbutic herbs under the snow; nor did they find any game or wild-fowl. The only land-animals that they saw were Arctic foxes, so bold that the miserable survivors could not keep them off the unburied corpses of their comrades.

Fortunately they secured some sea-otters, and even the flesh of a whale cast upon the beach was not disdained. This afforded light, also, for the long nights of the winter that was now upon them. Officers and men fared alike, for in this situation there was no meaning in class distinctions. Lieut. Waxel, who had been next to Behring in command, was generally recognized as their chief, for the commander was beyond duty; and Steller was his constant adviser.

At last Waxel fell sick; and it was apparent to all that Behring was marked to die. The excursions in search of food grew shorter as the strength and hopes of the men grew less; and despair settled upon them all.

As the days went on, Behring grew more and more suspicious and timid of those about him; at last hardly enduring the presence of Steller, who was his most intimate friend. Yet there was no word of complaint, no repining at these hard conditions, from the worn-out old sailor; but lying, helpless yet uncomplaining, day after day, in that rude hut through whose seams the sand banked against it continually trickled down upon him, he watched the shores of this world fade slowly from sight, and, December 8, 1741, had completed the last voyage, and anchored safe in port.

Not for more than a month after the date of Behring's death was the effect of the stay upon land visible upon the shipwrecked sailors; then, their health began slowly to improve. It was time that it did so; for up to January 8, 1742, thirty-one of the seventy-seven had died. As they gained strength, three different parties were sent out, to explore respectively to the north, south, and west. Four weeks elapsed before these reported; and then they learned only that they were on an island. Traces of inhabitants there were none.

It was clearly impossible to remain here. Two plans suggested themselves: either to take the open boats and seek the main land in them as soon as the season should be far enough advanced, or to break up their disabled ships, and from the fragments construct a smaller vessel, safer than the small boats, and more manageable than the large craft, even were it more hopelessly injured.

"A singular question here presented itself to these navigators, accustomed as they were to the iron discipline of the imperial service: Would they not be punished for taking to pieces a government vessel? After some discussion it dawned on their dim visions that perhaps after all the punishment of their dread ruler might be no worse than death upon that island. Hence it was solemnly resolved to begin at once; the wreck was dismantled, and in May the keel was laid for the new vessel."—*Bancroft*.

The vessel, thirty-six feet long at the keel and forty-one on deck, with a breadth of beam of twelve feet and a depth of only five and one-half, constructed without a particle of iron, and provisioned with the flesh of sea-animals, was launched August 10. The old name of *St. Peter* was retained.

August 16, after protracted devotions, and solemnly bestowing the name of their dead commander on the island where they had now been for more than nine months, the miserable survivors sailed away toward the bleak shores whence they had first come. On the third day out, it was discovered that their crazy bark was leaking; and there were two feet of water in the hold before an hour had passed. Some lead and ammunition were thrown overboard and



the leak finally stopped. A week later, August 25, they sighted land; and the next day they anchored in the bay of Avatcha, where they had long since been given up for lost.

Thus ended the great Russian expedition to the shores of America. It cannot be denied that Chirikof seems to have been a better navigator than Behring; and that he saw the coast of North America at least thirty-six hours before it was reached by his commander. But it must be remembered that the history of the expedition has been written by Russians, who regarded Behring with much jealousy and envy, as a Dane, while Chirikof was one of their own countrymen. Then, too, Behring may have felt, long before his comrades saw, the hand of death heavy upon him; and this may be the explanation of his eagerness to return to Russia as soon as he had set eyes on the American coast. These arguments, of course, do not affect the question of the first discovery; that honor belongs to Chirikof; but Magellan is reckoned to have discovered the Pacific Ocean from the south, though it was first descried by one of his sailors; and Behring, the leader of this great Russian expedition, is rated as the discoverer of Russian America, although his subordinate saw it before him.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, THE EXPLORER OF THE SOUTH SEA.

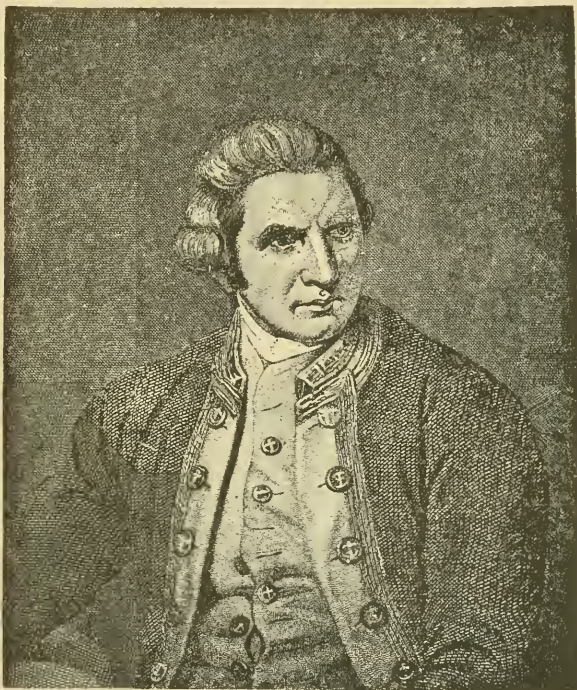
Birth and Early Life—Contending with Difficulties—Rises in the World—Enlists in the Navy—Distinguishes Himself as a Maritime Surveyor—Appointed Marine Surveyor of Labrador and Newfoundland—Transit of Venus in 1769—Cook's Expedition—Previous Expeditions to the South Pacific—Byron—"Foul Weather Jack"—Wallis—Tahiti—Carteret—Bougainville—Cook Sets Sail—Doubling Cape Horn—Observing the Transit—The Society Islands—New Zealand—Unfriendly Natives—Exploring Coast—Tasmania—Australia—An Anxious Night and Day—Land Reached—Camping on Shore—Coast of Australia—Batavia—Doubling the Cape—Home Again—Another Expedition Planned—To Discover the Southern Continent—Cook's Instructions—In Antarctic Waters—Separation of Vessels—To New Guinea—Reunion of Ships—Friendly Natives—Rough Treatment of Whites—Cook's Islands—To the Far South—The Friendly Islands—An Offended Native—The New Hebrides—New Caledonia Explored—A Fortunate Discovery—Reaches Cape of Good Hope—Report of Furneaux—A New Zealand Massacre—Return to England—A New Expedition Planned—In Australasia—Sandwich Islands Discovered—Reaches American Coast—To the Sandwich Islands again—Strange Ceremonies—Explanation—A Change—A Tumult—A Serious Dispute—A Skirmish—Cook Seeks a Hostage—A Conflict—Cook Killed—Remains of Cook Recovered and Buried—Ships Northward—Pass Behring Strait—Return by Cape of Good Hope to England—News of Cook's Death—How Received—Honors to His Memory—His Summary of His Own Life.

IT is a boast, which has passed into almost a jest, that any boy who is a native of the United States has a hope of becoming President; and more than one of our Chief Magistrates have sprung from so lowly a source as to prove this no vain commendation. But when we find a boy of another country, risen from the lowest station to a position of honor among his fellow-men, our wonder is greater; and we feel that such a man is entitled to even more respect than if he had lived in a country where such rises in fortune are more common.

Such a man was James Cook, whose name has become renowned throughout the world; for he was the son of an English agricultural laborer. His father, however, seems to have been a man of no common ability in his sphere, for we find him advanced to the post of farm-bailiff; being still a resident of Yorkshire, near the village of Marton, in the vicinity of which the future navigator was born October 28, 1728.

He had had but small opportunities for learning; for, from the time that he was eight years old, he had been kept busy about the farm; and an apprentice to any trade, a hundred years ago, had but little time to pursue any studies but the exercise of his craft. His bright face and willing industry had, however, early attracted the notice of the farmer who employed the boy's father; and this friend had him taught to read. How much more he

had learned before becoming a sailor there is no record; but he soon acquired such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as was possessed by his associates on board the vessel, and devoted a large portion of his scanty earnings to the purchase of such books as would enable him to continue the study of astronomy and navigation.



CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

A boy determined to excel, speedily rises in the world, and young Cook became first the mate, and then the master of the vessel. At the age of twenty-seven the son of the poor farm-laborer was a skilled sailor, possessing a remarkable knowledge of astronomy and no small skill in practical hydrographic drawing.

The Seven Years' War broke out in 1755. Shortly after the war had be-

gun, Cook's vessel came to anchor in the Thames. At first, he hid himself from the press-gang, by means of which the British navy was largely recruited then; but considering the matter, he determined to volunteer; and offered himself on board the *Eagle*, a vessel of sixty guns, of which Sir Hugh Palliser was the commander.

He met with such favor from his commander that he was, by that officer's advice, appointed to the command of a sloop, the *Grampus*. From this he was transferred to the *Garland*, and then to the *Mercury*, in the last of which he served in the St. Lawrence, and was present at the siege of Quebec.

It was in this campaign that he first had an opportunity of distinguishing himself. Ordered to sound the St. Lawrence between Orleans Island and the northern shore of the river, he executed his task with such faithfulness, and drew up a chart of the channel with such skill, that he was detailed to examine the channels of this river below Quebec. He did so; and his chart of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the sea was accepted by the English Admiralty and published by them as the best authority on this river.

His ability as a marine surveyor was very generally recognized; and after the recapture of Newfoundland—at which he was present—he was employed in surveying its coasts. The year after peace was concluded, he was appointed Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador.

He received this appointment in 1764, and held the position for three years; being recognized by the British Government as an excellent authority in hydrographical questions, and as having corrected many errors in the map of America. During this period he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* an account of a solar eclipse which he had observed off Cape Ray; and this added much to his reputation as an astronomical observer.

Astronomers had calculated that in 1769 the planet Venus would make a transit across the face of the sun. It was desirable that this should be carefully observed by some competent person, but the best place, scientists decided, would be some point in the Pacific Ocean. The English Government resolved to send out an expedition for this purpose, and fitted out a vessel with eighteen months' provisions for her crew of eighty-four men, and the necessary arms and ammunition for defense should such be needed.

Dalrymple, a famous astronomer, was chosen for the command; but he had so high an idea of his own worth, and demanded so persistently an appointment as ship's captain, that the secretary of the Admiralty, finding it inadvisable to concede all that he demanded, fixed upon this one point as the thing that could not be granted. Dalrymple refused to accept any lower rank, and was informed that the Government would grant no higher; so negotiations with him were broken off.

Sir Hugh Palliser, who stood high with the naval authorities, proposed

Cook for the position. The command of the *Endeavour* was accordingly given to him, with a commission as lieutenant in the navy. Charles Green, assistant in the Greenwich observatory, Doctor Solander, a learned Swede who was a professor of botany, Sir Joseph Banks, a wealthy amateur astronomer and botanist, and two other persons, one a landscape and portrait painter, the other a scientific draughtsman, with a secretary and four servants, made up the company of the master's cabin in the vessel which sailed from Plymouth August 26, 1768.



THE COUNCIL DISCUSSING WHAT DIRECTION TO SAIL.

Cook was commissioned for purposes of discovery and exploration as well as for the observation of a single astronomical occurrence. The interest in



discovery, which had languished for some time, had revived; this was particularly the case in England, where the Civil War of the seventeenth century and the foreign wars and civil disturbances of the early part of the eighteenth had passed away, leaving the country on the high road to a position among the nations of Europe which she had never held since the days of Henry V. and Edward III.

Before entering upon an account of the discoveries made by Cook, it will be well for us to review, very briefly, the work of his predecessors in this part of the world; confining ourselves to those who had sailed from England for the exploration of the South Pacific.

The beginning of what may be called the second era of discovery and exploration—the first beginning with the time of Columbus—may be placed at about the middle of the eighteenth century. It was in 1764 that Commodore Byron was commissioned to explore the Falkland Islands more thoroughly, and also to ascertain if they were habitable lands of any extent between the Straits of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. Many navigators had touched at Australia, New Zealand, and other islands of the great archipelago; but none of these lands had been thoroughly explored; and it was supposed that they were parts of a continent of great extent surrounding the South Pole.

Byron had, as a boy of seventeen, enlisted in the expedition commanded by Lord Anson, about 1740; but the vessel in which he sailed had been wrecked in passing through the Straits of Magellan, and he had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards. Detained in Chili for more than three years, he reached home at last, to find the country involved in a war with France. He distinguished himself in various encounters during the progress of this war; but was so unfortunate as a sailor that his men came to nick-name him "Foul-weather Jack."

This name, however, could not be expected to influence the grave Lords of the Admiralty, who appointed him to the command of the expedition of 1764. Two vessels, one of twenty-four and one of sixteen guns were assigned to him; and after one false start, they weighed anchor July 3. The voyage was without incident until they sighted the coast of South America. They had stopped at the Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands for water, but the tropical heat and constant rains had produced much sickness among the sailors, so that they were obliged to put in at Rio Janeiro for fresh water and food.

Having re-viceualed here, Byron stood out to sea, and the question now arose, whether the captain should prosecute his search for lands in the west, or whether on the contrary, he should sail northward and reach the East Indies during the favorable season?

The council of war, which was called to the consideration of this question, chose the latter alternative, after an animated discussion.

Sailing southward he entered the Straits of Magellan; as soon as the vessels neared the shore, the sailors distinguished a crowd of men on horseback, who set up a white tent, and signed to them to land. Curious to see these Patagonians, about whom preceding navigators had so disagreed, Byron landed with a strong detachment of armed soldiers.



PATAGONIANS ON HORSEBACK.

He found nearly 500 men, most of them on horseback, of gigantic stature, and looking like monsters in human shape. The women rode on horseback like the men without stirrups, and all galloped on the shore, although it was covered with immense stones and very slippery.

With them were numbers of dogs and very small horses; excessively ugly, but not the less extremely swift.

The interview was friendly, and, after Byron had distributed gifts to the natives, the crew returned to the ship and sailed northeastward again, and coasted the Falkland Islands, where a French colony had already been established. Returning to the Straits he passed through them, and, touching at one of the Juan Fernandez group, proceeded in search of Easter Island, which had been discovered and named by John Davis, the explorer of the American Arctic waters. He failed to find this island, but came upon a group whose cocoa-nut palms and other trees gave promise of cure for his men, among whom the scurvy was running riot. The milk of the cocoa-nut is one of the best remedies known for this dreadful disease, and the sailors looked longingly toward the trees which were to afford them relief. A boat was sent to find anchorage for the ships; but the sailors sent on this errand returned, saying that they had failed to find bottom at a cable's length from shore. Byron was therefore compelled to sail away from this group of islands, which he named, in commemoration of their failure to secure the fruits, Disappointment Islands.

Fortunately for the sufferers, they reached the Low Islands the next day, and gathered fruit enough to serve their purpose. After this they touched at or passed various islands, recognizing the Ladrões July 28, 1765. Here they landed, tents being prepared for the sick, and plentiful fruits, limes, oranges, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruits and guavas, gathered for their use. These afforded a cure for the scurvy; but the hot, wet weather had caused so much malaria to rise from the dense growth of vegetation that the sailors, already weakened by long illness, were attacked by another form of disease, and two of them died. We are told that the fowls and wild pigs, which were abundant and easily captured, had to be eaten immediately after being killed, as decomposition began within an hour; and the fish caught here were so unwholesome that all who ate of them, no matter how sparingly, became very ill. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, however, they remained here for nine weeks.

Continuing their course, they passed to the northward of the Philippine Islands, touching at Grafton Island. At Timor they endeavored to procure supplies, but it was only with the utmost difficulty that they could persuade the Malay natives to trade with them. The inhabitants demanded rupees in exchange for their goods, and with rupees the Englishmen were not provided.

Reaching Sumatra, he coasted along this island until he reached Batavia, the chief settlement and center of the Dutch trade, laid out with the prim regularity, the canals and trees and large open thoroughfares, which distinguished the cities of Holland. A hundred ships rode in its harbor, and its streets were thronged by Portuguese, Dutch, English, Chinese, Persians, Ma-

lays and Arabs, who chattered and traded with each other. Gayeties of every kind showed that business was not the sole thought of the inhabitants, and the sailors, tired with the long cruise and the illness which had affected every one of them, were enchanted with the beautiful little city.



KING OF TIMOR.

But it was less fair than it had seemed; poison lay beneath the beauty. Endemic fevers abound there, and Byron, as soon as he learned this, hurried to get his provisions on board, and set sail.

But, although they had remained but twelve days, they had remained too long. A terrible fever broke out among the crew, disabling half their num-

ber, and ending in the death of three. After forty-eight days they sighted the coast of Africa; and, three days later, anchored in Table Bay, whence it was a voyage over well-known waters. The sole incident of their homeward voyage was off the island of St. Helena, where the vessel received such a shock it was thought at first that she had struck upon a sunken rock. The fears of the sailors were dissipated, however, as they saw the sea tinged with blood for a large radius; the vessel had struck a whale.

It was at first supposed that the ship was not injured; but a few days later it was found that she was so seriously disabled that it was imprudent, if not impossible, for her to continue her voyage in her present condition. They accordingly allowed themselves to be carried across the Atlantic by the current which here sets toward the northwest, and the injured vessel was repaired at the Antilles.

Byron's ship reached England after an absence of twenty-three months, after a voyage which was generally considered the most fortunate of all the circumnavigations attempted by the English. But little had been accomplished for the cause of science; but the fact that this was so was due, not to any omission or carelessness on the part of those engaging in it, but to the neglect of the officials to give proper instructions, and to include among those who went scientists who were capable of original investigations in their particular subjects.

Six weeks after the arrival of Byron's vessel Captain Samuel Wallis was appointed to the command of a second exploring expedition. Not until April, 1766, however, did they sail. The three ships were not good sailers, and the captain of one felt assured that he should not be able, with the equipment given him, to go farther than the Falkland Islands. They reached the Straits of Magellan in safety and had some intercourse with the Patagonians. Previous navigators had asserted that these were a race of giants; and each one had seemed to vie with the others in stories of the stature, the strength, and the wonderful appetite of these far southern savages. Wallis, however, invited a number of them on board his vessel, and measured them; the tallest was six feet six, he found; but the average height was no more than five feet six or seven. These visitors were so well entertained with the strange things that they saw on board the ship, that it was only with great difficulty that they could be persuaded to land again.

They also held some communication with the natives of Terra del Fuego. A single incident serves to show how low in the scale of civilization are these islanders. Wallis relates that as he and his companions landed, the natives were devouring large pieces of whale, already putrified, the odor of which impregnated the air for some distance. One of them tore the carrion in pieces with his teeth, and handed the bits to his companions, who devoured them with the voracity of wild beasts. One of his men, who was fishing



with a line, caught a fish about as big as a herring, and gave it to a native who was eagerly watching him. The Fuegian killed it by a bite near the gills; and beginning at the head, devoured it at once, bones, fins, scales, entrails and flesh, finishing only when he reached the end of the tail.



PATAGONIAN SAVAGES FEASTING ON CARRION.

Making their way through the straits, they passed several islands, discovering Tahiti about the middle of June. Before they could make any effort to land they were surrounded by the boats of the natives, who brought bananas and other fruits. These savages, however, were born thieves, and lost no opportunity to steal; it is gravely recorded that only one officer lost his hat in consequence of this dishonesty.

An effort to land met with decided opposition on the part of the natives; and the light pirogues thronged about the vessels of the strangers, filled with stones and other missiles. There was an attack made upon the fleet; but a well-directed shot cut in two the double pirogue of the chief, and the attacking party fled in all directions. The Englishmen then landed, and Wallis took possession of this land in the name of the King of England, calling

it George the Third in honor of that sovereign. But the island has retained its native name of Tahiti or Otaheite.

But, while a party of the sailors were in search of fresh water, Wallis saw from the ship that the natives appeared to be planning another attack. He decided, therefore, to take vigorous steps to prevent further hostilities, and ordered his carpenters to cut to pieces some fifty or sixty pirogues which were drawn up on the beach. This was done, the workmen being fully protected by the guns of the ships; and the natives, seeing their vessels of war thus destroyed, resolved that it was best to make friends with the strangers.

The inhabitants of Tahiti had much to learn. On one occasion the surgeon, who had gone with Wallis to pay a visit to the Queen, found himself perspiring very freely about the head; and, to secure a little more comfort, removed his wig. The natives stared in astonishment too great for words; they could hardly have been more surprised if he had taken off his head.

At another time, when the Queen dined on board ship, one of her attendants, having seen the whites pour water from the boiler into the tea-pot, thought to show his familiarity with the customs of the strangers. He turned the faucet and scalded his hand; for as the Tahitians had none but wooden dishes, they had no means of heating liquids, and did not know that there was such a thing as hot water.

The conflicts with which their intercourse had begun had been so completely forgotten by the time that the Englishmen were ready to sail away, that the natives bade them farewell, says Wallis, "with so much sorrow, and in so touching a manner, that I felt heavy-hearted, and my eyes filled with tears."

Seeds of different kinds of vegetables were sown before they left, cherry, peach, and plum stones planted, as well as pips of lemons, oranges, and limes. A cat, some fowls and geese and other domestic animals were presented to the Queen; but these gifts were not valued half so highly, or regarded with such admiring wonder by herself and her subjects, as an earthenware saucepan. One of her subjects, who seemed to be more progressive than the others, was presented with a suit of clothes, and, at his own request, with a fork; but, while he always held the implement in his hand while eating, he still grasped his food in his fingers, so that there was danger that the fork would scratch his ear.

Leaving this island July 27, Wallis coasted several in the vicinity, but did not land, as the natives seemed determined to prevent it. His vessels were in need of repairs, and he calculated that if he should return to Europe by way of the Straits of Magellan, he would be involved in those tortuous passages about the time of the equinoctial storms; he accordingly sailed for Batavia, where he knew that he could secure the necessary assistance. His own vessel was nearly destroyed in a storm which they encountered before reaching that port; but, with this exception, the voyage was without incident of interest

sufficient to be here noted; and they arrived in England May 20, 1768, after an absence of nearly twenty-five months.

Nearly a year before this ending of the voyage, however, Wallis had lost sight of one of his vessels, that of which the master had expressed such doubts before leaving England. This was the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret. No rendezvous having been arranged, the ships were not again united during the voyage. Carteret steered for the north, along the coast of Chili; determined to take in water at Juan Fernandez; but a series of storms and squalls prevented him from doing more than take in a few casks of water, when he was driven off the coast of these islands.

He spent some time in a search for Davis' Land, as Easter Island was then called; it being supposed that this small isolated piece of land was a headland of a great continent; but missing it by reason of the thick fog, decided that Davis' Land had no existence. The weather was such, indeed, that he would have been unable to descry land at a very short distance; and we find him almost despairing of finding land.

July 2, however, he discovered an island, afterward famous in the history of naval adventure; which he named, from its discoverer, one of his officers, Pitcairn's Island. Several others of this group, the Dangerous Islands, were visited; but sickness increased daily, provisions could not be obtained here, and the adverse winds and the damaged condition of the ship made her progress very slow.

It was Carteret's intention, if he could find a continent where sufficient provisions could be procured, to repair his ship while remaining near its coasts. The refitting and supplying of the vessel would probably take some weeks, perhaps some months. It was then drawing toward the end of winter; and it was his purpose, with the approach of spring, to gain a distant southern latitude, proceed westward to the Cape of Good Hope, and to return after touching at the Falkland Islands, and thence to proceed quickly to Europe.

But the continent was not found, although Carteret thought, as he passed the Solomon Islands, that he was close upon its shores, although the fog prevented him from seeing land. His provisions were now almost gone, the small quantity which remained being in such a condition as to be really unfit for food; the rigging and the sails were almost destroyed by the storms through which they had passed; half the crew were on the sick list; while, to add to the gloominess of the outlook, the ship sprung a leak just below the water-line. In mid-ocean, it was impossible to repair it; but by great good fortune they saw land the next day, and anchored off Nitendit Island.

Attempting to land here, they were vigorously opposed by the natives, who saluted them with a shower of arrows as their boat drew near the beach. The master of the boat and half his crew were dangerously wounded, and

every attempt to procure water and fruit, although the sailors were protected by the guns of the ship as far as possible, was resisted by the natives with the same vigor.



THE LANDING DISPUTED.

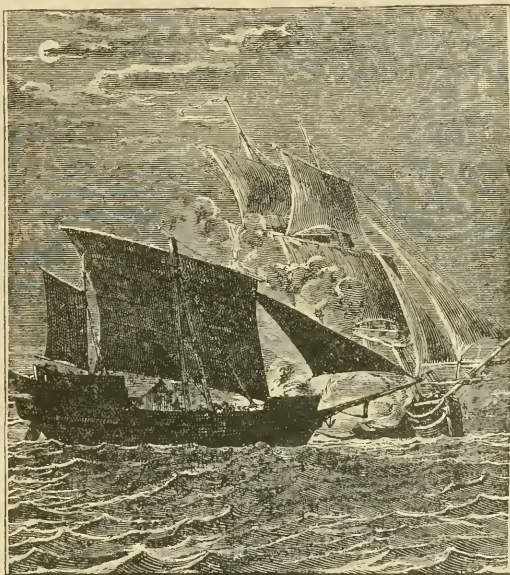
The master died of his wounds a few days afterward, and three of the wounded men shared the same fate. At this same time, Carteret and his chief officer, Lieut. Gower, were confined to their beds by sickness; so that there was no one capable of navigating the ship who was well enough to perform such a duty.

Necessity supplies much energy, however, and they sailed from this island where they had been constantly pursued by the arrows of the natives, and, after touching at several others, anchored off New Britain August 28. Here



he obtained a supply of fruits and vegetables, particularly of palm-cabbage, which proved a very delicious food.

Passing through the strait which separates New Britain from New Ireland, discovering and naming the Admiralty Islands, they entered the Straits of Macassar, between Borneo and Celebes, Nov. 14. The ship sailed so slowly that she only accomplished twenty-eight leagues in fifteen days. "Ill, weakened, dying, tortured by the sight of lands which we could not reach, exposed to tempests which we found it impossible to overcome, we were attacked by a pirate!"



ATTACKED BY A MALAY PIRATE VESSEL.

This enemy was a Malay prah, the crew of which, hoping to find the English sailors asleep, had attacked them under cover of night. But far from allowing themselves to be conquered by this enemy, the crew of the *Swallow* were roused to new energy by the demands of the case; and the result of the fight was that the prah was foundered.

Failing to reach Batavia before the western monsoon began, Carteret made for Macassar, the principal port of the Dutch on the island of Celebes; but



here the authorities forbade him to land. Carteret pleaded for his dying crew, and described the dilapidated condition of his ship; and finally the authorities reconsidered their inhuman refusal so far as to permit him to buy a few provisions and direct him to a small neighboring bay, where he was told he could find shelter from the monsoon, and set up a hospital for his sick, and procure a more plentiful supply of provisions than were obtainable in Macassar itself.

He could do nothing but what they permitted, and to the indicated bay he went. But even here he found himself surrounded by restrictions. The Dutch, probably fearing some infectious disease, forbade them going more than a certain distance from their hospital; they were under guard, and not permitted to communicate with the natives; and whatever provisions they wished to buy must be purchased from the Dutch soldiers, who in some cases made a profit of one thousand per cent.

Here they remained until May 22, 1768—two days after the other vessels of the fleet had arrived in England. They sailed to Batavia, where the vessel was repaired; and, September 15, departed for Europe. Eighty of the original crew of the *Swallow* had died during the voyage; their places had been filled by English sailors recruited in these Dutch ports; but of these seven died before they reached the Cape of Good Hope. Here the condition of the crew obliged them to remain for some time; and Jan. 6, 1769, they again set sail for England, where they arrived March 20.

The voyage of Carteret was especially adventurous, because performed in a ship but imperfectly adapted for the purpose—really unseaworthy before he started from England. He proved himself a most efficient explorer.

We turn aside from English expeditions for a moment, to detail the adventures of French explorers, under the lead of Louis Antoine de Bougainville. Having had some success at the bar, Bougainville next devoted himself to the sciences, choosing mathematics, in which he achieved some distinction; but this career was in turn abandoned when he became an officer in the army. Nor did he long remain in this position; we find him next a diplomat. Finally, he left all for the naval service.

While thus engaged, he conceived the idea of colonizing the Falkland Islands with the Canadians who, disgusted at the English rule in their own country, had sought refuge in France. He finally obtained official permission to undertake this, and received an appointment as captain in the navy. Leaving St. Malo September 15, 1763, with two vessels, he planted a colony on one of the Malouines, as the French called these islands; but controversies arose with the English and the Spanish governments; the first named nation claiming these islands by the right of discovery, while Spain claimed them as a dependency of South America; they were finally recognized as the property of Spain, and the French colonists returned to France.

It was Bougainville's intention to cross the Pacific; but he had only six month's provision, and this was not enough; he spent some time, while waiting for further supplies, at Rio de Janeiro. Thence they sailed, stopping at Montevideo, to the Straits of Magellan; and Bougainville again contradicted the fables regarding the great size of the Patagonians. Although they were



MAKING THEIR VISITORS SING AND DANCE.

tall, he says, none of them reached six feet; but the breadth of their shoulders, the size of their heads, and the thickness of their limbs appeared to him gigantic. In sharp contrast to these well-developed natives were their neighbors, the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego; who, he says, "are small, thin, ugly,

and smell abominably. They are all but naked, having only clothing of sealskin too small to cover them." These savages visited the ships, but did not show surprise at anything; a circumstance which the Frenchman attributes to their entire ignorance; understanding nothing, they treated the master pieces of human industry as they treated the laws and phenomena of nature. The sailors amused themselves by making these visitors sing and dance, and, what was doubtless much more agreeable to the visitors, eat. Nothing came amiss to their voracious appetites, but bread, salt meat, and tallow all seemed equally acceptable.

But the intercourse was suddenly interrupted. A child about twelve years old was one of the visitors, and a number of glass beads and bits of glass were given to him. Ignorant of the nature of the glass, and perhaps having, like Topsy, only one standard of excellence—"Is it good to eat?"—he seems to have decided that what was so pleasing to look at must be good to eat. He was found vomiting and spitting blood, his throat and gums lacerated and bleeding; and he died in great agony shortly afterward, in spite of the efforts of a native medicine man, who rubbed him violently and performed many strange incantations over him. The Fuegians, it seems, thought that this was due to having accepted a present from the French; and his death was the signal for flight from the vicinity of the vessels.

After considerable delay they passed through the straits, and, reaching the Pacific, cruised among the small islands that dot its surface, landed at Tahiti about the middle of April, 1768. Here they were received with the greatest demonstrations of friendliness by the natives, who brought an abundance of fruit, so much desired by the sailors, to barter for European toys. Bougainville wisely prohibited his men from going ashore until arrangements should have been made for a considerable number to do so; but, in spite of his command, his cook managed to land alone. He was at once seized by a number of the natives, who saw here an excellent opportunity for gratifying their spirit of inquiry. It would seem that they were full of curiosity as to why these strangers so persistently covered up parts of their bodies with close-fitting clothes; and the frightened cook was speedily stripped to the skin by his captors. Having found that there was no reason, as far as personal examination could show, for so closely covering the body, they permitted him to redress himself, and conducted him back to the vessel. His disobedience had been amply punished by the fright which he had experienced.

A large shed was built for the accommodation of the sufferers from scurvy, and a guard of thirty men placed about this rude hospital to prevent depredations by the natives. For the utmost care had to be maintained, lest the thieving natives should carry off articles of great value to the seamen.

The friendly kindness of the natives, in receiving these strangers and providing them with all that they needed—for the stealing can only be regarded

with the utmost indulgence for their ignorance—was poorly rewarded by the French. A native was killed by a gunshot, and all inquiries failed to reveal the perpetrator of this outrage. Two days later, Bougainville, while busily occupied with some repairs made necessary by a storm, learned that three natives had been killed or wounded by bayonets; and that their countrymen, alarmed, had fled to the interior. He at once landed, arrested those who were accused, put them in irons and confined them on board the vessel. This prompt punishment was told to the alarmed Tahitians, and they came back to the coast. The French ships weighed anchor soon afterward, and, amid the most friendly demonstrations from the natives, one of whom insisted on accompanying them, set sail. Bougainville added to the observations of Wallis many notes concerning the climate, productions and inhabitants of this island.

Bougainville's course now lay a little north of west; the island which bears his name having been first seen by a white man early in July. He explored several of the Solomon group which had been visited before; but the chief value of his voyage to the world at large was the information that he gained and published, that navigation among these islands was not nearly so difficult or dangerous as the Dutch, anxious to keep other nations away, had pretended. His narrative states his course with much detail, in order that others may follow safely in his track; but such an enumeration of capes, headlands and islands would be neither pleasant nor profitable to the reader.

While Bougainville was in these latitudes certain business matters required his presence on board one of the ships, and he there found out a singular fact, which had already been largely discussed by his crew. On board the ship was a distinguished botanist who had a servant named Barre. Indefatigable, intelligent, and already an experienced botanist, Barre had been taking an active part in the herbarising excursions, carrying boxes, provisions, the weapons, and books of plants, with endurance which obtained from the botanist, the nickname of his beast of burden. For some time past Barre had been supposed to be a woman. His smooth face, the tone of his voice, his reserve, and certain other signs appeared to justify the supposition, when on arriving at Tahiti suspicions were changed into certainty. The botanist landed to botanize, and according to custom Barre followed him with the boxes, when he was surrounded by natives, who, exclaiming that it was a woman, were disposed to verify their opinion. A midshipman had the greatest trouble in rescuing her from the natives, and escorting her back to the ship. When Bougainville visited the ship, he received Barre's confession. In tears, the assistant botanist confessed her sex, and excused herself for having deceived her master by presenting herself in man's clothes, at the very moment of embarkment. Having no family, and having been ruined by a law-suit, this girl had donned man's clothes to insure respect. She was aware before





thither. The *Endeavor* left Plymouth August 26, 1768; and, touching at the Madeiras, reached Rio de Janeiro Nov. 13. Here they were obliged to stop for supplies; but, although they were not absolutely refused, the action of the viceroy prevented the English from obtaining them as speedily as might have been the case. The whole time of Cook's stay in this port was spent in petty squabbles with this officer, who, wholly incapable of understanding the scientific need for such an expedition, looked upon it with much distrust and jealousy.

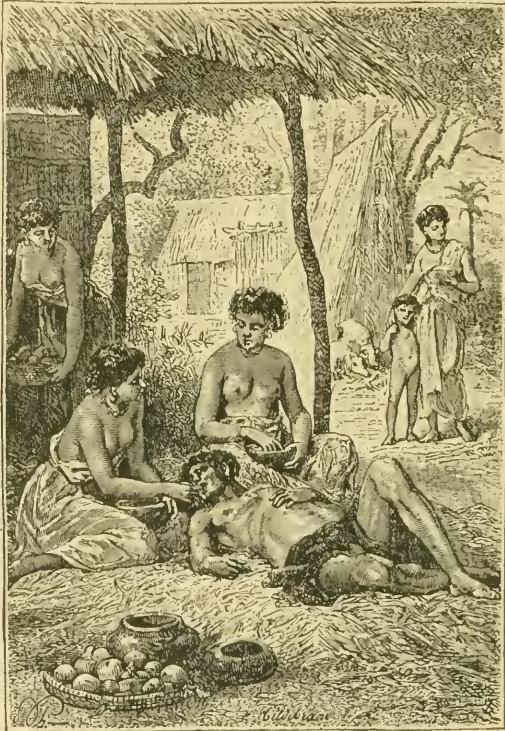
Following the coast of South America from this point, Cook entered the Straits of Lemaire, separating Terra del Fuego from the small island at its eastern extremity, January 14, 1769; for he had no intention of trying the passage of the Straits of Magellan, even though this, the summer of the southern hemisphere, was the most favorable season for such a venture; he intended to double Cape Horn. The event proved that he had been wise; for constantly changing winds and currents would doubtless have kept him prisoned in the tortuous passages between the main land and the great island for a much longer time than the thirty days which were required to double Terra del Fuego. By his exact astronomical observations during this time he was enabled to correct many of the errors in existing charts, both of French and English origin, and thus smooth the way for future navigators. For many years, however, Cape Horn remained the terror of sailors; and it was not until the introduction of steam vessels changed the entire system of navigation, that it lost many of its dangers.

Threading his way among the islands of the Low Archipelago, and touching at several for the sake of fresh water and fruits, Cook arrived at Tahiti June 11, landing at the very point where Wallis had landed. Mindful of that officer's experience, Cook gave strict orders to his crew regarding their treatment of the natives. He also decided to construct a sort of fort, within gun-range of the ship, where the observers might be safe. A suitable spot was found, the extent of ground which he intended to occupy marked out, an officer with thirteen men left in charge of the tents, and Cook, with those associates who have been named in a preceding page, went into the interior of the island.

He was speedily recalled, however, by the sound of firing; a native had surprised one of the sentinels, and wrested his gun from him; the alarm had been given, and the comrades of the sentinel fired upon the Tahitians. This was enough to have brought the vengeance of the islanders upon the seamen; but Cook gave them such assurances of his friendliness, and punished so publicly one of his men who had threatened to kill one of the natives, that they were pacified; and the amicable relations remained undisturbed except by the petty thieving that the sailors had to guard against or endure.

As the time for the observation was drawing near, Cook sent Sir Joseph

Banks to a neighboring island, and four others to the eastern portion of Tahiti, while he himself made preparations for observing the transit from the fort. No slight hardship was experienced by the astronomers who had come so far in the cause of science; their watch began at twenty minutes after nine in the morning, and did not end until ten minutes after three that afternoon: during this time they were exposed to the burning heat of the tropical sun, the thermometer registering one hundred and twenty degrees Fahrenheit.



TAHITIAN CHIEF FED BY HIS WIVES.

While the learned men of the expedition were thus engaged in observing and recording the phenomena connected with an occurrence which could not be again observed for more than a century, the unlearned were profiting by

their inattention to steal a hundredweight of nails, which they used in traffic with the natives. The worst about this offense was, that nails were a valuable article of traffic, as the natives showed an immoderate desire to possess them; and this theft was likely to glut the market. Only seventy of the nails were recovered, and eighty lashes failed to make the detected thief betray his accomplices.

Lientenant Cook not only paid full attention to the astronomical observations which he was required to make, but investigated the manners and customs of the islanders; going so far as to partake of one of their most delicate dishes, which was dog-flesh, roasted on hot stones in a hole, for four hours. He says it was of a delicious flavor. In one of his walks he saw a native, who passed his days in being fed by his wives, quietly lying upon a thick carpet of leafy branches.

One of the Tahitians, who had been a priest of high rank and—according to the old accounts, where these savage chiefs are represented as attended like civilized potentates—first minister to the Queen of Tahiti, requested to be allowed to go with the white men when they sailed away. Cook was very glad to permit this, as Tupia—such was his name—was sure to be well acquainted with the surrounding waters, which he had navigated, and could give full particulars respecting his countrymen, in whose civilization he could be made a valuable agent.

Cook landed on several of the Society Islands, as he named this group; taking formal possession of them in the name of George III. On most of these the natives were friendly; on one especially the chief persisted in calling himself Cookee, and giving his own name to the navigator; but the natives of Otaha, on the contrary, were so hostile in their demonstrations that he could not land.

Their course, for nearly two months after leaving the Society Islands, lay almost directly southeast. On the 5th of October, the color of the sea changed, showing that they were approaching land; and the next day they saw a long line of coast, stretching northwest by west. It was the long-sought Southern Continent, which geographers had determined must exist, to balance the globe!

As they neared the land, which was really North Island of the New Zealand group, they saw the varied nature of the surface; first the green hills, and the valleys with their great trees; the houses of the natives, the pirogues gathered near the shore, and finally the islanders themselves assembled on the beach.

Many attempts were made to enter into friendly relations with the people, but none of them were successful. Cook endeavored to get some of them on board his vessel; thinking that if he succeeded in this, he could treat them so well as to make them good ambassadors between him and their countrymen.

Failing in other methods of getting them there, he tried to intercept two pirogues. One escaped by rapid paddling; Tupia, who spoke a dialect of the same language which the New Zealanders used, tried to tell the others that the English came as friends; but, in spite of his assurances, the islanders seized their arms and attacked the boat-load of sailors. They were pursued



CAPT. COOK HAS A FIGHT WITH THE NATIVES.

so closely by the natives that Cook gave the order to fire upon them, and four were killed. The other three, terrified at the noise and fatal effect of the fire-arms, threw themselves into the sea, where, after a fierce resistance, they were captured.

The three islanders were taken on board and loaded with such presents as

might be supposed most attractive to them; but this treatment does not seem to have made any impression upon them. Having been unable to procure anything but wood at this place, although he was in need of food as well, Cook named the harbor Poverty Bay, and sailed to the southward. But his relations with the natives were everywhere unfriendly, and if they did not break into open warfare it was because the English commander held his men so in hand that they were patient under very great provocation.

To do this, the greatest severity was necessary. On one occasion it was found that three sailors had entered a plantation and carried off a quantity of potatoes. When their guilt was proved Cook ordered that each of them should receive a dozen lashes. Two of them submitted unresistingly to the punishment; but the third declared that it was no crime for an Englishman to steal from a New Zealander. Notwithstanding this argument, the lashes were inflicted, and the rebellious culprit confined in the hold until he consented to receive six additional lashes for resisting the execution of the sentence.

Before reaching the southeastern extremity of the northern island Cook changed his course; and, coasting northward along the shore where he had just come in the opposite direction, followed the outline of the island until he arrived at that point on the western shore which is called Cape Egmont; Cook giving the name of Egmont to a neighboring peak covered with snow, in honor of the earl of that title.

Here the relations with the natives were more friendly; but, although he tried to ascertain what traces remained among them of Tasman's visit to this island, he was unable to find even a tradition of a white man's having come there in a vessel like his.

The New Zealanders were cannibals, eating the bodies of the enemies whom they slew in battle, but preserving the heads—minus the brains, which were regarded as a delicacy—as trophies; one of these ghastly testimonies to the courage of its owner was purchased by Sir Joseph Banks; but he could not persuade the man from whom he bought it to part with another.

Cook describes, with some admiration, the forts which these people were accustomed to construct on the summit of a hill: a double ditch and palisade, with an enormous supply of darts and stones laid up within, making the stronghold one which could only be reduced by a long blockade, starving out the garrison. But in strange contrast with this skill in fortifying themselves, he remarks that they had not invented a single weapon of any importance excepting their long spears; even bows and slings, by which so many savage tribes throw darts and stones, were wholly unknown to them.

Cook's officers persisted that this island, as he supposed it to be, was a part of a continent; and would not be dissuaded until they had practically circumnavigated it. He then followed the outline of the coast of South Island,



exploring the interior, as he and his companions had done in the case of the more northern body. This was the first European vessel which had visited New Zealand since its discovery by Tasman, more than a hundred years before; and Cook was the first to demonstrate that it was not, as Tasman supposed, a part of a great continent.



CANNIBALISM SEEN BY CAPT. COOK AT TAHITI.  
(From an Old Engraving.)

Leaving New Zealand March 31, 1770, and sailing westward, he perceived land April 19. This was Van Diemen's Land, as it had been named by the discoverer, out of compliment to his patron and governor: but to which posterity,

with better judgment, has given the name of Tasmania, formed from his own. He touched at the northeastern extremity, crossed the strait which separates it from Australia, and followed the coast of the island-continent for some distance, making several excursions on land. The natives, however, fled at the approach of the English, making all attempts at communication useless.

From the map which Cook prepared of this country, it appears that he did not know that Tasmania was an island, cut off from Australia, to which he gave the name of New South Wales, by a strait; this chart shows Australia with a long peninsula extending from the southeastern extremity, with no serious breaks in the coast from Port Davey to Cape Howe. Much of this line, however, is simply dotted, as being conjectural; Cook does not assert that he saw land on the west while following the course which we have described.

They had sailed one thousand three hundred miles, and reached a point some sixteen degrees south of the equator, when they met with the first serious disaster since leaving home. It came with all the more fearfulness, because their long and perilous voyage through waters almost unknown had hitherto been attended with such prosperity.

Seeing some islands near the coast, so low that some of the sailors declared they were but rocks above water, Cook decided to stretch off all night, and so gave orders to shorten sail and haul off shore. The soundings were peculiar, showing now much deeper, now much shallower water; and when it shallowed, within a few minutes, from twenty-one fathoms, by quick changes, to eight fathoms, Cook gave orders that every man should be at his station. Instantly, everything was ready to put about and come to anchor, when the next cast of the lead showed deep water again. He now concluded that they had passed the shoal; the ship went on her way, and, as it was now past ten at night, the gentlemen of the expedition went to bed. An hour later, however, the water suddenly shoaled from twenty to seventeen fathoms; and before the lead could be heaved again, a shudder ran through the vessel, and there came a grating noise which told the anxious sailors only too surely that she had struck upon a rock.

For three hours and a half a pleasant breeze had wafted them from the shore; and this, with other indications, led them to believe that they had struck upon a coral reef. This is especially dangerous, as the points of coral are so sharp that they readily penetrate any vessel, and every part of the surface is so rough as to grind away whatever is rubbed against it, be the motion ever so gentle.

Taking in all sail at once, the boats were hoisted out, that an examination might be made. It was found that the vessel had been lifted over the ledge of the rock and lay in a hollow within it; in this hollow the depth of water varied from three or four feet to as many fathoms.

All hands bent their efforts to getting her over this ledge again; but she continued to beat with such violence against the rock, that it was all they could do to keep their footing on the deck. It seemed that their worst fears were to be realized, as they saw, by the light of the moon, the sheathing boards from the bottom of the vessel and at last her false keel floating away all around her.

There was but one hope—they must lighten her so that she would float across the entrance to this lagoon; six guns, the iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop-staves, oil-jars, decayed stores, and everything else that could be spared from the equipment of the vessel went overboard; the gravity of the situation so impressing the men that—Cook records as worthy of mention—not an oath was uttered.

But the tide was going out, so that their efforts did not make it any easier for the vessel to float out. There was, indeed, more hope for her at the next high water, providing she should hold together so long; but the rock so scraped her sides that this was doubtful.

The dawn showed them that they were about eight leagues from land, with no intervening islands; should the vessel be destroyed, what a prospect was this! The boats were not enough to hold all; subordination would be at an end; some would be left on board, to perish in the waves; but the fate of the others would be even more dreadful, cast upon a barren shore, without any means of defending themselves from the hostile natives of the more fertile countries surrounding this sandy waste; while the utmost happiness that they could hope for would be to drag out a miserable existence here, cut off from all mankind except these naked savages.

The wind gradually died away, fortunately for the anxious souls on board the *Endeavor*, and there was a dead calm. As the tide rose their hopes increased; strengthened by the quiet which kept the ship from being ground to pieces. But what was their disappointment to see the waters recede before they had reached a height sufficient to carry the vessel off! The day tide was not nearly so high as the night tide; and though they had lightened her by about fifty tons, she lacked a foot and a half of floating.

Cook at once ordered that two anchors should be carried out, one on the starboard quarter, and one right astern; the blocks and tackle which were to give them a purchase on the cables was got in order, and the falls, or ends of them, brought in abaft, straining them tight, that the next effort might operate on the ship, and by shortening the length of the cable between that and the anchors, draw her off the ledge on which she rested, toward deep water. About five o'clock in the afternoon the tide began to rise again.

But now came a new cause for anxiety; for, as the tide rose, the leak increased enormously. The water in the hold gained upon them so steadily and rapidly, that they feared the lifting the ship off the rock would be but a prep-

aration for sending her to the bottom. They worked with the energy born of desperation; and the capstan and windlass being manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps, the ship floated about half-past ten.

They were encouraged to find that she did not, now that she was in deep water, admit any more water than she had done while on the rock; but there was no less than three feet nine inches in her hold. The sailors, wearied by the long period of anxiety and exertion, would work at the pumps till they literally dropped at their posts, and would then lie helpless on the deck, although great streams of water from the pumps, manned by those who had stepped to their places, were pouring over them. As the relief in turn became exhausted, those who had first fallen would rise and take their places. Tired out, they were almost disheartened; and when it was reported that the water in the hold, in spite of their exertions, had gained eighteen inches upon them in a few minutes, it seemed useless to work longer.

Cook, however, knew that this could not be, unless there was a seam started, or something of the kind which he did not think likely. A moment's inquiry revealed that the man who had been measuring had taken the depth only from the ceiling, as the planking which lines the inside of a ship's bottom is called; while the man who relieved him had measured to the outside planking, eighteen inches away. When this was told the despairing sailors, it was as reviving as if, a short time before, they had been told that the pumps had actually gained.

In fact, they worked with such renewal of vigor that the pumps began to gain upon the leak; and, having gotten up their anchors, they once more got under sail and stood for land. The leak was temporarily stopped so far that it was readily kept under with one pump instead of three; and the rejoicing crew talked hopefully of repairing the vessel and continuing the course which had been marked out for her before starting. In consequence of these misadventures, Cook called the point of land nearest the sunken reef Cape Tribulation.

Preparations were at once made for repairing the ship; and huts were built on shore for the accommodation of those who were suffering from scurvy and for the protection of the stores from the weather. It was found upon examination that the ship had suffered fully as much damage as they had at first feared; but their lives had been saved by a singular circumstance. A large part of the rock which made the greatest rent had been broken off, and had stuck in the hole which it had produced; thus forming a sort of plug, which kept out a flood large enough to have swamped the ship.

Leaving Endeavor River, as he named the stream on the banks of which the vessel was hauled up for repairs, Cook found navigation so difficult that it was impossible to proceed by night. At last, however, they reached a safer sea; a large sea came rolling in from the southeast, a certain indication that

there were neither lands nor shoals in that direction. The difficulties which they encountered are thus summed up by Cook himself:—

“Our change of situation was now visible in every countenance, for it was most sensibly felt in every breast; we had been little less than three months entangled among rocks and shoals, that every moment threatened us with destruction; and frequently passing our nights at anchor within hearing of the surge that broke over them; sometimes driving towards them even while our anchors were out, and knowing that if by any accident to which an almost continual tempest exposed us, they should not hold, we must in a few moments inevitably perish. But now, after having sailed no less than three hundred and sixty leagues, without once having a man out of the chains heaving the lead, which perhaps never happened to any other vessel, we found ourselves in an open sea, with deep water; and enjoyed a flow of spirits which was equally owing to our late dangers and our present security. Yet the very waves, which by their swell convinced us that we had no rocks or shoals to fear, convinced us also that we could not safely put the same confidence in our vessel as before she had struck; for the blows she received from them so widened her leaks that she admitted no less than nine inches of water in an hour, which, considering the state of our pumps, and the navigation which was still before us, would have been a subject of more consideration to people whose danger had not been so lately so much more imminent.”

But, in spite of the dangers that threatened, Cook was determined to solve a question which the Government was anxious to have settled. Were New Holland, as Australia was called by the Dutch, and New Guinea, the same body of land? In spite of the dangers of such a course he again stood toward the land, and followed the coast of Australia until he reached the headland to which he gave the name of Cape York, which it still bears. Here he landed and took solemn possession of the country in the name of the King of England, concluding the ceremony with three salutes from the guns which had not been thrown overboard in the time of danger.

From this point, after touching at several small islands, he struck across Torres Strait, to which he gave the name of his ship, and reached the southern coast of New Guinea Sept. 11. Here they met with such a hostile reception from the natives that they concluded it was useless to risk their lives in attempting to land; and, having but a small stock of provisions remaining, determined to get to Batavia as speedily as possible.

Here, however, they met with new dangers; for, as before recorded, there are few parts of the world less healthy. The greater part of the crew fell sick; many died; and but ten men escaped the fever. Continuing their course they did not leave sickness behind them; for before Christmas twenty-three were dead, including the astronomer Green.

Reaching Prince of Wales Island about the middle of January, Cook pro-



cured victuals there, and sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; and, after touching at St. Helena, anchored in the Downs June 12, 1772, after an absence of nearly four years. "Thus ended Cook's first voyage," says one of his biographers; "a voyage in which he had experienced such dangers, discovered so many countries, and so often evinced his superiority of character. He was well worthy of the dangerous enterprise and of the courageous efforts to which he had been called."

As a reward of the services which he had rendered, Cook received, shortly after his return, a commission as Commander in the Royal Navy. It seemed to him that the same rank, that of captain, which Dalrymple had demanded before setting out, might have been given to him when he returned successful; but red tape forbade this, declaring that it would upset all established customs, and injure the discipline of the Royal Navy, to advance a man more than one step at a time.

But although the transit of Venus had been observed in such a manner as to call forth the thanks of the Royal Society, and many doubtful questions concerning the geography of these seas were set at rest by Cook's careful and accurate observations, there was one thing which he had failed to do; he had not discovered the great southern continent, which certainly existed; and which must, for the honor and glory of England, be sought and found by English vessels.

Accordingly it was determined to fit out another expedition for this purpose. Of course Cook was selected as the commander; and his experience was liberally drawn upon in making ready the vessels for the voyage. The *Endeavor* had been used on another errand, after having been more efficiently repaired than was possible on the desert coast of Australia, or even in the East Indies; but it was resolved to build or purchase two vessels which Cook should decide were well fitted for the purpose. Two such vessels were found, each about fourteen months old; one of four hundred and sixty-two tons' burden, named the *Resolution*, and the other of three hundred and thirty-six, the *Adventure*. Of the larger, Cook was named commander; while Tobias Furneaux, who had been second lieutenant under Wallis, was promoted to the command of the latter. These ships were solidly built, drew little water, and were provided with two boats of twenty tons each for use in case of shipwreck, and supplied with provisions and other stores for two years and a half. A landscape painter, two naturalists, and two astronomers, provided with the best instruments which the times afforded, accompanied the expedition; and nothing that could conduce to its success was omitted.

Great attention was paid to anti-scorbutics, or articles of food designed to prevent or cure scurvy. The expedition was also well provided with fishing tackle; while, in order to enable them "to procure refreshments in such inhabited parts of the world as we might touch at where money was of no val-

ue, the Admiralty caused to be put on board both the ships several articles of merchandise, as well to trade with the natives for provisions as to make them presents to gain their friendship and esteem. Their lordships also caused a number of medals to be struck, the one side representing his Majesty, and the other the two ships. These medals were to be given to the natives of newly discovered countries, and left there as testimonies of our being the first discoverers."

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the captain of one of the vessels belonging to the French East India Company had become enthusiastic about the possibility of discovering land around the South Pole. The Company, acting by his desires, fitted out two vessels of which he was given the command, with instructions to proceed to the far South and there take possession of such lands as he should discover. He sailed first in a southwesterly direction and touched at the coast of South America; thence toward the southeast. For a time his vessels were enveloped by a fog so thick that communication could be kept up only by firing; at one time, indeed, those on board one vessel could hear voices and movements on board the other, while unable to see anything of it. This weather was accompanied by the most intense cold; so that on one occasion a sailor who had gone aloft actually froze there, and, being brought down, was only restored by the rather heroic treatment of whipping.

He considered his purpose accomplished, as far as possible during that voyage at least, when he sighted land about fifty-four degrees south of the equator and about five degrees east of Paris; or, according to English reckoning, about eleven degrees east of Greenwich. This land was a high peak, covered with snow and surrounded by icebergs which made it impossible to land; so Monsieur Jean Baptiste, Charles Bouvet de Lozier, having added this valuable piece of knowledge to that already in the possession of geographers, sailed back to France, reaching his destination late in 1739.

Later explorers have ascertained that there is a group of small islands in this latitude and longitude, to one of which, very properly, the name of Bouvet Island has been given; but Bouvet himself supposed that this was a headland of the great Antarctic Continent, and called it Cape Circumcision. Cook was ordered, when setting out on his second voyage, to proceed southward from the Cape of Good Hope, which was to be his first stopping-place after leaving the Madeiras, and endeavor to find Cape Circumcision; and, if he found it, to ascertain whether it was a part of a continent or an island. Should it prove the headland of a continent, he was to lose no opportunity of investigating its possible extent. He was further instructed to make all kinds of observations of the inhabitants, should there be any, and to use every fair means of forming friendly alliances with them.

From this point he was to seek discoveries to the east or west according to

the position in which he might find himself. He was to go as near the South Pole as the condition of his ships, the health of his crews, and the provisions allowed.

If he did not find Cape Circumcision, or discover it to be an island, he was enjoined to sail southward as long as he hoped to find the continent; then to proceed eastward, still keeping in high latitudes, until he should have completed the circumnavigation of the globe; finally to repair to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to England.

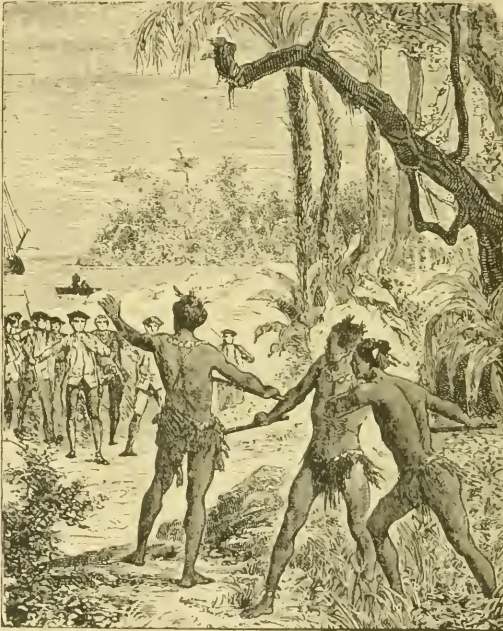
Such were the instructions under which he sailed from Plymouth, July 13, 1772. Fully aware of the danger of sickness resulting from uncleanness in hot, damp climates, Cook took every possible precaution against it; insisting on the soiled clothes being washed at short intervals, and having the between decks thoroughly aerated and dried out very frequently. As a result of these precautions there was not a single man sick on board the *Resolution* when she arrived at the Cape of Good Hope Oct. 30; although one man had died on board the other vessel which had been less carefully cleansed.

Weighing anchor Dec. 22, the two ships resumed their course southward, in search of Cape Circumcision. Although it was the midsummer of the southern hemisphere, the weather became so much colder as they sailed southward that Cook distributed the extra warm clothing with which he had been provided. The men were also given an increased ration of brandy. The cold, thanks to these precautions, does not seem to have affected them unfavorably; but all the animals taken on board at the Cape died when the temperature changed so greatly.

A week after leaving the Cape, they were beset by a terrible storm, which lasted until the 6th of December. This drove them far out of their course toward Cape Circumcision. They had reached the fiftieth parallel before they fell in with any icebergs; but having passed beyond the invisible line which seems to separate the icy seas from those having warmer waters, they were surrounded by them. One of the first that they saw Cook calculated was fifty feet high and about a half-mile in circuit. Captain Furneaux at first mistook this ice-island for land, and hauled off from it, till called back by signal. Sounding showed no bottom at a depth of one hundred and fifty fathoms; nor were there any other signs of land near by.

Through thick fogs they sailed among these masses of floating ice until, on the 14th, they thought that they espied land. Even Cook was for a short time deceived; but on more narrowly examining the hills of the supposed island, he decided that it was no more than a mass of ice, larger than any that they had yet encountered. His own experience of ice-bound seas had not been large, but he had on board two men who had been in the Greenland trade; one of whom had been ice-bound for six, the other for nine weeks. The belief of these men was that he would find land directly behind these

masses of ice; they supposing that these icebergs fringed the land here as in the case of Greenland. He accordingly made some effort to skirt the ice-fields, or to penetrate them, but did not succeed, of course, in reaching land. Indeed, the temperature of the air and water was enough to account for the formation of these vast masses of ice, without supposing they came from any land; for the thermometer in the air marked from thirty to thirty-four degrees Fahrenheit during the warmest part of the day, and was at the freezing point on the surface of the water. When it is considered that this was the warmest season of the year there, we can readily understand how icebergs could be formed in the open sea in less favorable seasons.



THE NATIVES MAKE SIGNS.

Having ascertained positively that the icebergs were not the fringe on the garments of the land, Cook decided to proceed eastward to find Cape Circumcision, being in about the same latitude. But a terrible storm again drove him out of his course; and although he managed to reach the meridian on

which he expected to find the cape, he had then been driven about seventy leagues south of it. From this he concluded that the so-called cape was not the extremity of a continent, but merely of an inconsiderable island.

They penetrated almost to the Antarctic Circle, reaching the latitude of sixty-seven degrees fifteen minutes south; but here they were stopped by an immense field of ice, which appeared to be practically boundless. Then, having taken on board a sufficient quantity of the pure, cold crystal to replenish their water-casks, they sailed to the northward, to make another search for the island discovered by the French navigator.

Keeping to the eastward, the voyage was without incident of importance until it was discovered that the *Adventure* had become separated from her consort. The weather was so foggy that for three days Cook was uncertain whether they had really become widely separated or not; but at the end of that time, he made up his mind that he should see no more of Capt. Furneaux until they met at the rendezvous which had been appointed on the island of New Guinea.

Convinced that there was no considerable extent of land between the southern point of Africa and the Antarctic Circle, Cook now hastened to this rendezvous; and March 25, about four months after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, cast anchor in Dusky Bay.

As Cook and his companions proceeded to land, three Indians emerged from the wood making signs, but here he had but little intercourse with the natives, with the exception of the members of one family, which established its quarters near the landing place. In order to impress them with some of the refinements of civilized life, Cook gave a concert for their especial benefit. The fife and cornet players found their skill was vain, for the dusky listeners preferred the drum to any other music.

They were visited on board the ship by a chief who showed a very friendly disposition. As a proof of this he plunged his fingers into a bag which he wore about his waist, and offered to anoint the captain's hair with the rancid grease which it contained. Cook managed to evade this offer of a high honor; but the painter, Hodges, was less successful; and was forced to submit to the process of having it rubbed well into the scalp, to the amusement of all who escaped the infliction.

Having completed the hydrographical survey of this bay, and cultivated a patch of ground sufficiently to start the kitchen garden seeds which he had sown, Cook departed for Queen Charlotte's Sound, the rendezvous appointed for Captain Furneaux.

The *Adventure* had been waiting for six weeks, having coasted Van Diemen's Land for seventeen days before the beginning of this period; but this exploration had not demonstrated whether this was an island or a peninsula.

At the point where they now landed the natives proved very friendly; and



even indulged, on ship board, in one of their national songs. One of them sang, says Cook, while the others accompanied him by gestures. The last words they repeated in chorus; and the whites easily distinguished a rude sort of meter, although, he adds, he was not sure that there was any rhyme.

"In the evening," Cook says, "we had the spectacle of a '*bomai*,' that is to say, the dances of the night were performed in front of the chief's house. We saw twelve dances during the time. They were executed by women, and in the midst of them we noticed the arrival of a number of men, who formed a ring within that of the dancing women. Twenty-four men, who executed a third, made a movement with the hands, which was greatly applauded, and which we had not previously seen. The orchestra was renewed once. The chief appeared upon the scene at the head of fifty dancers, most magnificently apparelled. His garment consisted of cloth and a large piece of gauze, and round his neck small figures were suspended."

Some of the natives inquired for Tupia; and on being told that he was dead, expressed their grief by a form of lamentation that was evidently artificial and formal. Cook did not recognize any that he had seen on his previous voyage; and this fact, together with the greatly diminished number of inhabitants, and the deserted condition of the fortresses elsewhere described, convinced him that there had been a great war, which had destroyed or driven out most of those who had inhabited the islands at the time of his first visit.

It was Cook's intention to proceed directly east from New Zealand and then to steer toward Tahiti if he found no land; this island being appointed as the place of rendezvous. He then proposed to return to New Zealand and survey all the unknown parts of the Pacific between those islands and Cape Horn. The reason for selecting Tahiti as a rendezvous was probably that it was almost the only island of the situation of which they were both absolutely sure. Other islands, visited by other navigators, might have had the latitude and longitude incorrectly stated on the charts; but Tahiti was a kind of starting-point for cartographers of that day.

They found anchorage with some difficulty off this island, after a voyage almost wholly without incident; and were well received by the natives. The islanders inquired for their countryman Tupia, but, when they had learned of his death, did not mention his name again; they also asked after several members of the scientific expedition, showing that a real friendship had been formed between these South Sea savages and the eminent English astronomers and botanists.

Considerable time was spent in trading with the natives and in observing their habits and customs. The natives were eager for the commodities which the strangers brought with them; sometimes giving a dozen cocoanuts in exchange for a single glass bead. The great plenty of such fruit had a

great influence upon the health of the sailors, some of whom were suffering from the ever-present scurvy when they landed, but recovered before they left.

The readiness with which the islanders learned to swim and dive was shown when one of the officers threw to a child about six years old, in one of the pirogues, a string of glass beads. They missed their mark, and fell into the sea; whereupon the boy instantly dived after them, and in a moment brought them up from the bottom.



NATIVE FESTIVAL AND DANCE IN COOK'S HONOR.

The Queen who had formerly ruled the island seemed to have been deposed; and the natives were now governed by a king named O-Too. The young ruler received them with becoming ceremony, and showed himself very willing to be friends. Visits were exchanged between him and Cook; the islanders presented the sailor with large pieces of their finest stuff,

placing these over the outer clothing of Cook and his companions in such abundance that they could scarcely move: while the King, when he came on board ship, received such presents as pleased him most. At another visit which Cook paid him the savage chief was presented with a broadsword; it was thought that this would be a very acceptable gift; but O-Too was so much afraid of it that Cook had some difficulty in persuading him to accept it. At last he consented to have it buckled around him; but, after wearing it a short time, ordered it to be taken out of his sight.

Leaving Tahiti, they sailed for the neighboring island of Hu. Here they met at first with very kindly treatment, and were enabled to buy from the natives fowls and fruits, the former of which had not been obtainable at Tahiti. But the authority of Orea, the King, who welcomed Cook as an old friend, was not sufficient to keep the peace. The sailors who were detailed to attend to the trading were threatened by a native who was, by his costume, evidently a soldier, and who was armed with a club. Cook landed just as the patience of the Englishmen began to give way; and, signing to his men to stand back, threw himself on the islander, struggled with him, and finally got hold of his club, breaking it before his eyes, and then ordered him away.

The same day Mr. Sparrman, the naturalist who had accompanied the expedition, took a walk into the interior of the island on a botanizing expedition. He was attacked and overpowered by two of the natives, who wounded him with his own hanger and stripped him of everything he had except his trousers. Having thus secured their booty, they left for parts unknown. The outraged naturalist speedily found friends, however; for some other natives, happening to pass that way, gave him a piece of cloth to cover him, and escorted him to the landing-place, where there were a great many of the islanders assembled. As soon as they saw him they made off; and Cook thought that they had stolen something. When Sparrman told his story, however, he tried to reassure the frightened islanders, promising them that he would not punish the innocent for the guilty. He went at once to the chief, who was much grieved at the way in which his people had treated the white man; and who at once set out to find the robbers. Much against the will of his followers, who feared for his life, the ruler embarked in one of the ship's boats, with a number of the sailors, headed by their commander; and proceeded to a distant part of the island to seek the offenders. The search, however, was fruitless, as Cook could not spare enough time to make it thorough, but the chief afterward recovered and returned the hanger and a part of the coat, thus proving his innocence by enforcing justice.

At this island about four hundred hogs of various sizes were obtained. Many of these were presents, others were bought, and Cook states that, could they have found room for all that were offered them, any number

could have been procured. Fruits and roots of various kinds were also supplied them, so that they had a pleasing variety of food.

They sailed away from the Society Islands September 17, steering for the west. Thence they proceeded to those islands called on modern maps by Cook's own name, touching at several, and ratifying alliances with the natives by exchange of presents. But provisions were difficult to procure here in any quantity and Cook sailed for the island called Amsterdam, one of the group which he had named, from the character of the natives, the Friendly Islands. From these islands they sailed October 7, anchoring off the coast of New Zealand two weeks later.

Here, as they set sail again, the two vessels were separated by a storm; and Cook did not see the *Adventure* again until they had reached England. Cook now took account of the supplies which he had remaining, and repaired his ship, as a preparation for another voyage in the far southern seas. Leaving New Zealand November 26 they again entered the icy seas, advancing as far as seventy-six degrees south.

They encountered much the same dangers from the floating ice as in the first part of the voyage, and again witnessed the beautiful but terrible sight of the waves flinging themselves upon the icebergs, there to be broken into infinitesimal spray, which sometimes flew even over the summits of the ice-mountains and descended in a shower on the other side.

But the men had now been away from home for a long time, and had lost that enthusiasm which naturally bore them up during the hardships of the earlier part of the voyage. We have no hint of mutiny, for Cook's men seem to have been too thoroughly disciplined or too much attached to their commander to think of such a thing; but he saw for himself the condition of affairs. Many of them were down with the scurvy; others suffered from severe colds, approaching pneumonia; the commander himself was prostrated by an attack of bilious fever, from which, for eight days, it was thought that he would not recover. He gave from his sick-bed the order to sail toward the northeast; and March 11, there was the joyful cry of "Land!"

It was Easter Island, then called Davis' Land. The country was the picture of desolation, the huge carvings, the origin of which no one has been able to conjecture, lending a weird interest to the stone sentinels that seemed to guard the shore. Deeply impressed by the sight of these enormous statues, the navigator tried to learn something of their origin; but the natives could tell him nothing, and indeed manifested no particular respect for these idols, as they had evidently once been. The barrenness of the island and the lack of good water prevented a long stay, and the ship sailed toward the Marquesas, thence to Tahiti, which the sailors regarded as almost a home, so sure did they feel of the reception which they would meet from the people. Here some provisions were procured, and then they went on to Hu, equally friendly;

but the inhabitants of which were just as thievish as their brethren on Tahiti.

A second visit to the Friendly Islands proved that the name was less appropriate than it had seemed when it was given; for the natives came in swarms, assailing the strangers with stones and darts. Sparrman was wounded in the arm, while Cook escaped very narrowly from a severe injury. A volley from the guns dispersed these hostile islanders, and the name of *Savage Island* commemorates their reception of its European discoverer.

Landing at another island of this group, Cook met with a more amicable reception, and had scarcely cast anchor before his ship was surrounded by pirogues, filled with fruits, which the natives desired to exchange for nails, scraps of cloth, and similar articles of European manufacture. In spite of this traffic, however, the natives stole everything that they could lay their hands on. Cook bore these depredations with as much patience as possible, until a more important theft obliged him to resort to severity. Two pirogues were seized, to be held as security for the restoration of the stolen articles, which were muskets. This action was opposed by one of the natives, who, in attempting to release the boats, was fired upon from the ship and severely wounded. The arms were finally recovered when the natives saw that Cook was determined to get them.

Continuing their course westward they reached the islands which Bougainville had named *Les Grandes Cyclades*; here they landed on one to which Cook had previously given the name of *Whitsunday Island*, and endeavored to enter into friendly trading with the natives.

The first day of their stay passed without incident; but on the second there was a fear of general disaster. It was necessary, in these islands, to limit the number of natives boarding the ship at one time; when the utmost number permitted had climbed up the side, the sailor who was assigned to that duty forbade one who was approaching in his pirogue to come on board. Offended at the prohibition, the islander at once drew off, and aimed an arrow at the sailor. Cook, who was never far away when anything of the kind occurred, now appeared at the side of the vessel, and shouted to the native, bidding him, in the Tahitian dialect, put down his arrow.

Without deigning a reply, the islander continued to take aim, as if to show his bravado. Cook, who carried his gun in his hand, now raised it, and quickly taking aim, fired, and wounded the islander. As he fell over in his boat, a shower of arrows, more hastily aimed than his own, fell on the sides and the deck of the vessel. Fortunately they did little harm. Cook at once ordered a gun to be fired over their heads, as a warning of the power possessed by the sailors; and as the shot splashed in the water beyond them, they saw that distance was no protection, and hastily fled. Yet a few hours later they surrounded the vessel as friendly and unconcerned as if nothing had occurred to interrupt the intercourse.



Cruising among the New Hebrides, Cook found the natives not disposed to receive him with sincere cordiality; and they were especially resolved to prevent the white men from penetrating into the interior; nor was it possible to trade with them. New Caledonia was discovered September 5, 1774, where they found the natives hospitable, but possessed of but little to offer in trade. They sold, however, a large fish which they had harpooned, and which Cook ordered prepared for his own table. So much time was required to get it ready, that only the liver was served, and Cook, with two others, ate of it. They were taken very ill shortly afterward, and making use of such remedies and antidotes as were at hand, succeeded in obtaining relief. The natives who visited the ship the next day coolly informed them that the fish was unfit for food; although there had been no hint of this on the previous day, when it was offered for sale. The navigators had already discovered this fact, both by their own experience, and by having fed a pig with a piece of it, the animal dying shortly afterward.

The coast of New Caledonia was thoroughly surveyed, and the island to some extent explored. But the discovery of the Isle of Pines, just south of it, had a far more practical and immediate value to the seamen. With the exception of New Zealand, this is the only island in this part of the world that produces trees fit for spars; and the *Resolution* was badly in need of new ones. Cook accordingly sent a force of men in a sloop to cut the trees which he needed; they found trees large enough for masts, had such been required; and had no difficulty in preparing as many spars as desired.

Passing by Norfolk Island, they anchored again in Queen Charlotte's Sound, whence they set sail for Cape Horn Nov. 10. The cape was doubled, the Straits of Lemoire crossed, and Staten Island reconnoitered. Here Cook and Sparrman went on a hunting expedition; the doctor shot a bird, and had stooped to pick it up, when a monster sea-lion, growling and showing his tusks, made toward the hunters. Cook at once raised his gun and fired, killing the sea-lion; and the whole herd, which had watched them suspiciously, fled along the coast in terror at the fate of their companion.

Southern Georgia was reached Jan. 14, 1775, and taken possession of in the name of the King. Continuing their course to the southeast, they discovered and took possession of the islands Saunders, Sandwich, and Thule. But these sterile and uninhabited spots have no value, and it was useless to risk the records of the voyage by remaining longer in these seas, where every league was attended with danger. The discovery of these isolated islands confirmed Cook in the belief that near the pole there is a stretch of land, where the greater part of the ice floating over this vast southern ocean is formed. This theory has been confirmed by the explorations of navigators of the nineteenth century.

After another fruitless search for Cape Circumcision, Cook sailed for the

Cape of Good Hope, which he reached March 22, 1775. Here he found awaiting him a report from Capt. Furneaux of the *Adventure*. The last time that he had touched at New Zealand on this voyage, Cook had wondered to find the natives little disposed to intercourse with him and his men, and feared that the *Adventure* had met with rough usage at their hands. They stoutly protested their innocence, but this report informed him that when the



DISCOVERING REMAINS OF CANNIBAL FEAST.

vessel had landed at that island, ten men who were sent ashore to gather edible plants were massacred by the natives. As they failed to return at the time when they were expected, a search party was sent out. This second force discovered undoubted evidence that the first party had fallen into the hands

of the islanders, and had furnished the material for a cannibalistic feast. Capt. Furneaux judged, from circumstantial evidence, that there had been a quarrel which was instantly fought out, and the islanders, as usual in war, had eaten the bodies of their slain enemies.

Cook, having repaired and refurnished his vessel, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, and, touching at the usual stopping-places on the way, reached England July 29, 1775. It is remarkable that during this long voyage, he lost but fourteen men; ten of whom, as we have seen, belonged to the other vessel, and perished after the final separation of the two ships.

The explorer was at once raised to the rank of Post-Captain in the Royal Navy, and appointed Captain of Greenwich Hospital, that magnificent monument which William III. had erected to the memory of his beautiful queen. This great hospital was then, as its founder had intended that it should be, a home for superannuated seamen; and nearly two thousand old sailors were gathered into its great buildings. As an officer connected with its management, Cook had received appointment to a post where honor, ease, and competence went hand in hand. His services were further recognized by his election to a fellowship in the Royal Society; and the same organization bestowed the Copley gold medal upon him when it was decided that he had furnished the best experimental paper read at its sessions that year.

But he had barely completed those twenty years which are said to be the prime of life, and, weatherbeaten as he was by nearly forty years of sea-faring life, he did not feel that he was beginning to go down hill. His post in the Greenwich Hospital seems to have been regarded by him simply as a convenient place to rest awhile after his labors, while preparing for others to come.

Meanwhile, the Government, finding that nothing more was to be gained by means of voyages to the South Seas, determined to find that long-sought passage along the northern coast of America, by which the Atlantic and Pacific are connected. We have seen how the great English navigators of the previous century, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin, had failed to find it, trying to enter from the eastern extremity; the Lords of the Admiralty therefore decided to send an expedition to the western coast of the continent, and by entering from the warmer waters of the Pacific, follow the passage to its termination in the Atlantic.

It was necessary that the leader of this expedition should be a man experienced in the navigation of waters where progress was impeded and rendered dangerous by ice; and it speedily became apparent that a man possessing these qualifications, as well as those others which are demanded for any extended enterprise, would not be very easily found. In the midst of their perplexity, Cook volunteered for the service. His offer was instantly accepted, and preparations for the expedition went forward rapidly.

It was decided that while he sought the opening at the western extremity, other vessels should attempt again to find the eastern end of the passage. Two ships were fitted out for Cook, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*. His instructions were to sail first into the Pacific through the chain of islands which he had recently discovered, which he had named the New Hebrides, thence to strike across to New Albion, as the English still called the western coast of North America, and follow it as far as the sixty-fifth parallel. The voyages of Behring do not seem to have been described in any form accessible to Englishmen at this time; the Lords of the Admiralty evidently had only very vague and general ideas of the nature of the coast of what we now know as Alaska.

Setting sail June 25, 1776, he doubled the cape and proceeded to those islands where he had been directed to cruise. We should be only repeating what has been already told should we rehearse his dealings with the natives here; and shall pass rapidly over his experiences in this part of the world. So much time was consumed in carrying out this part of his instructions that he judged it too late in the year, when this work was fairly completed in the spring of 1777, to venture so far north. He accordingly waited until January of the next year, before leaving the Southern Pacific. On his way to the coast of America he discovered the group known as the Sandwich Islands, giving this name in honor of the Earl of Sandwich, who held a prominent position in connection with the Royal Navy, and who had manifested great interest in discoveries in the South Seas.

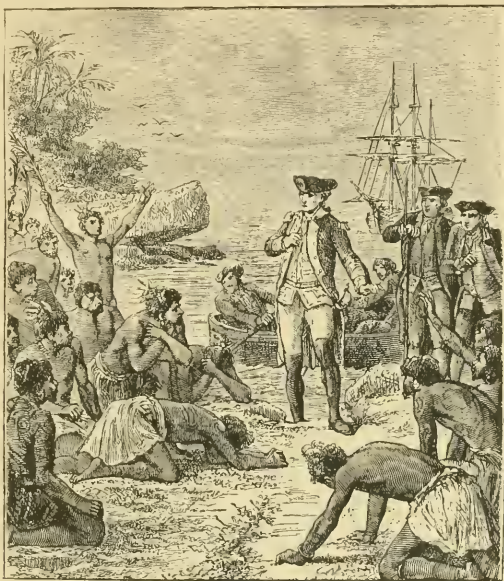
He reached the coast of the continent March, 1778, and followed it northward, according to instructions, until he reached that indentation on the southern coast of Alaska which we know as Cook's Inlet. Finding that there was no prospect of discovering the wished-for passage south of the sixtieth parallel, he put out to sea, and, rounding the peninsula, threaded his way among the islands, in the endeavor to find and pass through Behring's Strait. Here, however, his way was blocked by ice; and, after many efforts to pass a wall which proved impenetrable, he put his ships about, and returned to winter in the equatorial ocean.

The Sandwich Islands, which lay directly on his route, tempted him to new explorations and discoveries. Cruising about them he discovered and took possession of Maui and Hawaii. His first landing here had been the occasion for some ceremonies which greatly astonished the English. As soon as he had stepped on shore, the natives, who thronged the beach, prostrated themselves at his feet, and showed their respect by the most extravagant gestures.

Nor was this all; provisions in plenty were brought to the strangers, and the islanders assisted the sailors in filling the casks with water, and carrying them on board.

In language, customs and appearance, the Sandwich islanders greatly resembled the natives of Tahiti. They proved, however, to have much more

confidence in the English than all their intercourse with the strangers had ever taught the Tahitians; but they had just the same propensity for, and knack of stealing as their more southern kindred.



THE NATIVES WORSHIP CAPT. COOK AS A GOD.

Cook never understood the reason why he was received with such fantastic ceremonies; it has been explained, since his day, by the story told the missionary Ellis by some of the natives whom he converted. According to their tradition, one Rono, in long-ago times, had killed his wife in a sudden fit of jealousy. Finding that his jealousy was causeless, remorse drove him mad; and he ran about the island trying to kill all he met. At last, tired out with this "running a-muck," as an East Indian would have called it, he embarked in his canoe, and, promising to return some day upon a floating island, sailed away into the vast solitudes of the ocean.

When Cook's vessels appeared, the priest declared that Rono had returned; and, having by this time elevated the ancient Rono into a god, the islanders received him as such when he came to them.

There is no rose without a thorn, and even being considered a god may



have its drawbacks. Cook and his companions were solemnly escorted to a temple, where a banquet was prepared for them. Lieut. King, who accompanied him, and to whom we are indebted for a narrative of this voyage, had the good luck to be fed by a very clean-looking native; but the high-priest, who cut and pulled off bits of flesh from the roast pig to put in Cook's mouth, was decidedly dirty; so that the captain could not swallow a mouthful. Such conduct in a divinity was not to be tolerated; and the high-priest, determined that his god should show him favor by eating what he offered, chewed up some mouthfuls and offered it to him. But to the surprise of the devotee, Cook would not eat even then.

When Cook again landed, he was saluted as Rono, and loaded with attentions and presents by the priests. The warriors, however, were less friendly; and openly encouraged the robberies of the strangers which took place daily.

Thus things went on till January 24, 1779, when the chief arrived near the landing-place, and the inhabitants were prevented from communicating with the ships. Visits were exchanged, however, between Cook and this chief, and much respect shown the Englishman; although Terreoboo admitted that his people regarded them as having come to Hawaii simply to fill their stomachs. He presented Cook, however, with an enormous amount of food, consisting of vegetables and pigs.

Feb. 4, the two vessels weighed anchor; but it was found that the *Resolution*, a few days after leaving, had received such injury from a storm that it was necessary to put back for repairs. They noticed at once a change in the manner of the natives, but no serious break occurred until the afternoon of the 13th of February. Then, as several chiefs tried to prevent their followers from helping the English to fill their water-casks, a tumult ensued, when the natives armed themselves with stones and became threatening.

Cook ordered the officer in command of the water-drawing detachment to fire upon the natives if they persisted in throwing stones. They did so, and a pirogue was fired upon.

While this was going on there was a still more serious dispute in progress. One of the larger vessels of the natives had been seized and taken to the *Discovery* by one of the officers of that vessel; the chief to whom it belonged hastened to claim his property, and to protest his innocence of any thieving in which those in the pirogue might have engaged. The argument was held on the beach, a number of the sailors, commanded by this officer, having landed in a pinnace. The chief expostulated; the officer persisted in asserting his right to seize the vessel; and, as the argument grew warm, it came to blows, and the chief was knocked down by a blow from an oar. His followers at once picked up stones, and forced the sailors to run. Some of their number, however, had already seized the pinnace; so that the sailors were at the mercy of an angry host. The chief, however, who had recovered from

the blow, forgot his anger, and bade his followers restore the boat to its owners, together with several articles which had been stolen previously.

Cook was determined that the natives should not look upon the English as fit subjects for oppression of all kinds, and to show them that robbery of important articles could not go unpunished. He was rendered not a little anxious by this occurrence, as he was afraid that the islanders would think they had gained an advantage over the sailors.



A TOOTHISOME OFFERING.

It was probably from a desire to teach them some wholesome lesson that he determined, the next day, when it was discovered that the boat of the *Discovery* had been stolen, to seize the chief or some important personage,

and hold him as a hostage for the return of the boat. He landed with a detachment of marines, and sought out Torreoboo's residence. He was received with the usual marks of respect, and succeeded in persuading the chief and his two sons to pass the day on board the ship.

The two boys had embarked on the pinnace, and their father was about to do so, when one of his wives, moved perhaps by some vague foreboding of evil, begged him not to do so. Some of his principal men, impressed by her earnestness, joined their entreaties to hers; but the chief appeared determined. The natives began to crowd around him and Cook; and the latter, seeing that his plan had failed, gave up the idea of executing it thus, and walked quietly along the shore toward the place where his boat was moored.

The arms of the marines had perhaps excited the fears of the natives, for a rumor spread among them that danger was at hand. The women and children fled, while one of the warriors, flourishing his weapon, confronted Cook with some ugly threats. Cook tried to evade him; but the islander persisted; and at last the captain raised his pistol and fired. The islander, protected by a thick mat, did not feel the ball or know that he had been hit; he continued his audacious defiance, and others advanced to his assistance. Cook raised his gun and fired at the group; one fell dead.

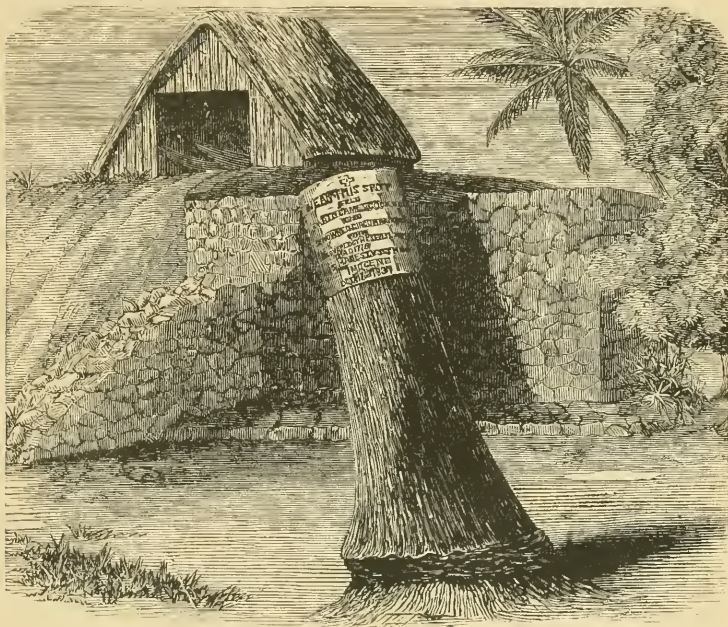
The whole mass of the natives now rushed upon the one man. The men in the boats fired upon the crowd, anxious to assist their commander; while the small troop who accompanied him closed up to protect him. Cook signed to the boats to cease firing, in order that his little troop might embark in safety; and, in obedience to his signs, the boats approached the scene of the conflict.

But even as they bent to their oars for this purpose, Cook was struck by one of his assailants and fell to the earth. Instantly his comrades seemed to be forgotten by his enemies, who dragged his body along the shore, uttering fiendish cries of joy, as, with his own poniard, they stabbed him again and again, each giving a blow, until all had sated their thirst for his blood.

All the offers which the English made for the body of their murdered commander were disregarded by the islanders. They were about to have recourse to arms for its recovery, when two priests, with whom Lieut. King had made friends on their first landing, brought a piece of flesh, about nine or ten pounds in weight, which they said was all that remained of the body of Rono; he had been burned, according to their custom.

The English, aroused by this, at once attacked the natives; and five chiefs and a considerable number of lesser warriors were killed. Several conflicts followed; but on the 19th of February an interview was arranged, at which the natives agreed to give up the remains of the famous Englishman; his hands, his head, and some other parts of his body, were accordingly delivered, and interred by his followers with due marks of respect.

We now follow briefly the course of the ships which had been under his command. Setting sail again to the north, they passed through Behring's Straits, and reached a point nearly seventy degrees north of the equator. Here their way was barred by icebergs, and they returned southward; putting in at the coast of Kamchatka, where they were well received by the Russians, touching at Canton, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope; they reached England October 1, 1780.



NATIVE MONUMENT ON SITE OF DEATH OF CAPT. COOK.

The death of Captain Cook was the signal for very general mourning throughout England; for he was regarded as one of the most eminent sailors of that great maritime power. The Royal Society struck a medal in his honor; the King granted a pension of two hundred pounds to his widow, and twenty-five pounds to each of his three sons; the charts and drawings relating to his last voyage were engraved at the expense of the Government, and the proceeds of their sale divided among the families of Captain Cook, Cap-

tain Clerke, and Lieutenant King, officers connected with this expedition who had perished during the voyage.

The centennial anniversary of Cook's death was commemorated by the French Geographical Society in a meeting held in February, 1879; when a number of relics of the great navigator, and of articles brought from the islands of the Pacific, were displayed.

In the introduction to the account of his second voyage, Cook apologizes for the plain style of his narrative in these words, which form no bad summary of the life he had led:—

“It is the production of a man who has not had the advantage of much school education, but who has been constantly at sea since his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade to a Post-Captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters.”

It may be added that the “few good friends” to whom he so gratefully alludes derive their sole title to be remembered by posterity to the fact that they aided the apprentice boy in the coal trade to attain a position in which he might become one of the most eminent of the English discoverers.









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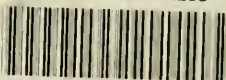
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